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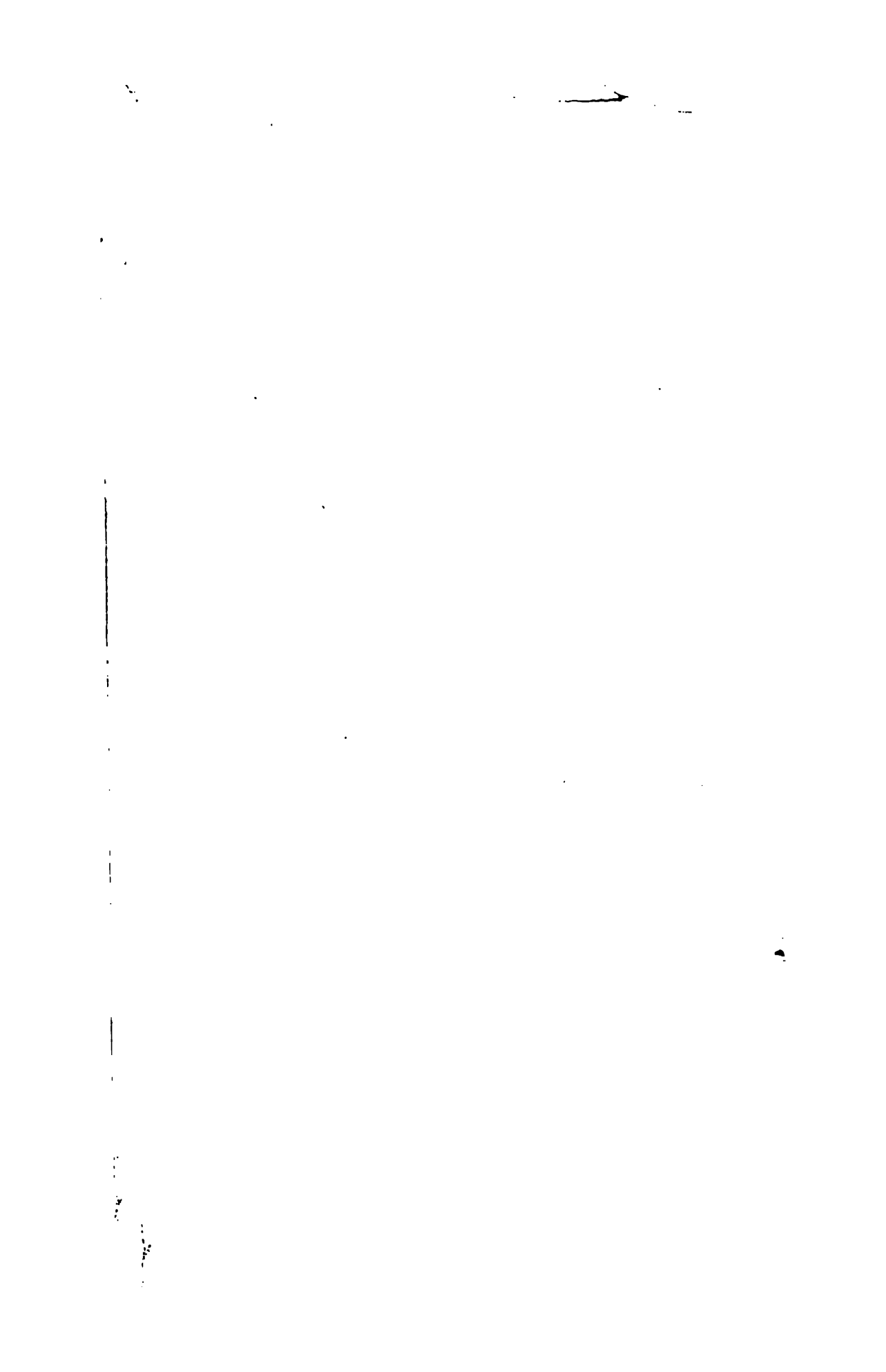














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## CONTENTS OF VOLUME VIII.

	PAGE
A Commemorative Address delivered at Hall of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, November 10, 1884, on John William Wallace, LL.D. By Mr. <i>Henry Flanders</i> . . . . .	v
London Bridge, Burlington, New Jersey. By <i>Amelia Mott Gummere</i> . . . . .	1
Friends in Burlington. By <i>Amelia Mott Gummere</i> (continued from Vol. VII. page 376) . . . . .	3, 160
The History of the Colony of New Sweden. By <i>Carl K. S. Sprinchorn</i> . Translated by Professor <i>Gregory B. Keen</i> (continued from Vol. VII. page 419) . . . . .	17, 129, 241
Matthew Wilson, D.D., of Lewes, Delaware. By the Rev. <i>Edward D. Neill</i> . . . . .	45
Early Furnaces and Forges of Berks County, Pennsylvania. By <i>Morton L. Montgomery</i> . . . . .	56
The First Tax List for Philadelphia County, A.D. 1693. With an Introductory Note by <i>William Brooke Rawle</i> . . . . .	82
Notes and Queries . . . . .	106, 223, 347, 428
Daniel Hyacinth Mary Lienard de Beaujeu. By <i>John Gilmary Shea</i> . . . . .	121
The Welsh Settlement at Gwynedd. By <i>Howard M. Jenkins</i> . . . . .	174
Inauguration of the New Hall of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania . . . . .	184
Restoration of the Schuylkill Gun to the "State in Schuylkill," April 23, 1884 . . . . .	199
Samuel Humphreys, Chief Naval Constructor of the United States. Contributed by <i>Hampton L. Carson</i> . . . . .	216
Bishop Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg. Contributed by <i>John W. Jordan</i> . . . . .	233
Journal of Sergeant William Young. Written during the Jersey Campaign in the winter of 1776-77. From the original in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania . . . . .	255
The Governor's Mill and the Globe Mills, Philadelphia. By <i>Samuel H. Needles</i> . . . . .	279, 377
General Sir Frederick Haldimand in Pennsylvania. By <i>G. D. Scull</i> , Oxford, England . . . . .	300
An Account of the Battle of Princeton. Extract of a letter from an officer of distinction in General Washington's Army, dated Pluckemin. Jan. 5, 1777. From the Pennsylvania Evening Post, Jan. 16, 1777 . . . . .	310

	PAGE
Franklin County One Hundred Years Ago. A Settler's experience told in a Letter written by <i>Alexander Thomson</i> in 1773. Contributed by <i>Rev. T. W. J. Wylie, D.D.</i> . . . . .	313
↳ A Partial List of the Families who arrived at Philadelphia between 1682 and 1787. With the dates of their arrival. From the original in the possession of the Historical Society . . . . .	328
Original Letters and Documents . . . . .	341
Portraits of some of the Descendants of William Penn, and Memorials of him, in the possession of the Earl of Raunfurly. By <i>W. M. Conway</i> . . . . .	353
Benedict Arnold's Regimental Memorandum Book. Written while at Ticonderoga and Crown Point in 1775 . . . . .	363
General Joseph Reed's Narrative of the Movements of the American Army in the Neighborhood of Trenton in the winter of 1776-77 . . . . .	391
The Family of Deborah Franklin. Communicated by <i>John M. Cowell</i> . . . . .	403
The Pennsylvania Assembly in 1761-62. A Memorandum kept by <i>Samuel Foulke</i> . Contributed by <i>Howard M. Jenkins</i> . . . . .	407
A History of the Upper Germantown Burying-Ground. By <i>Peter D. Keyser, M.D.</i> . . . . .	414
Franklin and the Stamp Act . . . . .	426
Meetings of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1884 . . . . .	443
Officers of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania . . . . .	446
Extract of the Report of the Finance Committee to Council, 1883 . . . . .	448
INDEX . . . . .	449
NAMES OF SUBSCRIBERS TO THE PUBLICATION FUND ADDED DURING THE YEAR 1884 . . . . .	471

**IN MEMORY**

**OF**

**JOHN WILLIAM WALLACE, LL.D.**

**B**

**(v)**





A

COMMEMORATIVE ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT THE

HALL OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,

November 10, 1884,

ON

JOHN WILLIAM WALLACE, LL.D.,

LATE PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

BY

MR. HENRY FLANDERS.



PHILADELPHIA:  
COLLINS PRINTING HOUSE, 705 JAYNE STREET.  
1884.



## INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

Mr. Wallace died on Saturday morning, January 12, 1884. A special meeting of the Council of the Historical Society was held on the afternoon of the Monday following, and his decease was announced to that body by its Chairman, the Hon. James T. Mitchell.

Upon motion of Mr. Charles R. Hildeburn the following resolutions were unanimously adopted :—

The Council of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania have heard with profound sorrow of the death of John William Wallace, who for the last fifteen years has presided over this Society with great ability and dignity. It is therefore fitting to give immediate expression to their sense of his services as an enthusiast in the cause of learning ; of attainments as profound as they were varied ; as a student of American history ; as the Reporter of the law laid down by the highest court of the land ; as an officer of this Society to whose interest the last years of his life were devoted ; and as a man whose courteous manners and warm heart have endeared him to all.

*Resolved*, That in the death of John William Wallace, LL.D., this Society has suffered the loss of one to whose wise counsels, generous and constant benefactions, and unfailing interest in all its aims, it is most deeply indebted.

*Resolved*, That the members of the Council are painfully sensible of the loss of an associate whom they have long held in the highest esteem.

*Resolved*, That the Council will attend the funeral in a body.

*Resolved*, That the Society be recommended to take appropriate action at an early day, and that a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the family.

A stated meeting of the Society was held upon the evening of the same day, Vice-President George de B. Keim in the chair, at which the above Resolutions of the Council were read.

Mr. Frederick D. Stone then moved that the Society approve the sentiments expressed in the resolutions of the Council, and that the following be entered upon the minutes of the Society :—

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in the death of the Honorable John William Wallace LL.D., its late President, has met with a misfortune of exceeding severity. He was a gentleman of active and vigorous intellect, of the most extended culture, and the most varied attainments. He was imbued with an enthusiastic fondness for the cause of historical pursuits, and with a proper pride in the achievements of the people of Pennsylvania, and to his cultivated judgment, earnest efforts, and generous contributions, much of the development and prosperous growth of the Society is due.

*Be it therefore Resolved*, That the Council be requested to select an early day at which there shall be a suitable expression of our appreciation of the strength of character and merits of our late President, and of our acknowledgment of the many benefits he has conferred upon the Society.

This motion was seconded with appropriate remarks by the Hon. Horatio Gates Jones, and unanimously passed.

Upon motion of Mr. Hildeburn, it was resolved that when this meeting adjourns it will be to meet on Monday evening next, January 21.

Mr. Jones then moved that out of respect for the memory of Mr. Wallace, the meeting now adjourn without transacting any further business, and that the members of the Society attend his funeral at St. Peter's Church to-morrow, Tuesday, 15th inst., at eleven A. M.

A meeting of the Council was held February 6, 1884.

On motion of Mr. Carpenter, the Chairman was authorized to appoint a committee to take into consideration the subject of an address to be delivered before the Society as a memorial of the late President, Mr. Wallace, with power to act.

The committee appointed consisted of John Jordan, Jr., Samuel W. Pennypacker, and William Brooke Rawle, and at its request the following letter was addressed to Mr. Henry Flanders :—

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,  
PHILADELPHIA, April 10, 1884.

DEAR SIR :

Shortly after the death of Mr. John William Wallace, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania directed its Council to make such arrangements that appropriate action should be taken by the Society in honor of the memory of its late President. The members of the special Committee of the Council, to which this matter was referred, have expressed their earnest wishes that you should deliver the memorial address, and on behalf of the Committee I have the honor to tender you an invitation to do so at such not too distant period as may suit your convenience.

Hoping to receive from you a favorable reply,

I remain very respectfully,

Your Obt. Servt.

WILLIAM BROOKE RAWLE.

HENRY FLANDERS, ESQ.

Mr. Flanders communicated his acceptance of this invitation to the Committee in the following words :—

PHILADELPHIA, April 12, 1884.

DEAR SIR :

In reply to your favor of the 10th inst., asking me on behalf of a special Committee of the Council of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania to deliver the memorial address in honor of Mr. John William Wallace, the late President of the Society, I beg to say that it will give me pleasure to comply with the wishes of your Committee.

I remain,

Very respectfully,

Your Obt. Servt.

HENRY FLANDERS.

WM. BROOKE RAWLE, ESQ.

The Address was delivered at the Hall of the Society on the evening of Nov. 10, 1884. A large number of ladies and gentlemen, members of the Society and friends of Mr. Wallace, were present. In the absence of the President, the Hon. Horatio Gates Jones, a Vice-President of the Society, presided.

After the speaker had concluded, Edward Shippen, M.D., U. S. N., arose and offered the following resolution :—

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Society be extended to Mr. Flanders for his appropriate tribute to the memory of our late President, and that he be requested to furnish a copy of his address to the Society for publication.

This resolution was seconded with remarks by Ex-Governor the Hon. Henry M. Hoyt, and unanimously adopted.

The meeting then adjourned.







*John William Wallace.*





## COMMEMORATIVE ADDRESS.

---

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

JOHN WILLIAM WALLACE, the late President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, was born in Philadelphia, on the 17th day of February, 1815, and died in the city of his birth on the 12th day of January, 1884, in the 69th year of his age.

To those who believe that, following a physiological law, character, as well as physical qualities, is inheritable, and descends in a family from generation to generation, a brief sketch of Mr. Wallace's ancestry may not be uninteresting or inappropriate to this occasion.

The first of his line who came to this country was John Wallace, a son of the Rev. John Wallace of Drumellier, on the Tweed, Scotland, and Christian Murray, his wife, whose lineage, Mr. Burke, in his book on "Royal Descents," traces back to the royal family of Scotland.<sup>1</sup>

John Wallace settled at Newport, Rhode Island, in 1742, and several years after at Philadelphia.

He married here the daughter and only child of Joshua Maddox, a respected and honored citizen, a warden of Christ Church, a founder and one of the original Board of

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix.

Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania ; and for a period of nineteen years a justice of the Court of Common Pleas.

John Wallace was a prosperous and successful merchant. He was too a man of literary tastes, and interested in public affairs. It is recorded on the monument that marks his last resting-place, in St. Peter's Church-yard, that he assisted to found the public library at Newport, since become the Redwood ; that he was a founder of St. Andrew's Society in this city ; and that from 1755 till the dissolution of the Royal Government in 1776 he was a councilman of the city. He died at his country seat, Hope Farm, New Jersey, September 26th, 1783.

His son, Joshua Maddox Wallace, after graduating at the University of Pennsylvania, was placed in a counting-house with a view to his pursuing a mercantile career. But his tastes for science and literature were stronger than for commerce, and marrying at an early age a daughter of Col. William Bradford, the patriot printer and soldier, he subsequently retired to his farm called Ellerslie, in Somerset County, New Jersey, and there and at Burlington passed the residue of his life. "He lived," writes the mother of our late president, "upon the income of a liberal inherited fortune, and in the exercise of conspicuous and unostentatious hospitality gathered around him the most distinguished men of the state and country." He did not, however, sink into the indolence of mere lettered ease, but was an active and energetic citizen. He was a member of the Convention of New Jersey that ratified the Constitution of the United States ; a member of the Legislature of that State during

the exciting political contests that grew out of the convulsions of the French Revolution ; a Trustee for many years of Princeton College ; a frequent delegate from the Diocese of New Jersey to the General Convention of the Episcopal Church ; and a Judge of the Pleas of Burlington County. He died at Burlington in 1819.

His son, John Bradford Wallace, was born at Ellerslie, his father's farm, August 17, 1778. He graduated at Princeton in 1794 at the early age of sixteen, and received the highest honors of his class. Designed for the law, he pursued his studies under the direction of his uncle, William Bradford, who was not more distinguished as a lawyer, and as the attorney-general of the United States in the administration of General Washington, than for those solid virtues and that well-compacted character which made him honored and beloved in life, and lamented in death.

Mr. Wallace was admitted to the bar, at Philadelphia, in 1799. It was a bar composed of very able and eminent men ; men whose fame, surviving the accidents of time, is still gratefully cherished by their successors. But in the shadow of these great names, such was the happy constitution of Mr. Wallace's mind, and so fully was it imbued with legal principles, and adorned with general culture, that he soon stood, not first perhaps, yet in the very first line of his profession. He pursued the practice of the law in this city with increasing honor and success until the year 1819. That was a year memorable for commercial disaster and distress. Many fortunes in that storm were swept away, and many families ruined. Mr. Wallace's elder

brother, who was extensively engaged in foreign commerce, was one of the victims of the crisis, and Mr. Wallace was involved in the disastrous issue of his brother's affairs. Declining proffers of assistance from his friends, and equally declining compositions with his creditors, he set himself, with a stout heart, to the serious task of discharging the obligations which his brother's misfortunes had thrown upon him. Owning and controlling large tracts of land, hereditary and acquired, in the northwestern counties of Pennsylvania, he determined to remove to that region, and by his personal management and supervision endeavor to retrieve his fortunes. Accordingly, in 1822 Mr. Wallace left Philadelphia, and fixed his residence at Meadville, Crawford County. "This section of country," wrote Mrs. Wallace, in 1848, the year before her death, "now beautiful with cultivation, peopled with educated yomanry, and everywhere marked by the institutions of civility and religion, was at that day signalized by the worst characteristics of democratic colonization." The track of the Indian, it is said, was then scarcely obliterated, and the primeval forest still skirted the streets of the town.

Into this region Mr. Wallace bore his courteous and dignified manners, his refined tastes, his cultured intellect, and his trained abilities as a lawyer. They won, as they could scarcely fail to win, recognition and respect, and secured to him as well the confidence and affection of the people among whom he lived. Although differing with him in political sentiment, the electors of Crawford sent him as their representative to successive legislatures, and until,

triumphant over his pecuniary difficulties, he removed from Meadville, and resumed his residence in Philadelphia.

Mr. Wallace may, with truth, be said to have established the church of his faith, and of his fathers, in the north-western counties of Pennsylvania. "Conveying in his own hand probably the first prayer-book that made its way thither," says Mrs. Wallace, . . . . "he saw in a few years the ministry of his affections planted and established. His fiftieth birthday was fitly honored by the consecration of Christ Church, Meadville."

His endeavors and his abilities had led him out of the wilderness of pecuniary troubles, in which he had been compelled to wander, and with reviving fortune, in 1836, he returned to Philadelphia, here to spend the evening of his day. But he was not to realize the poet's aspiration and crown—

"A youth of labor with an age of ease."

In apparent perfect health, he suddenly, without premonition of the coming event, died on the seventh day of January, 1837, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

Mr. Wallace married a sister of the late Horace Binney. She bore, without elation, his early successes, and shared, with a serene courage, his later adversities. Surviving him many years, she wrote, in the seventieth year of her age, a sketch of his life; a sketch marked by dignity and grace of expression, and breathing in every line the sincerest respect and affection. Her virtues, too, and her endowments of mind and character, have been delineated, and by a kindred hand. When she died at her country-house in Burlington,



New Jersey, on the eighth of July, in the year 1849, her brother, Mr. Binney, sketched, not for the public eye, but in his private journal, and, as he says, to gratify himself, and assist his children's recollection of her, two or three of her striking characteristics.

“My sister and myself,” says Mr. Binney, “had probably as strong an attachment to each other as brother and sister have ever known. Both of us I think were deeply indebted to the Giver of all good for vouchsafing both its strength and continuance for so long a time. She was endued with uncommon faculties and virtues, and adorned with fine acquisitions both intellectual and external. I know of no particular in which she was not to a remarkable degree finished and accomplished. She would have become any station from the highest which wears a coronet or sits upon a throne, to the humblest to which is promised the Kingdom of Heaven. . . . From her earliest womanhood to her death, she had the most uniformly and uninterruptedly bright and vivid mind that I have ever personally known in man or woman. I mean that at no time, in no variation of her health or condition, for the term of fifty years at least, did her mind appear to suffer the least sinking or decline, the least obscuration or diminution of light or lustre. I have never personally known any other man or woman, however intellectual, whose mind was not occasionally torpid or drowsy, as it were, on the wing, however able generally to soar. I have often felt this myself; I mean a drowsiness or torpor of the mind. But Mrs. Wallace's mind was at all times, and in all states of health or spirits,

‘wide awake,’ not in the flashy sense of that expression, which implies animal rather than intellectual vivacity, but as a watchful and sleepless spirit that had all its ministers about it, arrayed and alert for the service of the moment, whatever it might be—action, defense, conversation, sympathy. Her intellect, to use the apt Bible word, was girded about, and indeed it was a golden cincture, which diffused light, while it supported and compacted together all her faculties. . . . Her spirit was oftentimes deeply grieved by vicissitudes of fortune which filled her with cruel apprehensions for those in whom she was bound up. It was impossible to feel more acutely or to apprehend more sensitively either the present or the contingent evils of such vicissitudes. She had even deeper griefs than the loss of fortune. She lost her husband, possessing and worthy of all her love, at the first dawn of his reviving fortune, and her oldest daughter in the maturity of her loveliness, when the young mother and her first child were laid in the same sepulchre. She lost several younger children. Her life was anything but equal and cheerful; and her spirit in constant sympathy with her condition was sometimes bent to the utmost, and though it remained unbroken, it never recovered what the world calls cheerfulness. . . . Yet her intellect was ever and uniformly bright and vivid—ever girded about with strength and truth—ever ready, even at the very moment of suffering, to act and to serve, as if itself were impassible. It seems to me as if no eclipse of fortune, no cloud of adversity could dim for a moment the ethereal rays that were shining there. And I must speak of another

of her characteristics, merely because it is so rare an adjunct to such accomplishments and acquirements as hers. She was totally destitute of vanity, and I believe never said or did anything in her life under such an impulse.

“In this mortal state, if nature has not so moulded us, and culture so expanded us as to dispose us to the love of others, and of other things, strongly and almost passionately, a brilliant mind may become a worshiper at its own shrine, and neither make nor allow any sacrifices but to self; and the heart may become half dead to other affections by the mere want of nutriment. So moulded and cultured from birth, Mrs. Wallace not only escaped this peril, but I never perceived that she was exposed to it. . . . At no time in my life did I discover that she had the least particle of vanity, or looked to her own distinction as the special end of anything she said or did. For many years before her death, her religious sentiments would have cast out such a motive as unbecoming her professions. But, in truth, I do not think it ever existed in her. She was no doubt conscious of her powers; she could not be otherwise. But she valued other things so much more than admiration, and embraced so many persons by her love, her family, her friends, her dependants, and sought and found her happiness in them to such a degree, that self was subordinated, and her heart became as much enlarged as her mind.”

Thus did Mr. and Mrs. Wallace appear to the eye of kindred affection, and thus did they appear to observers not bound to them by any ties of blood. Mr. Webster, whose attention had been arrested by an article in one of the maga-

zines from the polished pen of Horace Binney Wallace, wrote to him from the Senate chamber at Washington, under date of Feb. 4, 1848, and thus speaks of his parents: "With but only a slight personal acquaintance, I am yet not ignorant of your character, standing, and attainments; and you the more win my esteem from the affection which I entertained for your excellent father, and the fervor with which I cherish his memory. It is nearly thirty years since I first became the guest of your parents in Philadelphia. No house was ever more pleasant, no circle of acquaintance more agreeable than I found there. The remembrance of those times and those friends is dear to me. Your mother I am happy to hear enjoys good health, and all the happiness arising from the love and affection of good children, and the respect and kindness of all who know her."

The late Bishop Hopkins, in a letter to his son dated July 7, 1863, referring to his own labors in Western Pennsylvania, thus speaks of Mr. and Mrs. Wallace: "He was a very superior man, and a most zealous churchman, and the days in which we worked together at Meadville . . . are still very fresh in my memory. Mrs. Wallace too was a rare union of remarkable cultivation, intellectual power, and deep piety, combined with a high refinement and untiring energy, which, on the whole, made up a character superior to any that I have seen in the qualities which secure a commanding influence in society."

Such were the parents of John William Wallace as described by their contemporaries. He was seven years old when they removed to the western wilderness, and a large

part of his boyhood was passed in that primeval scene. No doubt the advantages were greater than the disadvantages. Country air and country life impart a certain robustness of body and mind which the habitudes of the city are not so likely to confer. "It may be whimsical, but it is truth," says Goldsmith, "I have found by experience, that those who have spent all their lives in cities contract not only an effeminacy of habit, but even of thinking." Besides, he had before him, in his parents, the daily example of cultured manners, and his education was the object of their unremitting care and attention. He laid the foundation of his classical attainments under the guiding hand of his father, and in the same domestic school formed those excursive literary tastes, and those habits of study which distinguished him throughout his life. In his fifteenth year he entered the University of Pennsylvania, and graduated in the class of 1833. One of his classmates writes me, that at college he was "a marked individuality, and was held in high consideration for the extent of his knowledge on many subjects outside of the college course." These "outside subjects" so engaged his attention that "he did not work for or obtain the honors of his class, though all agreed," says his classmate, "that he could have had them had he chosen to try for them."

His college course ended, he was registered as a student in the office of his father, and in his father's office, and the office of Mr. John Sergeant, he completed his course of legal study. He was admitted to the bar of the Old District Court on the 27th day of October, 1836, and on January 30th, 1837, on

motion of Mr. William M. Meredith, to the bar of the Common Pleas.

Mr. Wallace never actively engaged in the practice of his profession. His tastes did not incline him to the conflicts of the forum, and his circumstances did not compel him to engage in them. To most members of the profession the law is "a service and a livelihood;" to Mr. Wallace it was an abstract and liberal pursuit.

Throughout all his life, as has been truly said, he was a worker, not a dilettante legal trifler, but an earnest, accomplished, and useful worker. In 1842 he edited "Jebb's British Crown Cases Reserved," being cases reserved for consideration and decided by the Twelve Judges of England and Ireland, between the years 1822 and 1840. In 1841, having become the treasurer<sup>1</sup> and librarian<sup>2</sup> of the Law Association of Philadelphia, his attention was called to the comparative merits of the reports from the year books down. The result of his studies was a book upon the subject, a book upon the driest of themes, but which with his scholarship, his cultivated tastes, and quiet humor, is invested with

<sup>1</sup> He resigned the office of treasurer Dec. 3, 1864. In his letter of resignation he said: "Need I say that it is not without some emotion that I decline further election to an office which I have filled for nearly twenty-five years, a term of service longer than that of any other treasurer, and that I leave the office with a grateful sense of the confidence so long entertained towards me, and with my best wishes for one and for all of the numerous gentlemen with whom I have been so agreeably connected."

<sup>2</sup> He resigned the office of librarian Nov. 26, 1860, and in recognition of his services, the association conferred on him the appointment of honorary librarian, and the use of the library for life.

an interest that has challenged and held the attention of a wide circle of readers, and both in England and this country Wallace's "Reporters" has achieved high distinction, and is justly regarded as a legal classic.

As illustrating his treatment of his theme, I may be pardoned a single quotation. Speaking of Vernon's Reports, in the time of Charles II., he says: "It appears from the case of *Atcherly v. Vernon*, that Mr. Vernon's MSS. reports, found in his study after his death, were the subject of a suit in chancery between his widow, his residuary legatee, and the heir-at-law. The widow claimed them as included in the bequest 'of household goods and furniture;' the trustees of the residuary estate regarded them as embraced by the expression, 'the residue of my personal estate;' while the heir contended, that 'as *guardian of the reputation of his ancestor*' the MSS. belonged to him; in the same way as would a right of action for the defacing of his ancestor's tomb. 'The printing or not printing of these papers,' says the counsel for the heir, 'may as much affect the reputation of Mr. Vernon as any monument or tomb. Possibly they are not fit to be printed; possibly they were never intended to be printed.' 'Suppose a man of learning should have the misfortune to die in debt, can the creditors come into this court and pray a discovery of all his papers, that they may be printed for the payment of his debts?'

"Lord Macclesfield, finding the decision difficult (and the parties probably thinking that it was doubtful), the dispute was arranged by the chancellor's keeping the MSS. himself; and under his direction, with that of Lord King, it

was that they were first published. . . . As it appeared, the heir had a good deal of weight in his arguments. The MSS. were not very 'fit to be printed,' and probably were 'never intended to be printed.'"

In 1844 Mr. Wallace was appointed standing master in chancery of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and I am told by one of the most eminent equity lawyers at our bar, and who had occasion to appear before Mr. Wallace, in very important causes, that he discharged the duties of his semi-judicial position with zeal, learning, and ability.

In 1849 he undertook to report the decisions of the United States Circuit Court for this circuit, and three volumes of reports, known as Wallace Junior's Reports,<sup>1</sup> were the result of his labors. They are characterized by care in the statement of facts, and precision in the statement of the law. They have "none of the book-making scissor-work," said Judge Grier, "that disgraces so many of our books of reports."

In the spring of 1850, Mr. Wallace visited England. He went thither as the representative of the Law Association, "to visit the societies of Lincoln's and Gray's Inn and of the Temple in the city of London; the Faculty of Advocates in the city of Edinburgh, and such other similar institutions abroad" as he might deem fit, and to report to the association how far the regulations "adopted by the wisdom of the bar of England through so many generations for the

<sup>1</sup> So called to distinguish them from his father's "Reports of Cases in the Circuit Court for the Third Circuit." The first edition of this latter work was published in 1801; the second in 1838.



preservation of its honor and interests," might be applicable to our younger and more popular institutions.

His mission and his letters of introduction gave him access to the highest circles of social and legal life. He made the acquaintance of Selwyn, Sir David Dundas, Mr. Sergeant Goulburn, and others of the bar; and the great lights of the bench, Lord Chief Justice Campbell, the Lord Chief Baron Pollock, and Sir Fitz Roy Kelly paid him marked attentions. Lord Campbell writes him a note under date of June 8, 1850, and says, "If you are at any time in the Court of Queen's Bench, I shall be much pleased to place you by my side, and to take your advice as my assessor." Mr. Wallace, it seems, accepted this invitation, for I find among his papers a letter (under date of June 20, 1850), from Mr. Sergeant Goulburn, in which he says: "I have been requested by Lord Campbell, whom I saw yesterday in Hyde Park, to express the pleasure it would give him if you were to repeat your visit to him on the Bench. He is now trying causes at Nisi Prius, some of them I doubt not of much interest. My elder brother also would be very glad if, when you return to your country and see Mr. Clay, you would remember him most kindly. He has a very lively recollection of that gentleman's worth and agreeable qualities whilst thrown with him at Ghent in the year 1814. Of course you will not fail to tell Peter how much I thank him for reminding me of him in so agreeable a manner by the introduction of yourself."

I may be pardoned for quoting one other letter, as a memento of Mr. Wallace's visit to England. It is from

Baron Pollock. "Accept my very sincere thanks," he says, "for your valuable present which I highly estimate, but chiefly as a memorial of your visit to this country, which has afforded me much pleasure. I have long desired to make such an acquaintance, and personally to know some members of the western branch of our great family, and I could not have had my wish gratified in a more agreeable manner than the occasion of your visit has fortunately presented. What history has recorded of our separation (which for the greatness of both nations and the happiness of mankind has taken place) may be forgotten like the differences between relatives in very early life, but there must always remain the common origin, the common language, the united literature, almost the same laws, and the same generous and noble objects; the advancement and improvement of the human race by the most free and liberal institutions. I am obliged by your kind offer, and beg in return to say, I shall feel grateful for an opportunity of showing to any friend of yours, how much pleasure your visit has given us, by doing everything in my power to render his sojourn here agreeable."<sup>1</sup>

While Mr. Wallace was gratifying his legal tastes and curiosity, and was aided in every way by his legal friends in attaining the objects of his mission, he saw at the same time a good deal of the higher social life of England through the attentions of the Earl of Carlisle, Lord Murray, and Lady Clavering. But he seems to have been most impressed by what he observed in the walks of his own profession,

<sup>1</sup> Dated June 21, 1850.

and “by those venerable colleges of the law” (The Inns of Court) “which,” he writes, “through so many generations have kept the Bar of England together, not only with untarnished honor and elevated dignity, but in delightful fellowship, and with the sense, and in the power of unity.”

The year following his visit to England, Mr. Wallace delivered a discourse before the Law Academy of Philadelphia, on *The Discrepancies of our Home Commercial Law*, and prefaced it with a charming description of one of the Inns of Court. As interesting in itself, and as illustrative of his style, I shall venture to make a quotation from it: “The Temple,” he says, “is situated in the most ancient, populous, and busy part of London. If with us you should suppose a site—say from Market to Walnut Street, and sloping gently from Third Street to the edge of the Delaware, you would have some idea of the site of this Inn, in relation to the other parts of the city. Around the three sides of its site are built connectedly, and with more or less irregularity, the continuous structures which make the Temple. The outside, that is, the parts upon the street, are used for purposes of business; law booksellers, stationers, and other persons who supply the convenience of the Bar, being among the occupants. It is the inner part around and upon the square which constitutes the resort and abodes of the profession of England. Turning away from the mighty stream of business life which rolls by day and night along the strand, and entering through an archway that attracts no notice and reveals nothing within, you find yourself, after a short walk, within the Temple close. Here,

and in the neighboring Inns, is congregated the whole profession of England; and here every student must enter for his education. Many lawyers and judges who are without families, live here entirely, having a house or apartments with offices and servants more or less expensive; living exactly as each man here does in the house he owns. Some occupy 'chambers' only, or 'offices,' as we call them—dining in the Temple Hall, where all students are obliged to dine. In this place you find the *active* members of the profession, whether leaders at Nisi Prius and the courts, members of Parliament, of whom a great number are always barristers, or the great law officers immediately connected with the crown. Here also are those eminent *chamber-counsel* whose opinions settle half the concerns of London; and those *law-writers*, perfectly known to the *profession* everywhere, whose voices, however, are never heard in court, nor their names within the 'city.' . . . The Temple grounds, which break upon you when once within its close, are beautiful. You are aware that the place was many centuries ago the residence of the Knights Templars, and like Fountains, Netley, Tintern, and other religious houses in England, was selected and disposed by its founders with comprehensive and exquisite taste. Before you lies the Thames. On its opposite side, above, rise the time-honored spires of Lambeth, and in greater distance the swell of the Surrey Hills. The trees and walks and cloistered gardens of the Temple impress you by their venerable beauty, and the air of repose which they inspire to everything around. . . . Here is the Temple Church.

An idea of its beauty may be formed by the fact that £70,000 have recently been expended in its repairs and decoration. Its services are confined to the members of the Inn; and being thus sustained by male voices only, have a monastic and peculiar air. As the church comes down from the religious order of Templars, it is said to be the only one in London in which no child was ever baptized. . . . In the Great Hall of the Middle Temple, a venerable structure with massive tables and benches that look as if they had defied the wear of centuries, the members and students of the Inn dine. The room is about sixty feet high. On its richly stained windows you see the Armorial displays of nearly two hundred of the great lawyers of ancient and modern times, including among the latter, those of Lord Cowper, Yorke, Somers, Kenyon, Alvanley, and Eldon. On the wainscoted walls you have the names of the *Readers of the Temple* for more than two centuries back: and portraits of great benefactors. Here, too, the Bar assembles for occasions of state and festivity, and for ancient celebrations—some very curious—which are still kept up with that instinct of hereditation which belongs to no country but England.

“Everywhere about you, in short, in the names of avenues and walks, in the designation of buildings, in the objects of curiosity or interest or veneration, you have the names and associations of the *law* before you. The profession is here in its corporate dignity and impressiveness. It has about it all those influences which Mr. Burke thought so valuable in the structure of a state. It bears the impress of its name and lineage, and inspires everywhere a consciousness of its

ancient and habitual dignity. The past is everywhere connected with the present, and you feel that the profession is an inheritance derived from forefathers, and to be transmitted to posterity.”

In 1852 Mr. Wallace had the deep grief and misfortune to lose his gifted brother, Horace Binney Wallace; a grief and misfortune which were shared by all lovers of literature, and by all students and professors of the law. For he possessed a rare and radiant mind, which illumined every subject that engaged its attention. He had been one of the editors of Smith's Leading Cases in various branches of the law, and of White and Tudor's selection of Leading Cases in Equity; and of American Leading Cases in a diversified class of decisions. And he had shown in these labors a discrimination, a subtilty of thought, a power of analysis and reasoning, and a power of expression that were alike unusual and remarkable in a man of his years.

Upon the death of his brother, Mr. Wallace took his place in the editorship of two of these works, and Smith's Leading Cases and the American Leading Cases contain additional notes and references from his hand.

In 1857 Mr. Wallace again went abroad accompanied by his family,<sup>1</sup> and remained abroad until 1860. He passed most of these years on the Continent, residing chiefly at Rome and Florence. He had a cultivated taste, and a great love of the arts, painting, sculpture, and architecture; and

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Wallace married June 15, 1853, Miss Dorothea Francis Willing, a daughter of George Willing, Esq., of Philadelphia. The only child of this marriage is the wife of John Thompson Spencer, Esq., of the Philadelphia Bar.

he gratified and enlarged both his taste and knowledge by studying them in their native air and home. His criticisms upon these subjects, however, have never been printed, and are not in that finished form that indicated on his part any intention to give them to the press.

He had at all times a deep interest in ecclesiastical history; and the religious life of that ancient and venerable church which for fifteen centuries was the bulwark and only representative of Christianity in Western Europe, very closely attracted, during his residence in Italy, his observation and study. But he was not alone interested in the church in its outward and visible aspects, as it had appeared on the theatre of history in the long succession of the ages, but he had explored the foundations of the structure, and made himself familiar with its dogmatic defences. Says one, who was once his pastor and always his friend, "upon vital questions touching the history, the discipline, and the doctrines of the church, but few even of the clergy of his day could be said to have been more thoroughly furnished."<sup>1</sup>

Always a student and always engaged with law or letters, his life, in youth and age, was a life of busy occupation. In 1863, he published a pamphlet on "Pennsylvania as a Borrower." In this production, he considers the financial history of the State in the past, and points out what he deems her true policy in the future. He reflects severely on some passages of her financial legislation, but in doing this he says: "I hope no reader will charge me with want of loyalty to my State. I deny his right to consider himself, in any particular or from any cause, more completely a

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. W. W. Bronson.

Pennsylvanian, however much worthier a one he may be than I am."

On the 20th of May, in that year (1863), he delivered before the New York Historical Society the commemorative address on the two hundredth birthday of his ancestor, Mr. William Bradford, who introduced the art of printing into the Middle Colonies of British America. This address has all the characteristics of Mr. Wallace's literary labors, grace of style, and fulness of information and illustration. A stranger in reading it, said Bishop Odenheimer, might well ask, "How many professions hath Mr. Wallace studied? in which of the arts and sciences manifold hath he made greatest proficiency?" "It is," said Bishop Alonzo Potter, "a most graphic and lifelike picture of the olden time, and opens quite a new chapter of our early history. The typography is in admirable keeping with the subject and the occasion, and the whole forms a gem as unique as it is valuable." And our venerable historian Bancroft thus wrote in respect to it: "Accept my best thanks, dear Mr. Wallace, for your charming present. I like your address in the perusal still better than in the hearing; it is very interesting and exhaustive, in that best of taste which does full justice to a chosen subject, and avoids exaggeration."

While engaged in these literary pursuits, on the 21st of March, 1864, he was appointed the reporter of the Supreme Court of the United States. "On that day," he says,<sup>1</sup> "being in a very private station, and engaged in studies having but slight relation to the law, he was gratified, quite unexpectedly to himself, by an invitation from the Supreme Court

<sup>1</sup> Preface to vol. i. of Wallace's Reports.



of the United States to become the reporter of the decisions of that tribunal. He repaired, with but little delay, to the seat of government."

Mr. Wallace had very clear and definite views as to the mode of preparing books of reports. It was a subject that had engaged his reflections, and a subject too upon which he had the light of his own experience to guide him. "Almost the first thing, therefore," he says, "after my reaching Washington, was to seek an interview with each member of the court, in relation to what I deemed a matter necessary to be attended to in the style of reporting, and without an attention to which I apprehend we can never have clean and satisfactory reports. I was able, however, from the lateness of my arrival in Washington prior to the adjournment and separating of the Court, to have less full conferences with the judges on this matter than I could have desired. Eight of the bench, as I understood, including the Chief Justice, as I know, agreed with my views. 'You express exactly my ideas,' said Taney, C. J., 'as to the mode in which the reports should be made. It is the only proper mode. The case, arguments upon it (if the question is a difficult one), and an opinion without a statement, is what should appear in the published report, in whatever form the opinion may have been heard from the bench.' Two judges were of different opinions; their own. Certain of the reports, therefore, are not in as clean a form as others."

Mr. Wallace held the position of reporter for a period of twelve years. The labors of the Court during that time had been vastly increased by the civil war; by the increase of our

population; by the growth of our railway system; by the multiplication of patents; by the extension of our domestic commerce; and by new and grave questions of constitutional law. All the varied cases arising out of these new and original sources, that came before the Court, many of them foreign to the system of law in which he had been educated, were most conscientiously studied by him, and each opinion of the Court was preceded by a carefully prepared statement of the facts, and the law of the case. Make any deductions you please for any faults of style or taste, which a friendly or unfriendly critic may perchance disclose, these twenty-three volumes of Wallace's Reports are nevertheless an invaluable legacy to the profession, and a memorial of the faithfulness and ability of the reporter. They constitute his monument and earthly fame. Monuments, indeed, perish. "There must be a period," says Lord Chief Justice Crewe, "and an end of all temporal things, *Finis rerum*, an end of names and dignities, and whatsoever is *terrene*," but so long as our Federal jurisprudence shall subsist and endure the name of John William Wallace will remain inscribed on the walls of its temples.

He resigned the office of reporter on the 9th of October, 1875.<sup>1</sup> In his letter of resignation, addressed to the Chief

<sup>1</sup> On the 3d of October, 1875, Mr. Wallace informed his publishers, the Messrs. Morrison, of his intended resignation of the office of reporter, in the following letter:—

"MY DEAR MORRISONS:

I shall not come to Washington again. I am tired of such unintermitted labor as my office (much changed in this respect since I took it) now puts upon

Justice, he says: "I do not sever my relations with the Supreme Court, in which my term of labor, if not a long one, is perhaps hardly to be called short, without a measure of feeling. My prayer shall be for the Court; its stability, its harmony, its continuance in wisdom and learning, and for every blessing to all who belong to it." Upon receiving this letter, the Court made this order: "Ordered that the resignation by John William Wallace, Esq., of his office of reporter of the Court be accepted, to take effect upon the

me. I am tired of living half the year in a tavern; away from the society of my wife and child, and from the decencies of home. I am sixty years old, and crave independence from embarrassment by any one in what I see fit to do. It is not without some emotion that I put an end to my relations with the Federal city. I have made some acquaintances there which are among the most agreeable of my life. I have many recollections which, while my memory remains, will be pleasurable. I may say, however, with truth that I shall recall no persons with a more sincere regard than I shall always both of you; that I shall have no more pleasurable recollections than those of the many hours that I have spent where you were. In an intercourse of business running thro' twelve years, and embracing many transactions, there has never, once, been a question between us, nor one thought, I may venture, I am sure, to say for both of us, other than those of confidence and regard, between us. I have ever found you more ready to advance my interests than you seemed to be to advance your own; most obliging in every matter by which my convenience was to be promoted, and in the performance of engagements, prompt, cheerful, and liberal; faithful to the letter, true to the spirit. And all this intercourse has been the pleasantest imaginable; far from restraints and forms of any sort. Tho' we shall see each other no more as we have long done, I still hope not unfrequently to see you. I trust that neither of you will be in this city without letting me know. I shall certainly never be near Washington without coming to see you. Heaven guard, guide, and bless you both and all that concerns or which belongs to you! So prays, dear Morrisons, your affectionate friend,

JOHN WILLIAM WALLACE.

completion and publication of his twenty-second volume of reports. And it is further ordered that when communicating to Mr. Wallace the fact of this acceptance, the Chief Justice be requested to assure him, on behalf of the Court, of their high appreciation as well of his uniform courtesy of demeanor, as of the fidelity with which he has discharged the duties of his office, and also to express to him their best wishes for his future."

The Chief Justice, in communicating this action of the Court to Mr. Wallace,<sup>1</sup> says: "We do all appreciate in the highest degree the uniform courtesy and fidelity with which you have performed the duties of your office during its many years of patient labor, and you have from us, one and all, the best of wishes for your future."

Mr. Wallace was elected a member of this Society, Nov. 24, 1844; one of its Vice-Presidents Feb. 8, 1864; and its President April 13, 1868. From the time he became a member of the Society he evinced a warm interest in its objects, and availed himself of any opportunity that occurred to serve it. When he became its President, though his duties as reporter necessarily withdrew him for several months of each year from the city, and absorbed much of his time, he yet, at whatever cost of personal comfort or convenience, endeavored to be present at all of its important meetings. And notwithstanding the labor which the preparation of his reports imposed on him, both during the sessions of the court, and during the vacations, he yet com-

<sup>1</sup> The letter bears date Oct. 18, 1884.

posed and delivered before the Society a scholarly discourse, commemorative of the virtues and services of that distinguished churchman, the Rev. Benjamin Dorr, D.D.,<sup>1</sup> and a discourse on the inauguration of the new hall of the Society, at 820 Spruce Street; a discourse which recalls the history of the Society, and at the same time is replete with information, illustrating the annals of the city and State.<sup>2</sup> During the same period<sup>3</sup> he gave to the press a historical sketch of the corporation for the relief of the widows and children of clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church, under the title of "A Century of Beneficence, 1769-1869."

When he had resigned, and completed his work as reporter, his leisure was devoted to the affairs of this Society. In addition to MSS. books, and money, which at various times he gave with a liberal hand, the Society owes him much for his own personal labor and efforts to promote its interests. "He assisted personally," says the accomplished librarian of the Society, "in the arrangement of its manuscripts and pamphlets, and generously supplied many works which were needed in its collections. In our meetings he took an especial interest, and made it a point that every gentleman who was invited to address us should, if possible, be met with a full and appreciative audience. His presence as presiding officer upon such occasions could always be counted upon, and the dignity and ease with which he performed that office were sure to leave upon the minds of our guests pleasing and lasting impressions.

<sup>1</sup> Delivered Oct. 27, 1870.

<sup>2</sup> Delivered March 11, 1872.

<sup>3</sup> 1870.

Indeed, few who met him in our hall could fail to be struck with his kindness and attention, and his perfect manners. It was his constant aim to make the Society an institution commensurate with the importance of our State."

And, if it has, in some sort, attained to that proud position; if its material interests are on a safe foundation; if its historical treasures are rich and valuable; if its importance as a collector and preserver of historical memorials is now generally recognized and acknowledged, then, surely, for these large results, without disparagement to the generosity and labors of others, we may justly ascribe liberal praise to the generosity and labors of Mr. Wallace.

The last two years of his life were mainly devoted to the preparation of sketches of Col. William Bradford, the grandson of that William Bradford who, as we have already seen, introduced the art of printing into the Middle Colonies of British America. A limited edition of this work was printed, and only for presentation to his friends. But it is a most valuable memorial of the times in which Col. Bradford lived, and particularly interesting and instructive as to the history of our Revolutionary War. "The papers and manuscripts," says our librarian, "from which these sketches were prepared, he had arranged and bound for the Society in a style which a gentleman who has enjoyed the privilege of examining the manuscripts in the principal libraries of Europe denominated as princely."

In a little more than a month after presenting this volume to the Society, Mr. Wallace died, and was gathered unto his fathers.

And now having sketched the outward and visible labors of Mr. Wallace's laborious career, it remains to me to dwell for a few moments upon his general characteristics and qualities.

A lover of books; books, either in production or study, were the chief part of his life. He had a peculiar fondness for everything that relates not only to the inward grace of letters, but to what he termed their external charm. He had an accurate knowledge of the art, conservative of all the arts, the art of printing. No skilled and practical printer surpassed him in this sort of knowledge. A well-printed page and a well-bound book were a great attraction to him, and gave him a genuine pleasure.

His temperament was somewhat reserved, and he avoided, I think, general and promiscuous associations. But to those who came in close contact with him there was no reserve; and his powers of conversation, and his genial and humorous vein made him a delightful companion. He had enjoyed the acquaintance of many distinguished persons, and he imparted his recollections of men and things he had known and seen with a vivacity and freedom that were charming.

He was generous and charitable. But when he gave, either to public objects or to relieve and to make less onerous the burdens of private life, he did not sound a trumpet before him, nor let his left hand know what his right did. His charity sprang from a sense of duty, and not from any motive of ostentation.

He was a man of very positive likes and dislikes. And this extended as well to peoples and parties as to individuals.

He liked the Latin races, and he disliked the Teutonic races. He liked the Federal party, and he disliked the Democratic party. And although this latter feeling did not prevent or interrupt his friendship for individual Democrats, yet, I suspect, there was always an after-thought in his mind, that these unhappy people had inherited and were tainted with somewhat more of original sin than might otherwise have fallen to their lot.

There are in every country and every community two classes of men: the one looking to the past, and struggling to maintain the institutions, the modes of thought, and the habits of life inherited from the past; the other looking to the future, intent on change, and hoping for progress and improvement. These conflicting classes keep the world, and particularly our modern world, in constant agitation, unrest, and discontent. Open war is, for the most part, averted by the so-called conservatives yielding their hold on some things, and by the so-called liberals sparing for a time other things, although in the end the stream flows on, however temporarily impeded in its course.

Mr. Wallace, from temperament, from association, from his habits of study and habits of life, stood in the ranks of the conservatives. He looked to the past rather than to the future.

Mr. Wallace was a sincere and devoted churchman. Modern speculations about man's evolution from some primal molecule, or some remote oyster, or some lively monkey, were foreign to all his habits of thought, and to all the instincts of his nature. He believed in God the Father



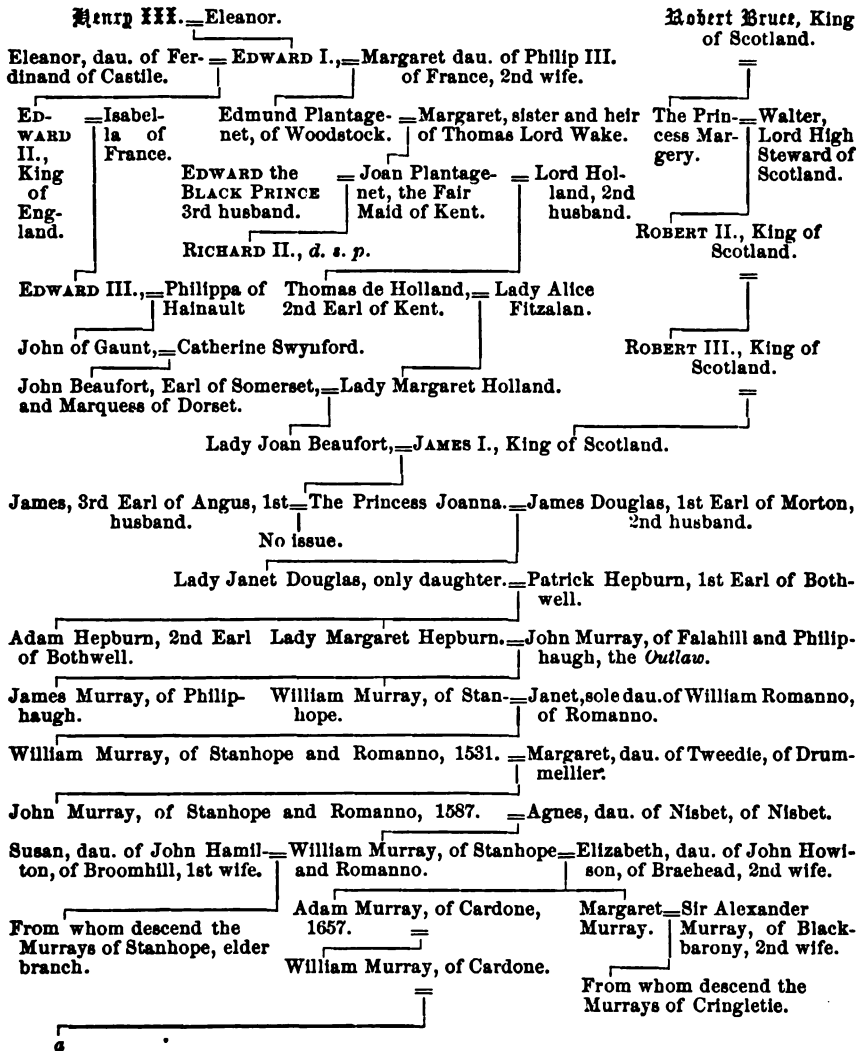
Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible, and in the soul, and in immortality. And he lived and he died in the communion of the Catholic Church, and in the confidence of a certain faith.

The next volume of the Supreme Court Reports that appeared after Mr. Wallace's death very appropriately contained a brief sketch of his life. And it summed up his merits and accomplishments in these words, words which I conceive will be echoed by all those who knew him: "Mr. Wallace possessed a peculiar and charming cultivation; his acquaintance with history, biography, belles-lettres, and art was varied and exact, his conversation most attractive, and his old-time courtly manner, whether to the young or old, brought pleasure to both. Last and best, he was an upright, honored, and honorable man, and in public and private bore himself throughout as became an American gentleman."

APPENDIX.

(Extracted from "Royal Descents," etc. "By Sir Bernard Burke, LL.D., Ulster King of Arms," etc., ed. London, 1864.)

**Wallace, of Philadelphia.**



Christian Murray, \* d. 21 Nov. 1755, aged 79. = Rev. John Wallace, Minister of Drummellier.

John Wallace, of Hope Farm, Somerset County in New Jersey, Esq., b. at Drummelzier 7 Jan. 1718, went to America in 1742. = Mary, sole dau. of the Hon. Joshua Maddox, Esq.

The Hon. Joshua Maddox Wallace, Esq., of Ellerslie and Burlington in Somerset County in New Jersey, b. 4 Oct. 1752, m. 4 Aug. 1778, d. 17 May, 1819. = Tace, dau. of Colonel William Bradford, of the American Army of 1776.

1. Joshua Maddox Wallace, Esq., b. 4 Sept. 1776, d. 7 Jan. 1821, m. in 1805, Rebecca, dau. of William McIlvaine, M.D. = John Bradford Wallace, Esq., of Philadelphia, Burlington, and Meadville, an eminent Barrister, b. 17 Aug. 1778, d. 7 Jan. 1837. = Susan, dau. of Barnabas Binney, M.D., a Surgeon in the American Army of 1776. m. 2 April 1805, d. 8 July, 1849.

1. Joshua Maddox Wallace, b. 13 Jan. 1815, d. 10 Nov. 1851. = Alice Lee, dau. of Wm. Shippen, M.D. Other issue. John William Wallace, Esq., of Philadelphia, only surviving son, b. 17 Feb. 1815. = Horace Binney, b. 27 Feb. 1817. = 1. Susan Bradford, m. 16 June, 1841, Chas. Macalester, and d. 1842. 2. Mary Binney, m. 21 Nov. 1837, John Stms Riddle, and d. in 1852, leaving issue.

1. William McIlbain, b. 28 Aug. 1848. 2. Shippen, b. 26 Feb. 1850. 3. Mary Cox, b. 25 Oct. 1851.

\* Extract from the Register of Marriages in the Parish of Drummelzier, co. Peebles, Scotland:—"Mr. John Wallace, Minister at Drummellier, and Christian Murray, lawful daughter to the deceased William Murray of Cardon."

See also Burke's "Peerage and Baronetage," pp. 720 and 721 (ed. 1854), and Burke's "Visitation of Seats and Arms," p. 31, and Plate XI. (2d Series, ed. 1854).

Notes.—John William Wallace married Dorothea Francis, daughter of George Willing, Esq., of Philadelphia, and had issue Rebecca Blackwell Willing, who married John Thompson Spencer, of Maryland, and has issue Willing Harrison Spencer and Arthur Ruggold Spencer.





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LONDON BRIDGE, BURLINGTON, NEW JERSEY.

By reference to the article entitled "Friends in Burlington," begun in a preceding number of this magazine, it will be seen that the old town of that name was settled by people from two districts of England, viz., London and Yorkshire. Very naturally, those who had been neighbors in their native country, desired to continue that pleasant relation in the new town which they immediately began to lay out on their arrival in the Jerseys in 1677. The settlers from London built together to the west of the main street, which ran directly up from the river, while those from Yorkshire took the land lying on the east of the division line. The memory of their choice is still preserved in the name of York Street.

Burlington at this period was made almost an island—quite so at high water—by a small stream flowing through the low, marshy meadows back of the town, and connecting the Assiscunk Creek with the Delaware. The richness of the alluvial soil, together with the protection from Indian surprises afforded by this comparative isolation, probably weighed with the colonists in their choice of a home. Each party built a bridge over the stream in its section of the new town, and these for many years were known respec-

tively as "London" and "York" bridges. The latter was situated in what is now the extension of Federal Street. There is no authentic record of its construction or appearance. Over it passed the road leading to Amboy and New York, and it remained in service until about 1800, when it was superseded by a solid causeway.

London bridge was a substantial piece of stone masonry, with a wide arch, on the main road to Salem and the southern settlements. The year of its construction is not known, but it was standing in 1700, and was probably built between 1680 and 1690. There is no tradition of any previous structure on the site. In 1856 it was widened some feet to accommodate the increased travel, and then was to all appearances as solid as on the day it was built. In 1867, however, the banks of the Silver Lakes, a series of artificial ponds for milling purposes, about a mile to the southward, covering some two hundred acres, suddenly gave way, owing to long-continued rains, and a sweeping torrent poured down toward the river. The opening of the bridge being quite inadequate to the sudden demand upon it, the foundations were quickly undermined, and a few hours sufficed for its complete destruction.

This old landmark has been replaced by a wooden bridge of no pretension to picturesqueness, but the spot is still known as "London Bridge" to every urchin of the neighborhood who dangles his fishing line in the stream.

A. M. G.

FRIENDS IN BURLINGTON.

BY AMELIA MOTT GUMMERE.

(Continued from Vol. VII, page 376.)

V.

"The very garments of a Quaker seem incapable of receiving a soil; and cleanliness in them to be something more than the absence of its contrary. Every Quakeress is a Lily: and when they come up in bands to their Whitsun conferences, whitening the easterly streets of the Metropolis, from all parts of the United Kingdom, they show like troops of the Shining Ones."—LAMB.

On the quiet evening of almost any summer's day one might have strolled down the main street of Burlington and seen many of these Quaker "Lilies" presiding at the tea-table, which, according to the custom of that early day, was spread on the front piazza, if, indeed, the house boasted porch or stoop, and, wanting that, beneath some shade tree before the door. How must we mourn the death of that ancient, hospitable custom; when the "Lord of the Manor," as well as the most humble householder in town, sat in the open air, chatting with his neighbor, as each sipped his English tea, over which, as yet, no Boston parties had been held. Then they did not slink into dingy, back, north-side dining-rooms, and turn away the beggar from the door; but one could even run across the way at tea-time and exchange a bit of gossip, which only needed the stimulus of the mistress's voice to set it going down the street; and few souls, at that hour at least, could go hungry away from the door. True, there may have been some inconveniences about all this; but we cling with a certain loving reverence and fond indulgence to the manners and customs of our ancestors.

Burlington by this time had changed its aspect, and begun to wear an air of prosperity and comfort. The grassy streets were now broad, well-trodden highways; large mansions of



stone and brick had supplanted the early log huts of a half-century before; and the merchants of the place were sending vessels—those of four hundred tons burden being ample ships in those days—to the West Indies, with which our ancestors at one period drove a lively trade. Owing, of course, to the utter separation of the colony during its early years from all outside interests, there were many intermarriages among the people. Many of these old Burlington families are still on their native ground, though dwindling gradually away with the lapse of time. Among the old family mansions, with which Burlingtonians are familiar, is that built by Daniel Smith (whose name has already appeared in these pages) early in the eighteenth century, at the corner of Broad and High streets, now transformed into a store. The initials of Daniel and his wife Mary are in the gable end of the house [D.<sup>s</sup> M.] with date 1733, which we are told by one of the family is an error, the actual date being much earlier. It is, very likely, a bungling restoration of 1703. The residence of Samuel Jennings at “Green Hill,” three and a half miles out of town, also remains, being now used as a farm-house. His initials are cut on one of the doors. The house of Nathaniel Coleman, silversmith, on High Street, was altered in 1865. The weather-vane, which was then taken down, bore date 1722, and is now in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The house on the corner of High and Union streets, occupied by the late William J. Allinson, is another old building, as the date (1731) on the gable testifies. Just opposite stood (until 1840) the old market-house in the middle of Union Street, built in 1794.

In regard, however, to the meeting in Burlington, we must allow the minutes to tell their own story. No one is now living who can cast any light on the causes or effects of the meeting’s action, beyond what we learn from their statements. There were no very stirring events at this time.

In 6 mo. of 1738 a committee was appointed to “get the meeting-house repaired, and also get the horse-block *repaired with a new one.*”

5<sup>th</sup> of 9 mo. 1739. "A motion being made that a lot of land in this town adjoining the burying-ground, belonging to Simon Smith, is to be sold, therefore this meeting appoints Ebenezer Large, Richard Smith, Sen., and Richard Smith, Junr., to inquire concerning the price, and likewise into this meeting's stock, to see if money can be spared to purchase the same, and report to next meeting."

3 of 10<sup>th</sup> mo. 1739. "The affair relating to the lot of land belonging to Simon Smith being resumed, the friends appointed to treat with Simon's attorney report, that they have treated with him about it, and have brought him to such terms as this meeting approves of, viz. as to the price of £37, and the same three Friends are desired to get it accomplished, and to get a deed made for it, to Richard Smith, Junr., Daul. Smith, Junr., Robert Smith, Joshua Raper, Joshua Barker, and Joseph Burr, in behalf of this Meeting, and the money to be paid out of this meeting's stock."

7 of 2 mo. 1740. "As Richard Smith and Thomas Scatergood were formerly appointed to take care of the meeting-house fences in Burlington, that appointment is now revived, and the said friends are desired to repair the fences as they shall from time to time see occasion, and endeavor to get the new purchased land made level."

This lot is now occupied by the horse-sheds, which are on what was Simon Smith's ground.

2<sup>d</sup> day of y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> mo. 1740. "A minute came from our last Quarterly Meeting to this purpose, that considerable progress is made toward the reparation of the meeting-house that was burned in Burlington, and that there is occasion that money be speedily raised to pay for the material and workmanship in order that the same may be completed."

What had been the cause of the accident we are left to conjecture; it is likely that the one on Broad Street is meant, although the Quarterly Meeting having so much care in the matter points toward the larger one on High Street, owned by that meeting. The close of the next month's transactions is one instance of their adjournment on Fair-day, alluded to before:—

"It being considered that the fair, which is usually a throng, hurrying time, falls out at the time that the next Monthly Meeting should be of course, therefore this Meeting adjourns till the second second day in next month."

5<sup>th</sup> day of 11 mo. 1740. "The Friends appointed to collect the money for the repair of the Meeting-house report, it is not quite finished. The further consideration of the divers things recommended by the Yearly Meeting is still referred, by reason this Meeting is very small and the weather extreme cold."

4<sup>th</sup> day of 3 mo. 1741, "Ebenezer Large offers to repair the Fences belonging to the Meeting's land adjoining the Great Meeting-house in Burlington and to pasture any travelling Friends' Horses there, and to give Twenty Shillings in Money on Consideration that he have the rest of the Pasturage for this Year for his own Creatures, and to have the Fences in repair, which this Meeting agrees to."

On the 5<sup>th</sup> day of 8 mo. 1741, meeting adjourned on account of the fair, which is the last instance of that occurrence on the records.

5<sup>th</sup> day of 2 mo. 1742. "William Petty is appointed to be grave-digger for friend's burying-ground in this city."

In 1744 Friends "impowered the overseers to give liberty for any corps to be interred in [their] burying-ground which they shall think proper."

6 of 4 mo. 1743. "This meeting lets the graveyard to Ebenezer Large for the remainder of the summer for 10 shillings."

2 of 2 mo. 1744. "The friends appointed to have the oversight of the Meeting held in a School-house near Caleb Shreve's for the winter quarter report that it hath been reputably attended."

For a number of years this winter meeting was continued for accommodation of Friends who found it too far to travel to Burlington in inclement weather. This small structure was of logs. This same building is referred to by a recent writer quoting from the journal of Ephraim Tomlinson, who says in an entry:—

"20<sup>th</sup> day of 6 mo. 1771, I was at the marriage of my son-in-law John Gardiner in the log meeting-house hard by Julytown."<sup>1</sup>

4<sup>th</sup> of 12 mo. 1744. "Thomas Wetherill and Daniel Smith are desired to have the care of the Meeting's lot of

<sup>1</sup> Now Juliustown, named from Julius Evans. (Barber and Howe.)

ground lying on Broad St. and to let the same for a term not exceeding seven years in the best manner they can for the advantage of this Meeting.”

2<sup>d</sup> of 10 mo. 1745. “The clerk is desired to Inquire into the Number of Books belonging to this Meeting, viz., George Fox’s Journal, Doctrinal Works, and other books and papers belonging to this or the Quarterly Meeting, receive them into his possession and report to next meeting.”

The meeting for Sufferings in London had printed, in 1745, a “sett of Bookes” (what works does not appear) and the clerk of the Monthly Meeting was directed to secure copies for distribution in Burlington. The minutes from 3<sup>rd</sup> of 1<sup>st</sup> mo. 1745–6, to 7<sup>th</sup> of 5 mo., same year, are wanting.

In 1748 copies of the discipline were delivered to the overseer of each particular meeting, with directions to have them read at the close of some First day meeting, and retain them for use as occasion required. About the same time the “Fellowship” Fire Company gained permission to erect a small house or shed of frame on the Meeting’s premises for the use of their engine. The building was to stand until the ground was required for other purposes, when they agreed to remove it. Tradition says this was on Wood Street, although nothing is positively known.

1 of 8 mo. 1750. “The friends appointed to read that part of the Discipline relating to Horse-racing, at the close of the several particular meetings belonging to this Monthly Meeting, mostly reported the service performed; and it is now ordered that the same friends do, at the close of their several First day meetings previous to our next Monthly Meeting, read the *whole book of Discipline*.”

In 1751 the Yearly Meeting recommended Friends to consider the subject of establishing schools in the country. Burlington Monthly Meeting 1 of 5 mo. 1751, records:—

“The committee to consider that part of the Extracts relating to providing ways & means for the promotion of Schools among Friends reported that pursuant to their appointment most of them met and upon the whole are of opinion that tho’ it is very probable measures may hereafter be fallen upon to effect this good purpose within the verge of

this Meeting, yet Friends are not fully prepared for it at present."

3 of 3 mo. 1753.<sup>1</sup> "The weighty affair of visiting Families having been often recommended by our Yearly Meeting, & some Friends of this meeting moving it here, it was considered of and at length concluded and desired that Josiah Foster, Peter Andrews, Joseph Burr, Sarah Haines, & Margaret Butcher do join in that Service and visit the families of this monthly meeting."

3 of 12, 1753. . . . "Monthly Meeting's Quota to Yearly Meeting £10 .. 12 .. 6. The Books printed at cost of the Yearly Meeting should be distributed among the particular meetings in proportion to the above Quota, viz: suppose 106 Books be distributed.

Burlington	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	34
Mt. Holly	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	27
Mansfield	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	14
Upper Springfield	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	10
[R] Ancocas	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	11
Old Springf'd	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	10 <sup>00</sup>

The time for holding meetings was on First day, at nine in the morning, and at two in the afternoon, as an early minute states. Eight P. M., however, soon became the hour, when the afternoon meeting was dropped. In 1742 women Friends requested the meeting to resume the afternoon gatherings for the summer. The time after this varied from year to year, according to circumstances, but up to the year 1874 there was always a second meeting on First days.<sup>2</sup>

3 mo. 1<sup>st</sup>, 1756. "The Meeting being informed that the Grave-stones now standing in Burlington Burial Ground have given uneasiness to divers Friends, Joshua Raper & Joseph Noble are appointed to examine the Discipline in that respect and bring a copy thereof to next meeting."

<sup>1</sup> The change of style in reckoning time occurred after 2 of 9 mo. 1752, that being the last day of O. S. The following day was numbered 14th instead of 3d, and the legal year began on New Year's day instead of 25 of 3 mo. This must not be forgotten in referring to the minutes.

<sup>2</sup> Kingwood was for many years a part of Burlington Quarterly Meeting. In 1786 it was attached to Shrewsbury. The chief value of the above table is in showing the proportion of members in each place.

<sup>3</sup> In 1765, according to Smith, there were in Burlington County "fifteen places of worship owned by Quakers, two Episcopalian, one Baptist, one Presbyterian."

From the above, and the following, it seems that the gravestones, even though inconspicuous, gave trouble by their presence to some Friends. The subject seems to have received discussion at several monthly meetings. Finally it appears :—

5 mo. 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1756. "The Friends appointed relative to the removal of the grave-stones, reported that they are not yet all removed; they are therefore desired to continue their care. . . . This meeting now appoints a Meeting of Ministers and Elders to be held Quarterly at Burlington every Seventh day immediately before the Monthly Meeting next preceding each Quarterly Meeting; to begin at Two o'clock in the afternoon, agreeable to the advice of the Yearly Meeting."

6 of 11 mo. 1758. "It would be more generally agreeable to Friends of this meeting, if we were obliged to send particular answers to the Queries only once a year, and that to be to the Quarter next preceding the Yearly Meeting, and that then the answers be more explicit & particular than they usually have been. It is now agreed that this minute go up in our report, to be considered at the Quarterly Meeting."<sup>1</sup>

5 of 10, 1761. "Joseph Noble & John Hoskins are desired to get a window put in the little meeting-house in Burlington, and the Treasurer is directed to pay the charge."

1 of 8 mo. 1763. "Our Friend John Woolman being returned from his visit to some religiously disposed Indians up Susquehannah, informed the last meeting that he was treated kindly and had had satisfaction in his visit."<sup>2</sup>

7 of 12 mo. 1767. "A proposal [was made] to reprint the greater part of the works of Wm. Penn, . . . to consist of about 860 pages in folio."

6 of 2 mo. 1769. "Our Friend George Dillwyn having for some time past appeared in Public Testimony in our meetings, and it being now proposed to Recommend his having a gift in the Ministry . . . the meeting recommendeth him accordingly."

<sup>1</sup> First query directed to be read by Yearly Meeting, 1755. "Are all our religious meetings for worship and discipline duly attended? is the hour observed? and are Friends preserved from sleeping or any other indecent behavior, particularly from *chewing tobacco* and *taking snuff*?"

<sup>2</sup> In 1761 at an Indian town named Wehaloosing, two hundred miles above Philadelphia, he had a meeting with the Indians. The visit to Wyoming, etc., in 1763 is noticed at length in the *Journal* of J. Woolman, p. 185.

## VI.

“ O spirit of that early day,  
 So pure and strong and true,  
 Be with us in the narrow way,  
 Our faithful fathers knew !”

WHITTIER.

An Indian conference was held at Burlington, 8 mo. 7th, 1758, in consequence of disturbances among the Mimicsinks and neighboring tribes.

In a second conference held at Easton, Pa., in 10th month of the same year, deeds were obtained by which the Indians, for the sum of £1000, surrendered all claims on lands in New Jersey, with the exception of a small reservation in Burlington County. This they held until 1832, when the Legislature bought the remnant of land for £2000. The citizens of New Jersey have thus reason for gratification that the claims of the original owners of the soil have been settled with justice.<sup>1</sup>

There existed at this time in a flourishing condition a society known as the “New Jersey Association for helping the Indians,” the constitution of which had been drawn up by Samuel Smith in 1757. Persons not Friends were excluded.<sup>2</sup> It did effective service in a field which Friends have always taken as their especial province for philanthropic work in America. Samuel Smith, one of the leading spirits in this enterprise, is well known as the author of his now rare history, from which much information here set forth has been derived. It was printed in 1765. The press of James Parker, King’s Printer, was brought from Wood-

<sup>1</sup> Barber and Howe’s *Historical Collections of New Jersey*.

<sup>2</sup> The names of the original members are as follows : Daniel Smith, Samuel Smith, John Smith, Joshua Raper, Joseph Noble, Edward Cathrall, William Henlings, Elizabeth Smith, Richard Smith, Thomas Wetherill, Wm. Hartshorne, Jonathan Smith, John Hoskins, Hannah Hartshorne, Daniel Smith, Jr., Seamon Rodman, Samuel Rodman, Patience Clews, John Woolman. The tribe, to which the energies of the society were mainly devoted, was that of the Delaware (Lenni Lenape) Indians.

bridge to Burlington for the purpose, and set up in the office formerly belonging to Samuel Jennings on Main Street above Pearl; it was afterward taken back again. The little English-brick building, where the work of publishing was done, was the spot also where the first continental money for the Province of New Jersey was printed. It became later the office of Isaac Collins, who (1770) succeeded J. Parker as King's Printer. It was torn down in 1881. The story of his coming to Burlington is too well known to need repetition. John and Samuel Smith, to whose influence as members of the King's Council Isaac Collins was chiefly indebted for his preference to the above position, were prominent land owners of the town. The former married Hannah Logan, daughter of James Logan, Justice of Pennsylvania and secretary to William Penn. A curious acknowledgment of his has already appeared in a previous chapter. John Smith is also he of whom the story is related that he clapped his night-capped head out of the window and bought Franklin Park, Governor Franklin's country residence, in order to silence the bellman, who, in the early morning hours, disturbed his slumbers by clamorously advertising its sale. No doubt the idea was not a new one to him; but the story is vouched for by several authorities.

It is interesting to remember that the chief means of transportation from Philadelphia to New York was by way of Burlington, through which most of the Friends passed in travelling north and south.

Before 1675 (when the Legislature adopted regulations for the opening of highways) the only road laid out by Europeans in the limits of New Jersey was that used by the Dutch in their communications between New Amsterdam and the Delaware settlements.<sup>1</sup> This road ran from near Elizabethtown Point to the present site of New Brunswick. Forging the Raritan at that point, it continued direct to the Delaware above Trenton, and was known as the "Upper Road," to distinguish it from the "Lower Road," which

<sup>1</sup> Barber and Howe's *Historical Collections of New Jersey*.



branched off about five or six miles from the Raritan, made a sweep to the east, and struck the Delaware at what is now Burlington. So late as 1716, these highways were only passable for horsemen and pedestrians. Innkeepers at several points *en route* are referred to in 1695, and the sum of £10 annually was appropriated to the repair of this main avenue of communication between New Amsterdam and Pennsylvania. This "Lower Road" was the original Indian trail over which George Fox and George Whitehead travelled to the Delaware, crossing from Burlington to Bristol in a small canoe, and swimming their horses after them. All mails were at this time of course carried on horseback. Up to 1782 none were established south of Philadelphia, and for several years afterward Perth Amboy and Burlington were the only post-offices in New Jersey. From 1754 to 1773 Dr. Franklin was postmaster-general. Dismissed by the British government at the Revolution, he was speedily restored by the Continental Congress.

In the year 1707 a "waggion" ran fortnightly between Burlington and Amboy, with a fixed tariff of rates. There was some expression of dissatisfaction, as it was deemed a "monopoly of trade." Lord Cornbury, who had viewed the establishment of such a line with favor, replied to a remonstrance, saying, "The settling of this waggion is so far from being a monopoly, that by this means, and by no other, a Trade has been carried on between Philadelphia, Burlington, Amboy, and New York, which was never known before." In 1751 a boat was advertised to leave "Crooked Billet Wharf" in Philadelphia once a week for Burlington, whence a "stage wagon with a good awning" ran to Amboy, and passengers were "entertained" at the house of Obadiah Ayres. The boat possessed numerous attractions; among them a "commodious cabin, fitted up with a tea-table and sundry other conveniences." They claimed to make the journey through to Amboy in twenty-four or thirty hours less time than by any other line! Later (1765) a second line of stages was set up at Philadelphia, to start twice a week and go in three days at two pence per mile. A Jersey

wagon without springs constituted the charming vehicle in which one traversed the State. Another, rather more expeditious, ran in the following year, with higher rates. These affairs rather facetiously went by the name of "Flying Machines," and certainly may have been regarded as dangerously fast in times anterior to "rapid transit."

It was in this sort of fashion that our worthy Friend, John Woolman, made his journeys from his home near Burlington. At this period he was very actively engaged in the ministry. At twenty-three he was writing in favor of freedom for the blacks. Strictly pure in motive, honest in dealing, lowly and humble in his life, he thought it right to bear testimony against some things in which his friends felt themselves at liberty to indulge; while his integrity, and strict watch over his conversation led some to assert that John Woolman could not tell a lie. There is an anecdote related about him to the effect that two young men, who were in the same house where he was at one time visiting, laid a wager that they would catch John Woolman in a false statement. Both being therefore in the room with him, one of them retired to the outside door, and, immediately on John Woolman's rising to go, the other youth escaped by a back window unperceived. The first met Woolman at the door, and, on his inquiring if his friend were within, "He was," replied the Quaker, "when I was there." He says himself in his *Journal* that he could not, on going to Europe in the ministry with Samuel Emlen, take passage in the cabin of the vessel "Mary and Elizabeth," because of the "imagery and sundry sorts of carved work," and "superfluity of workmanship of several sorts," which he found there, and consequently shipped in the steerage. He would not use the post, because of the hardships at that time undergone in England by the post-boys, and also declined riding in stages in the same country as an evidence of the humility which ought to characterize the Christian. A letter of his exists, written to his friend Elizabeth Smith, in Burlington, relative to the furniture in his house, which he regarded as too gay for a Friend to indulge in. The following quotation is from the original

manuscript. After speaking of his affection toward his "beloved sister," he tells her:—

"Christ of old time taught the people as they were able to bear it, and I believe, my dear friend, there are lessons for thee and me yet to learn. Friends from the country and in the city are often at thy house, and when they behold amongst thy furniture which are not agreeable to the purity of Truth, the minds of some, I believe at times, are in danger of being diverted from so close an attention to the light of life as is necessary for us.

I believe, my dear friend, the Lord hath weaned thy mind in a great measure from all these things, and when I signed thy certificate, expressing thee to be exemplary, I had regard to the state of thy mind as it appeared to me; but many times since I signed it I felt a desire to open to thee a reserve which I then, and since, have often felt, as to the exemplariness of those things among thy furniture which are against the purity of our principles.

I trust the Great Friend and Helper is near thee, in whose love I remain thy Friend,

28<sup>th</sup> da. 4<sup>th</sup> mo. 1772.

JOHN WOOLMAN."

E. Smith, to whom the above was addressed, was a sister of Samuel Smith, the historian. She was an intimate friend of John Woolman and of Rebecca Jones, and died in Burlington the year in which the above was written, aged 48. The certificate (on parchment) referred to by Woolman is still carefully preserved, also a copy of the discipline transcribed for her and presented by her nephew, Joseph Smith, with a letter in which he speaks warmly of his attachment to Friends. Rebecca Jones lived in Philadelphia (No. 8 Drinker's Alley), and the following is related in her *Memoirs*, by William J. Allinson:—

"On the night succeeding the Select Quarterly Meeting day in the 2<sup>d</sup> mo., probably about the year 1762, a great fall of snow occurred, which was next morning piled by an eddy half way up the door and window of our friends in Drinker's Alley, who were apprehensive that they might not be able to make their way through the snow-drifts to Quarterly Meeting. R. Jones opened the door to sweep the snow from the step, and found to his surprise the pavement cleared, and a path made down the alley to Front Street. Whilst she

was preparing the morning repast, John Woolman entered, saying he thought he had earned his breakfast. Having spent the previous night at Reuben Haines's, he had risen early, and remembering the two lone sisters [Rebecca and Mary Jones] in their need, and ever ready for an appropriate labor of love, however humble, he took with him from his lodgings a snow-shovel, proceeded (wading through the deep snow from Second St. down) and cleared a path from R. Jones's to the Bank Meeting in Front St. near Mulberry. After breakfast he made a passage to Second St. for the benefit of [her] scholars."

Burlington Monthly Meeting, on his death, which occurred 1772, issued a testimony "the first day of the 8<sup>th</sup> month in the year of our Lord 1774 concerning our esteemed Friend John Woolman." It is too long for insertion, and has been published elsewhere.

The meeting at Burlington, about this date, knew the faces of Samuel Emlen, Sr.; George and Sarah Dillwyn, her sister Margaret, who married William Morris, and another sister, Milcah Martha Moore, wife of Dr. Moore; James Allinson, who married the niece of Rebecca Jones (Bernice Chatton); Samuel Smith and his various relatives, among them the popular sister Elizabeth, before named. One of the Smith family, Richard, earned the *sobriquet* of "Buttercap Dick" in consequence of having, during an early morning stroll, found some unusually fine butter at market, which, in default of a basket, he carried home in his freshly starched muslin cap! Those were the days of wigs and skirt coats, and gentlemen of the period usually breakfasted in cap and wrapper, making their full toilet later. Thus R. Smith's "constitutional" gave him an opportunity for carrying his butter, which is not quite so bad as it may at first sound.

We find here just now the names also of John Hoskins and of John Cox, intimate friends during their lives, and both prominent ministers. The latter married Ann, daughter of William Dillwyn, a brother of George, and lived at "Oxmead," near Greenhill, the home formerly of Samuel Jennings. Samuel Emlen, Junior, afterward married Susanna Dillwyn, another niece of George Dillwyn. There was no

lack of Friends in the ministry, and the meeting had probably reached its most prosperous time with respect to numbers and vitality. Frequent visits, on religious errands, to England and the continent made a break in their quiet existence; but they lived for the most part in an atmosphere of social ease and comfort, which was, however, very soon to be rudely disturbed by the exciting scenes of the Revolution. This, together with the building of the new meeting-house, when the hexagonal one grew too small, we leave for another chapter.

(To be continued.)

THE HISTORY OF THE COLONY OF NEW SWEDEN.

BY CARL K. S. SPRINCHORN.

TRANSLATED BY PROFESSOR GREGORY B. EREN.

(Continued from Vol. VII, page 419.)

In the year 1644 occurred two events very disastrous to the development of the settlement, viz., the ascension of Queen Christina upon the throne of Sweden, productive of great changes in the entire system of the government, and the death of Fleming, a special and great misfortune to the colony. The consequent neglect of New Sweden for years at a time could not but contribute to its decay and final ruin. From June, 1644, till October, 1646, nothing was heard from the mother country (letters not even reaching the colony by way of Holland), a circumstance necessarily most discouraging to the inhabitants. Not the less zealously did Printz promote the enterprise, however, endeavouring particularly to restrain the Dutch from the lucrative beaver trade with the Indians west of the river. We have already seen how by the erection of Nya Korsholm he secured the mouth of the Schuylkill; he also considered it necessary to guard the route of traffic still farther to the interior. To this intent he caused to be built some distance inland a strong block-house, "capable of defence against the savages by four or five men, well supplied with powder and shot."<sup>1</sup> The place received the name of *Wasa*, and several "freemen" settled there. A quarter of a mile beyond, in the same "path of the Minquas," was constructed a similar house where other peasants also settled. This spot was called *Möln dal*,<sup>2</sup> because, says Printz, "I had a water-mill erected there, running without intermission, to

<sup>1</sup> Printz's Report of 1647.

<sup>2</sup> Called by the Indians *Kakarikonk*; it was near the present Cobb's Creek, a branch of Darby Creek. On this point see further Ferris, *op. cit.*, p. 73, and *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, xii. pp. 29-30, 369.

the great advantage of the country." It was the first within the limits of Pennsylvania. The Governor designed to furnish these posts with stores of merchandise for barter with the Indians, to prevent the latter from carrying their goods to the rival Hollanders. Further improvements were also made at the old places, Christina, Elfsborg, and Korsholm.

On the 25th of November, 1645, a grievous calamity befell the colony in the burning of Fort New Gottenburg, set fire to by a gunner, whether intentionally or not, all but the farm-yard being destroyed in one short hour. The people escaped in a destitute state, but, a long and sharp frost following, rendering communication with the mainland difficult or impossible, both they and the Governor were compelled to pass several severe months on the island, where they remained until the following March. The Company's goods, consumed by the fire, were valued at 4000 *riksdaler*. Notwithstanding this, on the 4th of September, of the following year, the first Swedish church was consecrated by Campanius on the same spot, and since, also, Printz afterwards had his dwelling there, it seems likely that the place was entirely rebuilt.<sup>1</sup>

In the year 1646 occurred the first outbreak of the jealousy, which certainly existed from the beginning, between the Swedes and Dutch, but, both sides feigning friendship, heretofore had been concealed, especially during the need of combined action against the English. In the summer of this year a vessel came from Manhattan, chartered by private individuals, to trade with the Minquas on the Schuylkill. On her arrival at that station the captain was immediately notified by the Swedish inhabitants to leave the place, as belonging to their government. Andreas Hudde, the new commandant at Fort Nassau (whose reports<sup>2</sup> to the Governor at Manhattan furnish much material for the history of the colony), appeared, in person, to answer this claim, affirming the spot to have been an old trading-post of the Hollanders.

<sup>1</sup> The foregoing follows Printz's Report of 1647.

<sup>2</sup> What follows, concerning the differences between the Dutch and the Swedes, is drawn from Hudde's Report, dated Nov. 7, 1648, in *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, xii. pp. 28 *et seq.*, a document cited also by Hazard and Ferris.

The Swedish Governor first despatched the preacher Johan Campanius, and afterwards Commissary Henrik Huyghen, with Secretary Carl Johansson and Officer Gregory van Dyck, bearing a letter to Hudde comprising a complaint against the attempt of the Dutch, and accusing them of seducing the savages, and being the first to use force, as well as asserting the more ancient rights of the Swedes—to all of which Hudde replied orally, with great temperateness of speech. Hereupon Printz sent a note to the captain of the vessel, requiring him to quit the place at the risk of the confiscation of his cargo, in accordance with Her Royal Majesty's commands—an injunction which he obeyed without delay. About the same time Hudde desired to execute his Governor's commission to proceed northwards to Trenton Falls in search of minerals, but was prevented by the Indians, who had been informed by Printz that the Dutch designed building a fort to hinder their journeys on the river, and that a larger force was on their way thither to destroy them. All the endeavours of Hudde to fulfil his orders failed. The peculiar apple of discord was, however, the Schuylkill. In September, 1646, Hudde was instructed to buy of the Indians a piece of land on the western side of the Delaware, about a Dutch mile north of Fort Nassau. At the close of the month he completed this purchase, and, accompanied by the Indian grantors, erected the arms of the Dutch West India Company on the boundaries of the tract, in token of having taken possession. It was in all probability part of the region now included in the city of Philadelphia. Certain Dutch colonists soon prepared to settle on it.<sup>1</sup>

Printz indited a flaming protest (September, 1646) against Hudde's enterprise, in which he charged the latter with a want of respect for Her Royal Majesty, the Queen of Sweden, warned him of the consequences of his action, and denied the right of the Dutch to the territory bought, as having been already purchased by the Swedes. He prohibited his

<sup>1</sup> Acrelius, *op. cit.*, p. 49, states that this was done at Sanchikan, but all that follows proves this was not so.



people from having any intercourse with the Hollanders, and despatched Huyghen to the spot, where he demolished the arms which Hudde had set up, exclaiming, "were they those of the Prince of Orange, even, he would trample them under his feet." Opposition, doubtless, was offered, and he proceeded to violence. Hudde sought to justify himself, as well as he could, by a written protest, which was brought to Printz by two messengers, who were treated, however, by the Governor with much disdain. One of them, who, after long waiting, requested an answer, ran away on Printz's taking a gun from the wall. This completed the rupture between the Swedes and Dutch, and all subsequent proceedings were calculated to augment the difference, till the two nations came, at last, to open war.

We intermit our account of these matters to state that, on the first of October, 1646, the sixth expedition reached the colony from Sweden, on the ship *Gyllene Hajen* (the Golden Shark). The voyage had occupied four months, the vessel losing her sails, topmasts, and other articles, and the crew, almost to a man, being sick. The cargo consisted of various goods intended for barter with the Indians, for the most part bought in Holland, including iron implements, cloth, and the like. Not until December was the ship quite put to rights, and the crew sufficiently recovered to prepare for their return. Their departure was delayed still longer by reason of the winter ice, but on the 20th of February, 1647, the vessel sailed with a large cargo of 24,177 pounds of tobacco, only 6920 pounds of which were raised by the colony, the remainder being bought elsewhere. Printz sent out by her his third report "to the Most Honourable West India Company," which he dated the day she left.

Printz now found himself in a condition to revive his commercial relations with the Indians, which had languished to such a degree that the Dutch threatened to absorb the beaver trade. He sent Huyghen and van Dyck, with eight soldiers, fifty miles into the interior, among the Minquas, with presents of all kinds, seeking, by promises of better offers than the Hollanders were willing to make, to obtain assurance that

they would traffic with the Swedes. To complete our account of the relations of these rival colonists (heretofore drawn from Dutch sources), we give the following extract on the same subject from Governor Printz's Report just mentioned:—

“It is of the utmost necessity for us to drive the Dutch from the river for they oppose us on every side. (1) They destroy our trade everywhere. (2) They strengthen the savages with guns, shot, and powder, publicly trading with these against the edict of all Christians. (3) They stir up the savages against us, who, but for our prudence, would already have gone too far. (4) They begin to buy land from the savages within our boundaries, which we had purchased already eight years ago, and have the impudence in several places to erect the arms of the West India Company, calling them their arms; moreover, they give New Sweden the name of New Netherland, and dare to build their houses there, as can be learned from the Dutch Governor's letter, here annexed, and by my answer to it; in short, they appropriate to themselves alone every right, hoist high their own flags, and would surely not pay the least attention to Her Majesty's flags and forts, were they not reminded by cannon shot. They must be driven from the river, either by mutual agreement or other means; otherwise they will disturb our whole work. The better to accomplish their intention, some of the Hollanders have entirely quitted the Christians, resorting to the Minquas, behaving with much more unseemliness than the savages themselves. I have written several times to their Governor about all these improprieties, and also caused their arms to be cut down, but it did not make any difference: they see very well that we have a weak settlement; and, with no earnestness on our side, their malice against us increases more and more.”

Notwithstanding this *embrouillement* of their officers, it seems that the colonists, who numbered one hundred and eighty-three souls, were, generally, in good circumstances, being successfully engaged in agriculture or trade. Concerning the latter writes Printz, “the gain we have derived from foreign cargoes, besides our own, which the commissary's account exhibits, I estimate at about 10,000 florins.” The cattle brought out from Europe had multiplied, their offspring being given to the freemen, and more had been purchased in Virginia. Attempts had even been made at

shipbuilding, notwithstanding lack of skilled mechanics. The Governor earnestly requested that more people might be sent over, particularly artisans and soldiers, "and, above all, unmarried women, as wives for the unmarried freemen and the rest." They were at peace with the Indians, although just now their trade with these suffered in consequence of war among the natives.

From Printz's Report we learn further that certain officers of the Company desired to return home from the colony, among whom was the preacher Johan Campanius, who left the country the following year. The Governor, also, who had received his appointment four years before, wished to quit the Delaware at the same time. He had constituted Johan Papegoja his assistant, who came out with him in 1643, and had since married his daughter. He sent his son-in-law on this voyage to Sweden to make an oral report on the colony, and to execute various commissions for private individuals. With regard to the homeward voyage of the vessel we possess no information.

About this time greater interest appears to have been taken in the colony. Possibly in consequence of Printz's Report and Papegoja's conversations, on the 25th of September, 1647, the seventh expedition set sail from Gottenburg, on the ship *Svanen*, Captain Steffen Willemsen, carrying emigrants and a valuable cargo. Among the former were two Lutheran clergymen, Lars Carlsson Looek (Laurentius Lockenius) and Israel Fluviander,<sup>1</sup> Printz's sister's son, with Johan Papegoja. The Governor also received a letter from the Government, expressing satisfaction with the zeal and ability with which he had fulfilled his duties, and promising to have him in remembrance.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This may possibly have been the same person as the one set down as "Herr Israel" (Holgh) in Printz's list of 1644 (Odhner, *op. cit.*, p. 39), and mentioned by Acrelius as having come out later. A "Catalogue of the Swedish Missionaries in Pennsylvania," in the Royal Library, states that after his return home he became pastor of the parish of Od in Vesterögöland, but we do not find his name in the church books of that place.

<sup>2</sup> Hazard, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

We have described the state of the individual colonists. Whether, on the other hand, the West India Company derived any profit, during these years, from their colonization scheme does not appear from accessible records, but seems hardly probable. The beaver and tobacco trades were their peculiar sources of revenue. For a profitable exercise of the former, however, the Company did not keep enough goods at their trading-posts in America, and the numerous occasions, on which the Crown came to the assistance of the latter by means of laws and indulgences, indicate that the Company was not making money. The tobacco monopoly was the subject of perpetual regulations. The royal statutes of the 20th of April, 1643, the 31st of January, 1644, and the 18th of January, 1645, comprise more rigorous determinations against those who import tobacco without sanction of the Company; the enactment of June 17, 1647, decrees further penalties of fines and confiscation, and punishes "*arbitraliter*" repeated violations of the tobacco law. All prohibitions failing of effect, the tobacco trade was enfranchised by a royal letter dated October 25, 1649.<sup>1</sup>

According to the statute of August 31, 1642, 2620 *riksdaler* of the future tobacco excise was to be conceded by the Crown for the support of the colony of New Sweden; but, since this revenue never amounted to that sum, the Government issued a decree, January 20, 1648, conferring on the South Company,

<sup>1</sup> Stjernman, *op. cit.*, ii., *in plur. loc.* Concerning the last order a statement, possibly worthy of citation, occurs in a letter from the Directors of the Dutch West India Company to Director Stuyvesant in New Amsterdam, dated Jan. 27, 1649 (N. S.): "Under cover of this privilege [the monopoly], some great persons have hidden themselves, as the report goes, especially His Excellency the Chancellor of the Kingdom and some body else residing in this country on behalf of the Crown, whose name we suppress for reasons [supposed to be Appelbom]. In the expectation of great profits these good gentlemen have taken up some swindlers, who, contrary to their good intentions, do not endeavour to cultivate, but buy the produce in the English Virginias, and bring it to Sweden under the name of their own harvest; but, when this swindle was discovered, . . . they were deserted by their principals, and the Crown is said to have resolved upon a withdrawal of these privileges." *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, xii. p. 47. (Not Appelbom, but Spiring is meant, says Prof. Odhner.—TRANS.)

for the budget of New Sweden, the right to receive from the Crown the third part of the Crown's income from all confiscated tobacco, and of fines for infringement of the tobacco laws both before and after that date; and, since the previously promised part of the tobacco excise had been appropriated to other uses, the Crown was to compensate the Company for money advanced, also paying the deficit that might occur, in case the last conceded profits were insufficient. Finally, it was accorded that goods imported from Holland to Gottenburg, to be sent afterwards to New Sweden, should be free of duty, as well as the tobacco and skins which came from the colony.<sup>1</sup>

On the 16th of May, 1648, the ship *Svanen* set out again from the colony, and after a wonderfully short voyage of thirty days arrived at Helsingör,<sup>2</sup> and on the 3d of July at Stockholm. Papegoja wrote by the vessel to the chancellor,<sup>3</sup> praying to be remembered with a position in Sweden, "since there were few people in New Sweden with whom to effect any service or profit for His Right Honourable Lordship and the Honourable Company, or to defend the land against either savages or Christians, who harmed the Swedes in every way."

This complaint is evidently directed against the Hollanders, who now began to gain the upper hand in the contest with the Swedes. The summer of 1647 was the turning point in their mutual relations. The Dutch Governor Kieft, who exhibited more than commendable forbearance in his comportment towards his rivals (although, on the contrary, by bloody deeds of violence he incensed the Indians against his nation), was now superseded<sup>4</sup> by Peter Stuyvesant, who entered upon the duties of his office in May of that year. The latter was an old warrior, and a man of education, and from his arrival dates the ascendancy of the Hollanders on the Delaware. At the outset he declared his purpose to regard as Dutch terri-

<sup>1</sup> The order is printed by Acrelius, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> According to a letter to Beyer, dated June 30, 1648.

<sup>3</sup> May 15, 1648. The letter is in the Archives of the Kingdom.

<sup>4</sup> On his homeward voyage to Europe he suffered shipwreck, and was drowned off the coast of England.

tory all land, rivers, and streams between Cape Henlopen and Cape Cod, which embraced, of course, the colony of New Sweden.<sup>2</sup> The Swedish Governor, meanwhile, persisted in his entirely too haughty behaviour towards the Dutch, and, if we are to credit the reports of Commandant Hudde (already mentioned), impeded or quite prevented their navigation of the river, and treated the agents of the Holland Company with disrespect and arrogance. Thus we see the governments in America making the same complaints of one another, and denying each other's rights, in their reports to the authorities, and, when the means was wanting to secure their privileges, indulging in threats and accusations. So, when the Dutch settlers and captains narrated their wrongs to their new governor, Stuyvesant employed the usual expedient of sending a protest to Governor Printz (August, 1647), to which the latter made similar reply the following December. Next year only increased the discord. During the winter Printz collected great quantities of timber at Passajung, on the northern side of the mouth of the Schuylkill, evidently with the design of erecting a structure, still further to restrain the Hollanders from the free use of the river, which was already rendered difficult by Fort Korsholm. On learning this, Hudde hastened (in April) to buy the right to the land from two Indian chiefs, and, summoning the Swedes to quit the place, set up the arms of the Prince of Orange, with a salute, and began to build in the interest of the Dutch. The same day Henrik Huyghen presented himself with protests, which effected nothing, while the Swedes, on the other hand, were upbraided with unlawful usurpation of the land. Hudde continued to construct his house, surrounding it with palisades. Soon after, however, Måns Kling, the commander at Korsholm, appeared, with twenty-five men, armed with loaded guns and axes; and, Hudde disregarding their demand to give over his undertaking, Kling ordered his men to cut down all the trees nearest the building. On news of this, two members of the Chief Council at New Amsterdam re-

<sup>2</sup> Hazard, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

paired to the Delaware late in May, and, obtaining from the Indians confirmation of the Dutch purchase of the Schuylkill in 1633, sailed, with their suite, to Tennakong.

Only after waiting half an hour in the rain, were they admitted to Printz's presence, when they delivered to the Governor a solemn protest against his unlawful acts on the Schuylkill, to which he promised he would reply before they departed for Manhattan. Meanwhile the scenes on the river were repeated; and, at the first news of any attempt of the Dutch to build, Printz sent out men, who threw down or burned whatever was erected. During the absence of Hudde from Fort Nassau, in September, 1648, Printz likewise began the construction of a house on the Schuylkill some yards from the old Fort Beversrede, almost entirely concealed from the river. When Hudde returned, he entered his protest, as usual, against this action, but since he had not force enough to defend his rights, the Swedish Governor continued his endeavour to obtain sole mastery of this region, the importance of which has been already indicated.<sup>1</sup>

The dispute remained in the same situation the following year. Stuyvesant lacked means for a more serious interference, and, fearing an attack from the English north of the Delaware, desired to maintain the Swedes as allies for common self-protection; he constantly prescribed, therefore, to Hudde merely to endeavour to keep firm foothold by the side of his rivals on the river.<sup>2</sup> In the beginning of the year a Dutchman, named Thomas Broen, presented himself to Printz, requesting his aid and leave to build a house at a place below Fort Nassau called Mantaes Hoeck,<sup>3</sup> having previously obtained permission to do so from Stuyvesant. Printz promised this, with the proviso that Broen should acknowledge his jurisdiction. And the Governor, meanwhile suspecting that the Dutch Company might improve the opportunity to enter upon that tract, hastened to buy of the Indians the

<sup>1</sup> Hudde's "Report" in *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*

<sup>2</sup> *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, xii. pp. 56-62.

<sup>3</sup> On the present Mantua Creek in New Jersey.

land from the above-named place to Narraticons or Raccoon Kil,<sup>1</sup> which flows a little further south, and constituted the northern boundary of the Swedes' purchase under Peter Hollender. On the confines of this region he erected the arms of the Swedish queen.<sup>2</sup>

Since Printz was endeavouring to acquire possession of the rest of the territory on the eastern side of the river in the same manner, Hudde, lacking means to buy it himself, and not waiting to receive this from his government, devised another expedient for securing land for the Holland Company, that they might not be entirely shut out from the river. Above all, he desired a route for traffic between Manhattan and the region of the beaver-trade, which, just now, was remarkably brisk, as many as 30,000 or 40,000 skins having been bought during the season, namely, from April or May till autumn. He agreed with certain Dutch freemen that they should purchase the land on both sides of the river north of Fort Nassau, and afterwards sell it for the original consideration to the Company.<sup>3</sup> Printz continued to inflict all manner of damage on the Dutch upon the Schuylkill, as formerly, a topic to which we shall recur hereafter.

Returning to the mother country, we find preparations were making for sending out an expedition this year, that promised to furnish the colony abundant means of stability and self-defence, but had quite a different ending. Since its history has never been related before, we beg leave to give a more detailed account of its sad fate, drawn from documents in the Royal Archives of Sweden.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The present Raccoon Creek in New Jersey.

<sup>2</sup> *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, xii. p. 370. Acrelius erroneously gives the date as 1646. Singularly enough we have not been able to find any notice of this purchase in Swedish documents.

<sup>3</sup> *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, xii. pp. 370-372.

<sup>4</sup> *Acrelius, op. cit.*, p. 16, and after him other authors state, that "during Printz's administration vessels came to New Sweden on three several voyages: first, *Svarta Kattan* (the Black Cat) with ammunition and merchandise; next, the ship *Svanen*; and, finally, the two ships *Nyckeln* and *Lambet* (the Lamp)." From what precedes and follows, it appears this statement is partly incomplete and partly incorrect.



On the 24th of March, 1649, Queen Christina issued orders to the College of the Admiralty to "make ready and equip" the ship *Kalmar Nyckel*, then lying at Gottenburg, consigned to the West India Company for the removal of "the cargo, which the Company had stored there." She was to be supplied with the necessary crew, and twenty pieces of cannon, and furnished with provisions for ten months, deducting the amount which the Company might claim from the Admiralty, and was to start upon her voyage as soon as possible. Finding she could not be prepared in time, the College of the Admiralty ordered, April 13, the equipment of another vessel called *Kattan* (the Cat), on which embarked the eighth expedition to New Sweden. The cargo consisted principally of materials of war and implements of every sort, from the inventory of which we may cite "two six-pounder brass cannon, two three pounder, twelve six-pounder, and two four-pounder iron cannon, powder, lead, grenades, muskets, pistols," etc., besides rope and tackle, and everything needed for the outfit of a ship, with a considerable supply of food. Commandant Hans Amundsson was appointed head of the expedition, and Cornelius Lucifer captain of the vessel. The former was accompanied by his family. Among the emigrants (who numbered seventy persons), we may name, particularly, the preacher Matthias Nertunius (Rosenbechius?) and the book-keeper Joachim Lycke; some criminals, also, appear to have been included.<sup>1</sup> Seeing that no fewer than three hundred Finns applied to the government this year for permission to go to New Sweden,<sup>2</sup> there was probably no lack of colonists on this occasion.

After a long delay at Gottenburg, the ship set sail on the 3d of July. At first the voyage was prosperous, and on the 20th of August she touched at the island of Antigua in the West Indies to take in water. Not obtaining enough here, she steered next day to St. Christopher's, where the emigrants

<sup>1</sup> A list of the emigrants is given in the *Notes* to this number of the *MAGAZINE*.—TRANS.

<sup>2</sup> Carlson, *Sveriges Historia under Konungarne af Pfalziska Huset*, i. p. 260.

were received with great kindness by the Governor, and supplied with water and provisions. She procured salt at the island of St. Martin, and the following day coasted about some others in that unfamiliar sea, the captain, "*ex mala præsuntione,*" says the narrator, "*ac incredibili obstinacia,*" bearing full sail, in spite of admonitions of the Commandant and other companions to lie to. Early on the morning of the 26th she struck a rock, two miles from an island fourteen miles distant from Porto Rico; but, after she had been lightened of ballast, water, etc., she was brought to shore, fortunately, without loss of life. The victuals and a great part of the stores of the ship were carried to the beach, and, after some repairs, she was ready to continue her journey. The shipwrecked mariners, needing water, besought assistance of the inhabitants, who happened to be Spaniards, and who sent them water, indeed, but, observing their desperate situation, plundered them of what they had carried ashore, and took them on boats, as prisoners, to Porto Rico, where Amundsson, who meanwhile had recovered his sword, was brought before the Governor, Don Fernando de la Riva. The latter, after questioning him as to his intentions, from whence he came, and whither he was going, made excuses for the violence towards his company, saying, this would not have occurred, had he been present. Amundsson considered they would have to answer for behaving as they had to friendly strangers. In the mean time the emigrants were liberated, and permitted to leave the place as they found opportunity; but, being robbed of their ship and private property, they had to work to support themselves, or beg for sustenance. The Commandant was furnished by the Governor with a small monthly allowance to maintain himself and family.

Amundsson communicated these facts to his superiors in Sweden;<sup>1</sup> but, some time necessarily elapsing before the news

<sup>1</sup> The foregoing statements are drawn from a letter from Amundsson to the College of the Admiralty, dated November 24, 1649, in the Naval Archives, and another from the same to the Chancellor of the Kingdom, dated November 22, among documents relating to New Sweden in the Archives of the Kingdom.

could be received and aid arrive, his company were grievously afflicted. Being forbidden to celebrate their form of religious worship, many through sickness and necessity, others by promises and force, and some through matrimonial alliances were converted to the Catholic faith, by which means their lot was somewhat improved. The Governor himself procured the baptism of one of the Swedish women, and took her to live with him. Soon after he left the island. Others of the shipwrecked people eagerly sought means to get away, and especially the crew of *Kattan*, who time and again appealed to La Riva to send them home. Lest their arrival in Sweden, in their forlorn plight, might discredit the colonial enterprise of the West India Company, the Swedish Commandant persuaded them to despatch Joachim Lycke (who was accompanied by the preacher Nertunius), and wait a year for orders or assistance. This they agreed to, therefore, but, the year expiring without news, many finally left the island, one by one, getting home in various ways.<sup>1</sup>

Many, however, remained behind. Presently arrived a new Spanish governor for Porto Rico, Don Diego de la Vera, who, not hearing of any Swedish ship destined to remove the strangers, whom he either would not or could not maintain or help, especially without orders on the subject from his government, determined that all should leave the island. In expectation of this the Swedes assembled to sail with a General Francisco Visante. Nevertheless, directly contrary to promise and agreement, only Amundsson and his family were permitted to accompany the officer. The former besought that he might stay upon the island, if his people might not go with him, but was compelled, by menaces, to remain upon the ship. His children were forcibly detained by the people left upon the beach, and had to be seized by

<sup>1</sup> Among these were two noblemen ("*adelsbussar*") in the service of the Admiralty, Johan Lindeberg and Daniel Larsson, who reached Gottenburg again, in destitute plight, in July, 1650. (Letters to the Admiralty, dated Porto Rico, November 30, 1649, and Gottenburg, July, 1650, in the Naval Archives.) In April, 1652, arrived two of *Kattan's* crew. (Letter from Admiral Thiessen Anckarhjelm, in the Archives of the Kingdom.)

Spanish soldiers and conveyed on board the vessel, which afterwards (probably April 18, 1651) set sail for Spain, where they arrived the following July. From Cadiz Amundsson wrote a letter to the Swedish agent at Amsterdam, Peter Trotzig, to be forwarded to Sweden, but this communication never reached its destination. Notwithstanding, he succeeded in getting to that city, in a destitute condition, and, procuring the needful documents, wrote to the Swedish Ambassador, Matthias Palbitzky, at Madrid, desiring him to speak to the Spanish government, and obtain help for the distressed Swedes at Porto Rico.

After the departure of Amundsson<sup>1</sup> his people petitioned the Governor for aid to leave the island, and were told they could purchase a little "bark," that came there a few days before, and was taken as a prize. This they did, then, and, La Vera furnishing them with provisions, quitted Porto Rico, May 1, 1651, numbering no more than eighteen souls. Their design was to get to New Sweden, if possible, but the very next day, off Santa Cruz (St. Croix), they were captured by a frigate, which compelled them to accompany her to that island, then in the possession of France. The Governor met them with some soldiers on the beach,<sup>2</sup> and, immediately taking them into custody, robbed them of their money and what other valuables he could discover. The women having sewed some of these in their clothes, the Governor, by some means, finding this out, on their refusal to give them up, "had them taken one by one, and, screwing their fingers with pistol-locks until the nails came off," forced them to yield what was concealed, and even went further with his tortures in the hope of getting more.<sup>3</sup> The rest were heavily laden with iron fet-

<sup>1</sup> What follows is derived from a letter from Johan Jonsson Ruth to the Chancellor of the Kingdom, among documents relating to New Sweden in the Archives of the Kingdom.

<sup>2</sup> Ruth's letter states concerning this: "When we came to land, the Governor and his soldiers met us on the beach, shouting and screaming, saying, 'Women are needed in this country for our men in the fort,'" &c.

<sup>3</sup> Ruth's letter says: "He called a soldier and ordered him to take an iron plate and lay it on the fire . . . and, when it was red hot, had the soldiers

ters and ill-treated, and two of them were killed in a most horrible manner. Finally, they were distributed in various quarters of the island, to work, being prohibited to have intercourse with one another under penalty of death. In the course of a few weeks nearly all succumbed to misery and disease. Meanwhile, a Dutch captain, who was sailing in these waters, happened to hear of their misfortunes, and contrived to send a boat from St. Christopher's, to bring the wretched people away. At that time there were only five alive, the mate, Johan Jonsson Ruth, two women, and two children, of whom all but the first named person died, either on the voyage or immediately after their arrival at that island. Ruth, the sole survivor, was brought by the captain spoken of to Holland, where he found opportunity to send a letter to Sweden, reciting the events we have narrated.

This expedition, therefore, accomplished nothing for the Swedish colony, and the report of its ill fate, which reached the settlers in the summer of 1650,<sup>1</sup> could not but have depressed their spirits, and increased the difficulty of Governor Printz's situation. Nevertheless, the colonists were able to congratulate themselves on having raised an unusually good crop this year, and the freemen even had grain to sell. Not having heard from home for two years past, the Governor sent the commandant at Elfsborg, Sven Schute, to Sweden, to make "a good and satisfactory report," and for his own part sought "release" from his residence in the colony.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile Printz continued, as formerly, to check the Dutch, as far as possible, in their encroachments on the Delaware, and repeated the old scenes upon the Schuylkill. We may almost certainly affirm that by this conduct he hazarded the existence, and, perhaps, is responsible for the final overthrow

to seize one woman after another and set them on it, crying and screaming, with bare feet, until their skin was all burnt off, the Governor, meanwhile, with the rest of his Frenchmen going around, laughing and swilling brandy."

<sup>1</sup> At least, this rumour is related by Stuyvesant in a letter to Hudde, August, 1650. *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, xii. p. 67. (The news was brought to New Amsterdam by Augustine Herman, for accounts of whom see this *MAGAZINE*. Vol. IV. pp. 101 *et seq.*, and Vol. VII. pp. 88 *et seq.*—*TRANS.*)

<sup>2</sup> Prints to P. Brahe, August 11, 1650. Skokloster Archives.

of the colony. The blame of this does not, at least, fall altogether on the Hollanders. It seems, the mutual recriminations of the governors had led to some negotiations between the governments of the mother countries, which tended to the advantage of the Swedish colony. At least, the directors of the West India Company at Amsterdam were induced to despatch a letter to Governor Stuyvesant (in March, 1651), proving they were disposed to determine a line of boundary between the territories of the two nations, the Company agreeing to confine itself to the region of Manhattan, "although they might be able to show that they had bought considerable land on the (South) river."<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile Stuyvesant had received earnest complaints and prayers for help from the settlers who had been ill-treated by Printz, and it is uncertain whether the letter just referred to served to hinder the enterprise which he had devised for the securing of a new, firm base of operations against the Swedish colony.

Concerning the beginning of this undertaking Printz relates<sup>2</sup> that, on the 8th of May, a Dutch man-of-war made her appearance in the Delaware, and stopped all sailing in or out of the stream. She was "frightened away, however, by discharge of field-pieces, and other fire-arms." On the 25th of the following month Stuyvesant came himself, with eleven vessels and a hundred and fifty men, increasing his force at Fort Nassau by a troop that came overland from Manhattan, and was taken on board the fleet, when the latter sailed up and down the river, in a hostile manner, "beating drums and firing guns without cessation."<sup>3</sup> It was at this time, probably, that Stuyvesant conducted his negotiations with the Indians to acquire by purchase a tract of land on the west side of the river, where he might build a fort.

On the 9th of July he called together all the Indian chiefs who dwelt upon the river, and all owners of land in the

<sup>1</sup> *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, xii. p. 68. Hazard, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> In a letter to the Chancellor of the Kingdom, dated August 1, 1651, among the Oxenstjerna papers in the Archives of the Kingdom.

<sup>3</sup> In the Dutch reports of this enterprise, cited by Hazard, nothing is said about Stuyvesant's appearing with force of arms.

vicinity, that they might transfer their assumed rights to him. Strangely enough, the Indians affirmed that they had never sold the Swedes more than the small tract where Christina was situated, with a little land for growing tobacco. The rest of the western shore of the river, from that fort to Bombay Hook, they were willing to grant to the Dutch Company as a perpetual possession, for which they afterwards received the compensation promised by Stuyvesant. Documents attesting this contract were drawn up and signed, one of the chiefs named Pemmenatta (in the Swedish proceedings called Peminacka) only stipulating that the Dutch "should repair his gun when it got out of order, and give the Indians a little maize when they requested it."<sup>1</sup> Before this, Stuyvesant had begun the erection of a small fort, with palisades, at Sandhuk, on the west side of the Delaware, about midway between Christina and Elfsborg (directly north of the present town of New Castle, Delaware), where he stationed a garrison, with cannon and two ships. The Swedish boundary posts were pulled up; all sailing on the river was to be challenged from the fort; and Stuyvesant even sought to induce the Swedish freemen at that place to submit to the rule of the Dutch. The fort erected received the name of *Casimir*.

Nor had Printz, meanwhile, been idle. From an interesting document in the Archives of the Kingdom of Sweden,<sup>2</sup> we learn that he endeavoured to obtain from the Indians further sanction of the ancient rights of the Swedes upon the Delaware. To this intent, on the 3d of July he held a meeting at Elfsborg with the heirs of the chief Mitatsimint, already mentioned in connection with the first purchase of territory, who confirmed the former grant of land between "Appachaihackingh and Mettocksinovonsingh" (the tract between Christina and Bombay Hook), for which Mitatsimint had received full compensation. Peminacka, indeed, enjoyed the privilege of hunting on the same, but not of selling the land

<sup>1</sup> Hazard, *op. cit.*, p. 126. following O'Callaghan.

<sup>2</sup> See above, and Appendix I.

as its rightful owner, as all the savages on the river would testify. The written contract to this effect was signed by Mitatsimint's widow Notike, his son Kiapes, and two others of his children, who made their marks,<sup>1</sup> and was witnessed by Peter Joachimson and Gothofryd Harmer.

Stuyvesant, as already stated, having, at that time, begun to build on the territory in dispute, Printz despatched a protest on the subject, dated at New Gottenburg, July 8, 1651. "As well," says he, "by Her Royal Majesty's letter and documents delivered by the Indians, as by the witness of living Christians present, it is abundantly testified that the land between Boomtiens Huk and the Schuylkill was bought by Her Majesty's officers, in the year 1638, from five sachems, known by name, representing the savages who might have a claim upon the territory indicated, and that said tract was paid for, and has been hitherto possessed by the Swedes without gainsay of Christians or Indians, and that the same is true of the land from the Schuylkill to Sanchikan." In virtue of the loose statements of the natives concerning their proprietary rights, Stuyvesant had undertaken to buy a portion of the land described, and to fortify the place, "to the great prejudice of Her Royal Majesty's fortresses and stations." Against all these proceedings Printz protested, "in view of the praise-worthy alliance between Her Royal Majesty of Sweden and the High and Mighty States-General."<sup>2</sup>

Stuyvesant paid no attention to this, however, but continued to build his fort, and, as before stated, on the 9th of July, held a meeting with the Indians, whom he found unfavourably disposed towards the Swedes. Still further to strengthen his position, Printz arranged a fresh meeting at New Gottenburg between the heirs of Mitatsimint and Peminacka, just mentioned, in the presence of several Indian chiefs, whose names are given. On this occasion the rest made a declaration against Peminacka, according to which,

<sup>1</sup> Kiapes's mark evidently represents a bow and arrow, another a pipe, a third a cross.

<sup>2</sup> The protest occurs in the above-named document.



on the 29th of March, 1638, a valid contract of sale was concluded between Peter Minit and Mitatsimint, with others now present, Indian proprietors of the region now in dispute, on the western side of the river, with the land lying above. Peminacka's claim, which he grounded on a donation, was pronounced baseless, since he had not even delivered the presents agreed upon for his hunting privilege; and, the former contract being now renewed, the Swedes were recognized as the sole rightful proprietors, and Stuyvesant's title was declared void. This act was signed by Johan and Gustaf Printz, Henrik Huyghen, and Peter Bock. Finally, some days later, another paper was drawn up, dated New Gottenburg, July 16, and signed with the peculiar marks of Notike, Kiapes and Quenick, and witnessed by two other Indians, Johan Printz, and his son Gustaf, Papegoja, and several more. This was nearly all of the same import as the preceding document, referring to the continued refusal of the Hollanders to cease building at Sandhuk, and upholding the title of the Swedes against "Peminacka and his followers."

Nevertheless, all these protests, as well as a personal visit from Printz, produced no effect on Stuyvesant, who declared that he was acting in accordance with the orders of the States-General, which, however, was not true. It is clear, he was unwilling to relinquish the advantage he had gained in obtaining a firm foothold on a convenient station. The central point of the Dutch power on the Delaware was now transferred to Fort Casimir, and soon after Fort Nassau was abandoned. This whole affair was a great defeat for Printz, and we can scarcely credit a statement,<sup>1</sup> drawn from a Dutch source, that, at Stuyvesant's departure from the river, the two antagonists promised to observe neighbourly friendship and correspondence, and to refrain from all hostilities against each other. Printz himself writes thus upon the subject:<sup>2</sup> "This must be submitted to by reason of our weakness. If

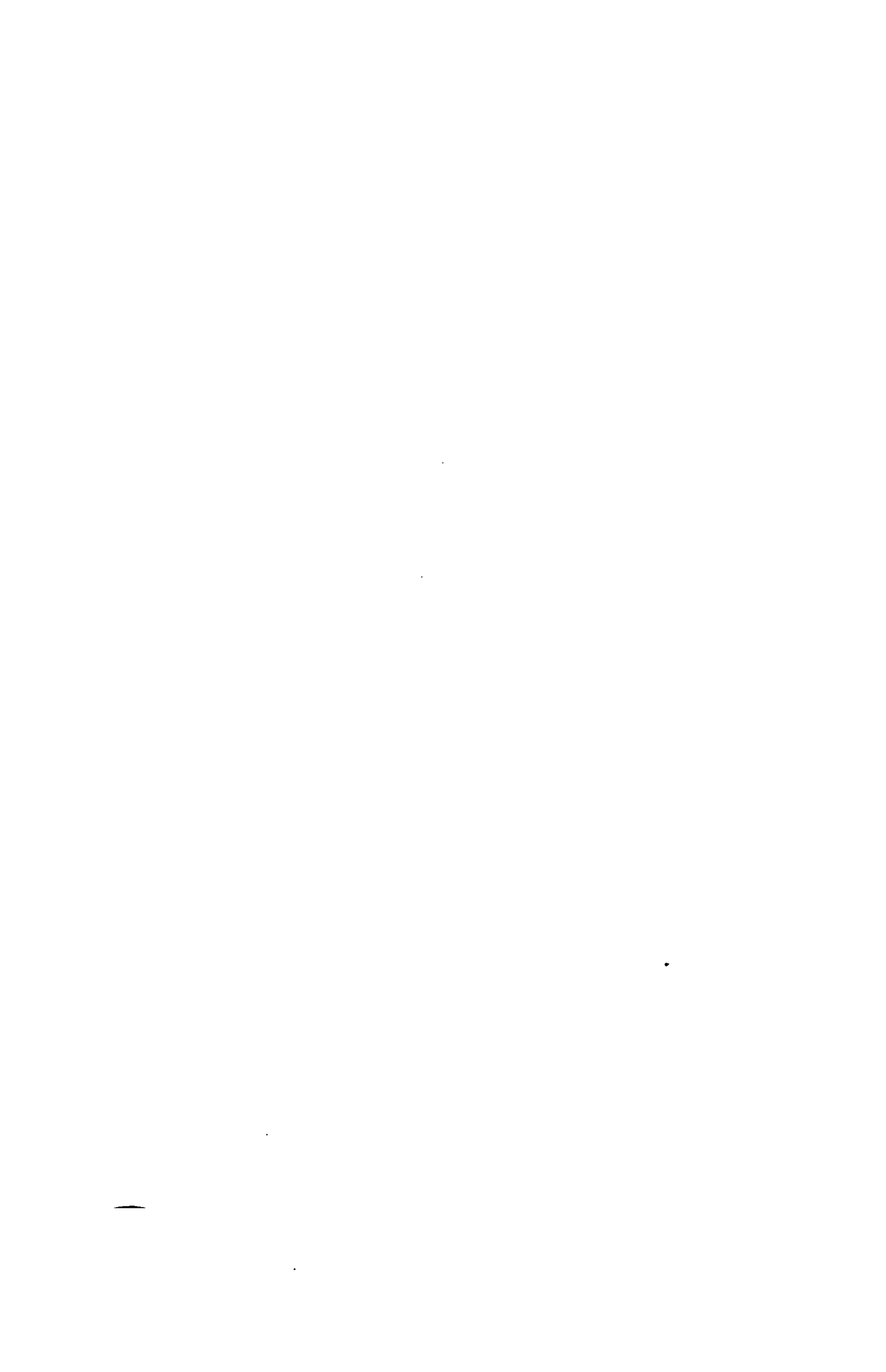
<sup>1</sup> Hazard, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

<sup>2</sup> In his letter to the Chancellor, August 1, 1651, already cited.



*Arctâ pietas, os et sapientia Regni,  
 Dax Evangelici Federis atq; caput,  
 Sic Vatum AXELIUS, gerit OXENSTIRNIUS, en plus  
 Justitia Sanctum, plus gravitate gravem!  
 Occupat alma TRIAS, templum venerabile mentem,  
 Quam manus auctoris, pergere nulla potes t.  
 GUSTAVUM frustra MAGNUM ploramus, in hac est Solyma, of.  
 Virtus GUSTAVI vindice summa super. 1685*

*Dax Haut, etc.*



we do not receive succour before next March, it is all over with our enterprise." He also entertained fears of "the English to the north," since a number of families of that nation were making preparations to settle on the Delaware, an action which the Dutch, however, were endeavouring to prevent. In other respects, the condition of the colonists was, this year also, generally good, although they continued to hear nothing from the mother country.

The success of Stuyvesant's undertaking may be attributed to the smallness of the force at the disposal of Printz for repelling such an assault (the Swedish Governor having three forts to guard), as well as to the circumstance that the Dutch Governor employed all his resources in this stroke, which, had it failed, would certainly have cost him dear. As we have said, Stuyvesant affirmed that he was acting by authority of the States-General. That this was false appears from a letter addressed to him by the Directors of the Dutch Company (dated April 4, 1652),<sup>1</sup> in which these gentlemen express their astonishment at his enterprise, of which they had not the least hint. Since it had succeeded, however, they desired to wait and see how the Swedish Governor's report of the affair should be received by his Government, although they entertained no great hopes of effecting an amicable agreement with the latter.

This subject came before the Royal Council of Sweden, March 18, 1652, when Printz's letter to the Chancellor of the Kingdom and, probably, the document before spoken of were read. The minutes of the meeting state: "The question was asked, *quid concilii* concerning the invasion of New Sweden by the Dutch? Her Royal Majesty considered redress might fairly be sought from the States-General. The Chancellor of the Kingdom conceived the matter to be well worthy of deliberation." Whether this led to any diplomatic correspondence on the part of the Government is not known. Nevertheless, two days before, March 16, Council held a consultation on the condition of New Sweden, the obvious result

<sup>1</sup> *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, xii. p. 72.

of which was a series of orders from the Government about the equipment of a new expedition to the colony. On the day named there were summoned before the Council Postmaster Beyer, who since the death of Fleming practically acted as superintendent of the enterprise at home, the book-keeper Hans Kramer, the former zealous co-operator in the work, Sven Schute, who had been sent to Sweden by Governor Printz, an otherwise unknown man named Henrik Gerdtsen, "who said he had not been in New Sweden, it is true, but had been in New Netherland, which immediately adjoined it," and, finally, the assessor in the College of Commerce. Council was convinced "that the country could now sustain itself," but lacked means for carrying on a lucrative trade, while, on the other hand, there was no scarcity of people "willing to go forth and occupy the land." Her Majesty "expressed the opinion that the direction of the expedition should be entrusted to the College of Trade, and that the Admiralty should furnish a ship for it, the means to be provided hereafter." Whereupon the persons mentioned above were bidden to enter, and Lieutenant Schute gave an account of the condition and resources of the country, corroborating the need of settlers. The conclusion was in accordance with the sentiment of the Queen, in which the Chancellor joined, that Her Majesty should commit the superintendence of the enterprise to the College of Commerce, and command the Admiralty to fit out a vessel, and that the Chancellor should consult further with persons concerned.<sup>1</sup> During the subsequent period the Government showed greater activity in strengthening the neglected colony. Her Majesty issued an order to the Admiralty some days later (March 23) to get the ship *Svanen* ready, immediately, for a voyage to New Sweden.<sup>2</sup>

Means were deficient, probably, for the execution of this order, and considerable delay occurred. Governor Printz fell into still greater straits, and, August 30, 1652, wrote thus to the Chancellor of the Kingdom: "The Puritans threaten us

<sup>1</sup> Extract from the Minutes of the Council, March 16, 1652, among documents relating to New Sweden in the Archives of the Kingdom.

<sup>2</sup> Register of the Admiralty in the Naval Archives.

with violence, and the Dutch are pressing upon us on all sides; they have ruined the fur-trade; the savages are troubling us, having bought cargoes of strangers; the people are beginning to desert the colony in despair; forty Dutch families have settled east of the river, who have absolutely no provisions, and do not sow or plough, desiring to live by the traffic with the natives, which they themselves have destroyed."<sup>1</sup> During the following year the situation was not improved. Stuyvesant had now assembled his force at Fort Casimir, where already in the beginning of 1653 no fewer than twenty-six Dutch families had settled, and more still were expected. Nevertheless, he did not venture yet to make any attempt against the Swedes, chiefly for fear of the English, but felt obliged to conform to the admonition of his Directors, to endeavour as far as possible to avoid dissensions with them, "not to increase the number of the Company's enemies during that critical period."<sup>2</sup> Not a word was heard from Sweden to relieve the anxiety of Governor Printz, although he urgently applied for aid in his letters to his superiors. He insisted on his dismissal, and many other inhabitants of the colony, particularly persons in the service of the Company, desired to return to their native country, while some besought Stuyvesant to allow them to settle among the Dutch, a privilege he dared not grant. In consequence of a war between two neighbouring Indian tribes, no fur-trade could be carried on, and the non-arrival of any succour gradually caused the colonists (hitherto in the enjoyment of the great consideration accorded to the Swedish nation) to be regarded "as abandoned wanderers, without a sovereign." To give further weight to his complaints, in July, 1653, the Governor sent home his son Gustavus Printz, who had been a lieutenant in the colony since 1648.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Oxenstjerna papers in the Archives of the Kingdom.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from the Directors of the West India Company to Stuyvesant, in *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, xii. p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> The above is taken from a letter from Printz to the Chancellor of the Kingdom, dated April 26, 1653, among the Oxenstjerna papers in the Archives of the Kingdom, and from others from the same to P. Brahe, of April 26, and July 14, 1653, in the Skokloster Archives.

This discouraging intelligence put fresh life into the measures for the relief of the colony. Her Majesty renewed her mandate to the Admiralty concerning the equipment of a ship for New Sweden, "that the enterprise might not altogether come to naught." The *Wismar* was selected, and besides her crew three hundred men were to be engaged, with tackle and ship's furniture, for the vessel built by Printz in America.<sup>1</sup> The same day an order was issued to the War Department to deliver over ammunition "for the defence of the people and the land."

The College of Commerce, lately, for the first time, fully organized, had, by her Majesty's desire, assumed the direction of the colony, and the honour of reviving and actively conducting the undertaking belongs to the President of that College, Erik Oxenstjerna. He issued the necessary instructions and commissions for this expedition, which promised to be of great advantage to the settlement, and with which we enter upon a new and the last stage in the history of New Sweden.

In order to procure emigrants, Sven Schute was commanded by the College of Commerce<sup>2</sup> to enlist fifty soldiers, preferring artisans, and send them to Stockholm, and afterwards to proceed to Värmland and Dal, and collect families and single persons living in the forests, to the number of two hundred and fifty souls, "the majority to be good men, with some women."

Instead of the vessel *Wismar* (before designated), the Admiralty furnished the ship *Örnen* (the Eagle), which by autumn of that year was ready to take her cargo on board. The West India Company also fitted out *Gyllene Hajen*, which had been in New Sweden before, and was now to carry merchandise and a part of the emigrants. Johan Bockhorn was appointed commander of *Örnen*,<sup>3</sup> who had been mate

<sup>1</sup> Her Majesty to the Admiralty, August 13, 1653, in the Naval Archives.

<sup>2</sup> The College of Commerce to Sv. Schute, August 25, 1653, in the Archives of the College.

<sup>3</sup> Memorial for him, dated October 4, 1653, in the Register of the Admiralty; and an order, dated December 13, in the Archives of the College of Commerce.

of *Kattan*, and *Gyllene Hajen* was to be commanded by Hans Amundsson, who was not discouraged by his former ill-fated voyage. On their arrival in New Sweden Amundsson was to "have charge of everything connected with the building of Printz's ship," superintend the defence of the land, and form a council of the chief officers, but was not to undertake anything without consulting the Governor. Sven Schute, on the other hand, was to be "Captain over the country, and the recruits to be sent out on *Örnen* for the reinforcement of the colony."<sup>1</sup> As early as August the Government bestowed on Amundsson and Schute patents for land on the Delaware, to be held by them and their heirs.<sup>2</sup>

On the way to New Sweden the expedition was to execute another commission, viz., to obtain from the Spaniards compensation for the ship and cargo, which had been lost, as we related, at Porto Rico. Negotiations on this subject had long since been pending between the Swedish and Spanish governments. When Queen Christina despatched Matthias Palbitsky (in 1651) to congratulate the King of Spain on the conclusion of peace, to form an alliance of friendship, and to settle commercial treaties, she had, probably, also ordered him to request remuneration for *Kattan*. In the Archives<sup>3</sup> of the Kingdom there is an extract from a mandate of the King of Spain to the Governor and the royal "*officiales*" at Porto Rico (dated October 18, 1651), to restore the ship, with her artillery and cargo, and set at liberty the people who still remained there, or else without delay make restitution. Hans Amundsson, who had personal claims to take care of in the case, was deputed to arrange this matter,<sup>4</sup> for which purpose he was to wait at Porto Rico, with his vessel, putting some of his emigrants on board of *Örnen*.

<sup>1</sup> Order, dated December 13, in the Archives of the College of Commerce.

<sup>2</sup> Rising's Report, in Appendix 3. Hazard, *op. cit.*, p. 138, incorrectly gives the name as John Amundsson.

<sup>3</sup> Among documents relating to New Sweden.

<sup>4</sup> Memorial for him, dated October 6, in the Register of the Admiralty. Instructions and commission, dated December 13, in the Archives of the College of Commerce.



In consequence of Printz's incessant and more and more urgent solicitations for leave to quit the colony, the Government resolved, as a first step towards granting his request, to send to his assistance the Secretary of the College of Commerce, Johan Klaesson Rising, who now entered the Company's service. His Instructions, in twenty-four points, issued by the College of Commerce under date of December 15, 1653,<sup>1</sup> and signed by Erik Oxenstjerna and Krister Bonde, show that they intended to reestablish Swedish power in the colony. As an "*assistensråd*," Rising and the Governor were to administer justice, and promote trade and the professions, fishing, husbandry, and so forth, attracting members of neighbouring nations, who might be able to give them aid. Especially must they seek "to rid the place of the Dutch, who had erected a fort there, exercising, however, all possible prudence," and above all taking care that the English did not obtain a firm foothold. They were also to endeavour to enlarge the limits of the settlement, and to try to get all trade on the river out of the hands of foreigners by building, if need be, another fort at the mouth of the Delaware. How great an extension of traffic was hoped for may be learned from the 19th point of Rising's Instructions, as follows: "When he arrives, by good fortune, with the people, he shall select, to be owned by the Company, a piece of good land, well situated, which shall be settled by the colonists, and shall arrange that whatever is produced upon it may be exported for sale, not only on the neighbouring coasts and islands, but also in Europe and Africa, namely, grain, beer, boards, and brandy, for the Spanish and Caribbean Islands . . . timber and wine-casks, for the Canaries, Portugal, Algiers, Spain, and France." For travelling expenses Rising was assigned 1500 *daler silver*,<sup>2</sup> and received a grant, as a perpetual possession for himself and his heirs, of as much land in New Sweden as he could cultivate with twenty or thirty peasants,

<sup>1</sup> It is dated Upsala, where the Government had its seat at the close of this, and long into the following year, in consequence of the pestilence then raging in the capital.

<sup>2</sup> Register in the Archives of the Chamber of Commerce, December 8.

to be held in accordance with the determinations of the diet of Norrköping of 1604, which ground the Governor was directed to cede to him.<sup>1</sup> Rising was commissioned December 12, at an annual salary of 1200 *daler silfver*, to be paid to him by the College of Commerce, with the privilege of reëntering his former office, "in case he should return home."<sup>2</sup> All these dispositions were made in the expectation that Printz would remain as Governor, and at the same time a letter was addressed to him from the College of Commerce requiring him to continue at his post, welcome the expedition, and follow their injunctions.

Printz could not wait, however, for this relief. For the last six years he had received neither letter nor orders from the mother country, so that he now shared the supposition of the Swedish population that the colony had been abandoned to its fate. His commands were no longer obeyed, and he resolved to go home, after having promised the inhabitants, for their fidelity to the Crown of Sweden, to come back in ten or twelve months from September, 1653, or, at least, to procure the sending of a ship, if only to inform them as to the state of their enterprise. He also provisionally appointed Johan Papegoja Vice-Governor. In company with his wife and children, Henrik Huyghen, and a portion of the colonists, he left the settlement in the beginning of November,<sup>3</sup> and, crossing the ocean in a Dutch vessel, December 1, reached Rochelle, from whence he wrote to the Chancellor. Early in 1654 he went to Holland, and in April arrived once more in Sweden.<sup>4</sup>

We have already observed that, possibly, Printz may not have been the right director for a colony, which required to be governed rather, perhaps, by measures of policy and prudence than by the use of force and violence, surrounded, as it

<sup>1</sup> Hazard, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of the College of Commerce, dated December 15, 1653, among documents relating to New Sweden in the Archives of the Kingdom.

<sup>3</sup> Consequently not in 1652, as Acrelius states.

<sup>4</sup> Letter from Printz to Beyer, dated Amsterdam, February 14, in the Archives of the Kingdom.

was, with rapacious neighbours, at a time when the mother country either would not or could not afford it sufficient aid. He deserted it now, when the results of his administration appeared less satisfactory, and left it to his successor to be involved in the coming catastrophe. After his return he was appointed colonel in the Swedish army, and in 1658 Governor of the Province of Jönköping. He died in 1663. The rest, who went home with him, were not so well rewarded for their services. After enduring great misery, they at length reached Stockholm, naked and in want, hoping to receive their back pay or, at least, some aid from the West India Company.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> H. Huyghen laments, in a letter to the Chancellor, that, after a sojourn of fifteen years in New Sweden, he had reached home destitute; and Printz's companions appeared daily before Hans Kramer to complain of their distress. (Letter from Kramer to E. Oxenstjerna, dated May 25, 1654, in the Archives of the Kingdom.)

(To be continued.)

**MATTHEW WILSON, D.D., OF LEWES, DELAWARE.**

BY THE REV. EDWARD D. NEILL.

AMONG the prominent men in the State of Delaware, during the formative period of the republic, was Matthew Wilson, D.D., of Lewes. As a scholar, civilian, physician, educator, and divine, he was surpassed by few in America. His parents, James and Jean Wilson, came from the north of Ireland, and settled in Chester County, Pennsylvania, and in East Nottingham Township, on the 15th of January, 1731, he was born.

During his boyhood, a man of remarkable talent and versatility, Francis Alison, D.D., afterwards Vice-Provost of the College of Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania, was settled over a congregation at New London in Chester County.<sup>1</sup> As a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian, Alison was imbued with the idea that the school was as necessary to the church as the anvil to the blacksmith, and that Christianity must advance by employing keen-eyed science as her servant. He was among the first to agitate for a college in Pennsylvania and Delaware. The Presbytery of Lewes, in 1738, sent a memorial to the synod of Philadelphia, in which they use this language:—

“That this part of the world where God has ordered our lot, labours under a grievous disadvantage for want of the opportunities of universities and professors skilled in the several branches of useful learning, and that many students from Europe are especially cramped in prosecuting their studies, their parents removing to these colonies before they have an opportunity of attending the college, after having spent some years at the grammar school; and that many persons born in the country groan under the same pressure, whose circumstances are not able to support them to spend a course of

<sup>1</sup> Francis Alison was born in Ireland, and was a graduate of the University of Glasgow. Upon his arrival in America he was for a time tutor in the family of the father of John Dickinson. His first attendance in the Synod of Philadelphia was in A. D. 1737.

years in the European or New England colleges, which discourages much and must be a detriment to our church, for we know that natural parts, however great and promising, for want of being well improved, must be marred of their usefulness, and cannot be so extensively serviceable to the public, and that want of due pains and care paves the way for ignorance, and this for a formidable train of such consequences.

“To prevent this evil, it is humbly proposed as a remedy, that every student who has not studied with approbation, passing the usual courses in some of the New England or European colleges approved by public authority, shall, before he be encouraged by any Presbytery for the sacred work of the ministry, apply himself to this Synod, and that they appoint a committee of their members yearly, whom they know to be well skilled in the several branches of philosophy, and divinity, and the languages, to examine such students.”

At a meeting of the same Synod, in 1739, an overture for establishing a seminary of learning was unanimously approved. In 1744 a school was established<sup>1</sup> under the care of

<sup>1</sup> Among the pupils of Alison were :

Col. John Bayard, Delegate to Congress, 1785-87.

Dr. John Cochrane, Director-General of Hospitals.

John Dickinson, Delegate to Congress 1774-77, 1779-80; President of Delaware and Pennsylvania.

Ebenezer Hazard, U. S. Post-Master-General, 1782-89.

John Henry, U. S. Senator, 1789-97; Governor of Maryland.

James Latta, D.D., a Presbyterian clergyman.

Alexander Martin, Colonel at Germantown Battle; Governor of North Carolina; U. S. Senator, 1793-99.

Thomas McKean, Signer of the Declaration of Independence; President of Congress, 1781; Governor of Pennsylvania, 1799-1808.

James McLene, prominent in Pennsylvania politics.

Robert McPherson, who served under General Forbes on the expedition to Duquesne; during the war for Independence a Colonel of Pennsylvania troops; grandfather of Edward McPherson, Clerk of U. S. House of Representatives.

George Read, Delegate to Congress; Signer of the Declaration of Independence; U. S. Senator from Delaware, 1789-1793.

Dr. Benjamin Rush, Delegate to Congress and Signer of the Declaration of Independence, and eminent as a physician and philosopher.

Jacob Rush, brother of Benjamin, President of the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia County.

the Synod, where "all persons who please may send their children and have them instructed, gratis, in the languages, philosophy, and divinity," and Mr. Alison was "chosen Master of said school, with the privilege of choosing an usher under him to assist him."

It was the good fortune of Matthew Wilson to be a pupil under Alison in the school at New London. After Alison was called, in 1752, to the College of Philadelphia, the school was continued by the Rev. Alexander McDowell,<sup>1</sup> pastor of Elk River and White Clay Creek churches, who, for convenience, removed it first to Elkton, Md., afterwards to Newark, Delaware, which, in a paper of the day, is described as "a suitable and healthy village, not too rich or luxurious, where real learning might be obtained." Under McDowell, Wilson became a teacher in the school. In the Minutes of the Synod of Philadelphia, under date of 23d of May, 1754, is the following:—

"Mr. McDowell, under whose care and inspection the school has been for these two years, has declined to have the whole burden; therefore Mr. Wilson is appointed to teach the languages, Mr. McDowell undertaking, from a sense of the public good, to continue to teach logic, mathematics, natural and moral philosophy, etc., and it is agreed that Mr. Wilson have the same encouragement which Mr. McDowell had, and it is further agreed, that the Presbytery have a special regard to Mr. Wilson in their appointments, in not sending him to those vacancies which are too far distant for his attendance in the beginning of the week."<sup>2</sup>

James Smith, of Pennsylvania, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence.

W. M. Tennent, an eminent Presbyterian divine.

Charles Thomson, Secretary of the Continental Congress, and translator of the Septuagint.

James Waddell, D.D., the blind preacher described by Wirt.

<sup>1</sup> Alexander McDowell came with his parents from Ireland to Virginia. He was ordained in 1741. He studied medicine, and was a physician as well as a theologian. He never married, and died on the 12th of January, 1782.

<sup>2</sup> Among the early students at Newark were George Duffield, D.D., Associate Chaplain of Congress with Bishop White, Alexander McWhorter, D.D., an eminent Presbyterian clergyman, Edward Miller, M.D., brother of Rev. Dr. Samuel Miller, an eminent physician, and Professor of Practice of Physic in the University of New York.

By the Presbytery of New Castle he had been a few weeks before licensed to preach, and in October, 1755, he was ordained as a minister. During the year 1756, soon after Braddock's defeat, by order of Synod, he visited the frontier settlements, in the neighborhood of Winchester, Virginia.

When a pupil in Dr. Alison's school he was required to make abstracts of the essays in the *Spectator*, and became familiar with the literature of his day. He, therefore, was much interested in the *American Magazine*, a monthly under the direction of a few literary persons, published by William Bradford, grandson of William Bradford, the first printer in Pennsylvania. Among the Bradford manuscripts, presented by its President, John William Wallace, to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, are the names of four

Right Hon.<sup>ble</sup> Lord Fairfax 12-  
 John Tunk \_\_\_\_\_ 12  
 John Hope \_\_\_\_\_ 12  
 G. Washington \_\_\_\_\_ 12

subscribers in the handwriting of the then young George Washington, and the following note from Matthew Wilson.

"SIR: Please to take Mr. Thos. Till,<sup>1</sup> Esqr., in Sussex, as another subscriber for y<sup>r</sup> *American Magazine*. 'Tis all I have since had an opportunity to get for you. He is a Gentleman of a plentiful Fortune; and, indeed, all the Subscriptions I have taken in, are from Persons, able at any Time to pay you,

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Till was the son of William Till, and as early as 1726 Justice of the Peace in Sussex County on Delaware. Thomas married Gertrude Roes, and his sister married Andrew Hamilton, Jr., of Pennsylvania. (PENNA. MAG., Vol. IV. p. 237.)

when you shall give Notice. I believe Mr. Till will choose his by the Post; but the Post himself can inform you better than I, in that Respect.

I hope to prevail with More yet to subscribe, but am not certain.

Truly Sir, Yours, &

The Respectful Societie's

Sincere Friend

& humble serv<sup>t</sup>,

MATTHEW WILSON.

Mr. John Carey in Fredericktown,

Capt. Peter Butler,

Col. Cresap,

Joseph Chapline,

Mr. Hugh West,

Mr. Arthur Charlton,

Mr. John Charlton,

Mr. Jonathan Plummer,

Dr. John Briscoe,

Capt. John Sweragain,

Thos. Coopers,

John Harlin.

All these by John Jones, the Winchester Post.

For Bradford's *Pennsylvania Journal* Wilson was a contributor, as well as to the *American Magazine*. To the last day of his life he did what he could to elevate the literary taste of the community, and among the subscribers to the *American Museum* for 1787, published by Mathew Carey, appears his name, as well as that of one of his attached pupils, Dr. John Neill,<sup>1</sup> of Snow Hill, Maryland.

The Rev. Dr. Samuel Miller, of Princeton, whose father<sup>2</sup> was the intimate friend of Dr. Wilson, writes in Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, that Dr. Wilson continued to be a diligent student to a late period of his life:—

“Though he had the cares and labors of two important professions devolving upon him, he found time to be more

<sup>1</sup> Dr. John Neill was the son of John Neill, lawyer, of Lewes, and the brother of Col. Henry Neill, of Lewes. His son was Henry Neill, M.D., Univ. Pa., 1807, and Vice-President of the Philadelphia College of Physicians. His grandson was the late John Neill, M.D., Professor of Clinical Surgery in the University of Pennsylvania. The name of Dr. John Neill, of Snow Hill, Md., is given in the life of Provost Smith, as a subscriber to the endowment fund of Washington College, Maryland. He was one of the corporators of the Maryland Medical Society established at the close of the last century, and one of the Medical Examiners of the eastern shore of Maryland.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. John Miller, for nearly fifty years pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Dover, Delaware, a native of Boston. (See the *PENNA. MAGAZINE*, Vol. VII. p. 307.)



of a reader than many whose occupations are less pressing, and, what is worthy of note, he seems to have been in the habit of reading with pen in hand. I do not remember ever to have borrowed a book from his library, or indeed to have seen one, of which he was the owner, without finding the margin filled with manuscript notes, some of them remarkably rich, graphic, and interesting."

As a civilian he had great weight. He believed that it was the duty of the Christian to have a deep interest in public affairs. A son, born after the discussions relative to the Stamp Act, on the 21st of February, 1769, was named James Patriot Wilson.<sup>1</sup>

An anecdote in the *Delaware Register*, of October, 1838, illustrates his zeal as a republican. He had opposed the Stamp Act, and encouraged his parishioners to manufacture at home, after the non-importation agreement. When ships, with tea, arrived at the mouth of the Delaware River, upon which a duty of three pence per pound was to be paid for the benefit of the East India Company, he resolved that his family should use no more of the article. To reconcile the ladies, he published a paper in the newspapers, which afterwards appeared in the February, 1775, number of the *American Magazine*, showing the enervating effect of tea, and giving the names of seventeen herbs or vegetables which were good substitutes. In the midst of this discussion his wife's sister came from Philadelphia, on a visit, and brought down some of the prohibited article. She claimed that she was a patriot, but she saw no good reason why she should not drink "old tea" upon which no duty had been paid, and "tea she would drink." The good Doctor, always diffident, and dreading "a tempest in a tea-pot," quietly submitted.

<sup>1</sup> James Patriot Wilson, D.D., was admitted to the bar in 1790, and became chancellor of Delaware. Relinquishing the legal profession, he entered the ministry, and from 1806 to 1830 was pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia. His son James P. Wilson, D.D., was President of Delaware College, at Newark, and of the Union Theological Seminary, New York City, and is now an esteemed pastor of one of the Presbyterian churches of Newark, New Jersey.

It was not to be expected that one of so ardent a temperament and active a mind should remain indifferent in the struggle of the colonies for independence. When, in 1774, the news reached Lewes that the British government had closed the port of Boston, he was one of a committee to send help to the distressed inhabitants of that city. After the Declaration of Independence there was an increase of tory feeling in Sussex County, Delaware, and those in favor of separation from Great Britain were in the minority.

The following letters in the Bradford Collection of Manuscripts graphically portray the situation:—

LEWES TOWN, July 30th, 1778.

SIR: Inclosed you have a Letter from the Rev. Mr. Willson, soliciting your interest for the liberty of a certain James Cooper, one of the Refugees from this State, now in your Gaol: the young man, I believe, was corrupted by some persons of the disaffected Class; but they have ever acted so cautious, and ever so true to each other, that no positive proof could be had against them. I should be glad that you would not let Mr. Willson's Letter be made public, as it will of consequence create him some enemies, that may have it in their power to injure him.

Should it be in your power, and not too much Trouble to obtain liberty for the young man to come down, I will pay any expences for his imprisonment.

I am Sir,

Yours

HENRY NEILL.

To Col. WILLIAM BRADFORD,<sup>1</sup>  
at the London Coffee House,  
Philadelphia."

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<sup>1</sup> William Bradford was the grandson of William Bradford, the first printer and publisher in Pennsylvania, and was educated by his uncle Andrew Bradford, who, in 1723, was also the only printer in Pennsylvania, and established the first newspaper, the *American Mercury*. In 1739, William became the partner of his uncle. In 1742 he established the *Pennsylvania Journal*. In 1754 he removed to the corner of Market and Front Streets, and opened, for the convenience of merchants, the London Coffee House.

*“ To Mr. William Bradford, and the other members of the honourable Board of War in Philadelphia. Favoured by Henry Neille, Col.-Lieut. of Sussex.*

**GENTLEMEN:** We are informed that some few of our *Sussex Tories* have fallen into your hands, and are justly confined in Jail, where they are much more likely to have an Impartial Trial than here, where at least two-thirds of the County, by the Influence, Lies, Falsehoods, & base insinuations of your Joshua Fisher,<sup>1</sup> and about a score of leading Men, who at that Time, held all Offices and Places of Trust in this County, are really disaffected to the American Cause, yet, by their numbers will soon be elected to fill their places again; so that if this State can do any harm to the Cause of America, by betraying the French, our Friends, or any of the Whig Colonies trading here, or by assisting, supporting, or encouraging our enemies, as well as persecuting for ever the Whigs here, “who have borne the burden and heat of the day,” there are more horrors than I can now foresee, must come from Tories ruling the Delaware State.

To remedy these dangerous evils I can see only 2 plans that appear practicable, either to disfranchise the Delaware State, and divide it between Maryland and Pennsylvania, which appears more necessary, because the State is too weak to bear the expence of its present Government, and also because of its smallness: any contention here between a leading Whig and a leading Tory would immediately divide the whole State into two parties, when Justice and Peace would be excluded from the State.

The other Remedy would only be partial and temporary, *i. e.*, The Congress fixing such Resolves, by such accurate Descriptions of Characters as would exclude all Tories and disaffected persons from holding any Offices in the State during this Generation at least.

This last would, indeed, incapacitate a great number from doing the highest injuries to the Country, yet the most artful and dangerous Tories who stirred up the rest, and use them as Cat's-paws, would be still left at the helm. They have veer'd all around the Compass, give the Whigs no positive proof against them, and have secured the Tories, to give no Information.

<sup>1</sup> Joshua Fisher, of the Society of Friends, moved from Lewes in 1745 to Philadelphia. In 1777 he and his sons Thomas and Samuel were banished from the city because of their sympathy with the British government.

The most probable Way to come to the Truth would seem by pardoning some Tory or two on condition of becoming a true Witness against the Rest. There is one, Couper (James), I think, who would perhaps turn evidence on these terms. He kept Merchants' accounts formerly for Col. Simon Kollock,<sup>1</sup> a staunch Whig, when this unhappy Couper was thought a good Whig, but going to live with Philip Kollock<sup>2</sup> he became such a Tory, as to go voluntarily, with others, to the English.

Would you take the trouble to have him sounded apart from the rest, whether he would, in order to be restored & pardoned & admitted to Protection in Col. Kollock's house again, honestly inform who were his advisers to prompt Him to go to the Enemy, whether he knows and can prove enough to convict Lawyer Moor, Isaac Smith, John Whilbanck, Philip Kollock, Esquires, Peter Robinson, late Sheriff, Anderson Parker, Ben. Burton, Esquires, &c. &c.

If you should find that he will make a good State Evidence, perhaps you could send him down in Col. Neill's<sup>3</sup> vessel, who is Lieutenant of the County, and would take proper Care of Him, that he might not be enticed by the Tories.

I am, with very great respect, Gentlemen,

Very much at your Service,

LEWES, July 29, 1778.

MAT. WILSON."

<sup>1</sup> The Kollocks were an old family in Sussex. There was, in 1730, a Simon Kollock, Sheriff. In 1762 Jacob Kollock, Sr., was Speaker of the Delaware Assembly, and his son Jacob, in 1769, was Register of Wills and Clerk of the Orphans' Court. Col. Simon was a son of Jacob. (See further the *PENNA. MAG.*, Vol. V. p. 340, and Vol. VII. p. 492.)

<sup>2</sup> Philip Kollock, November 8, 1770, succeeded his father Jacob as Register of Wills and Clerk of the Orphans' Court.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Neill, son of John Neill, of Lewes, lawyer, married Mary, daughter of Col. Simon Kollock. He was made, in September, 1775, Adjutant of the first Delaware Battalion, of which David Hall was Colonel. In May, 1778, he was elected Lieutenant of the County of Sussex. In June, 1780, he was Acting Colonel of the 4th Delaware Regiment, being the second regiment of Delaware in the Continental service. In 1787 he was a member of the Privy Council of Delaware, and in June presented to the Assembly an Act granting to John Fitch the right to build steamboats. He also presented a bill for preventing the exportation of slaves from Delaware. In 1803 he died childless. His friend, Chancellor Wilson, afterwards Rev. Dr. Wilson, prepared the following inscription, which is cut on his tombstone in the graveyard of the Presbyterian Church at Lewes:—

"In memory of Col. Henry Neill who died Nov. 10, 1803, aged 61 years, who valued independence, who dared, scorning submission to a foreign yoke, to force deliverance from the oppressor's rod."

As a physician Dr. Wilson was a careful student, and successful practitioner for nearly the quarter of a century. He was not afraid to perform vaccination at the time it was unpopular, and wrote a paper upon the subject, which was published in Bradford's *Pennsylvania Journal*. He prepared a medical work, containing diseases in alphabetical order, with definitions, symptoms, and mode of treatment, which was never published.<sup>1</sup>

In Atkin's *American Magazine*, April, 1775, he published the history of a malignant fever in Sussex County, Delaware, and in the *American Museum*, published by Mathew Carey, there is an essay from his pen on "Miasmata."

In the *United States Magazine*, published in 1779, at Philadelphia, are the following articles from his pen: in the April number, "A genuine letter on the design and evils of all religious establishments," addressed to Josias Polk, a member of the House of Delegates, Maryland; in the May number, an article on the Peach Tree Oak as a substitute for green Tea; and in the July number, "A breviate of Scripture Prophecy."

Like Alison and McDowell, it was a pleasure to direct the studies of young men. One of his pupils was James, the brother of the late Dr. Samuel Miller, of Princeton, and in 1786 Dr. Wilson writes:<sup>2</sup> "Mr. James Miller is poet-laureate to-day, by writing the best description."

As a theologian, Dr. Wilson was discriminating. He believed that there was a Divine revelation in the Sacred Scriptures, and also that the Scriptures, by fallible men, were liable to misinterpretation. His faith was calm and reasonable, and therefore he did not sympathize with the emotional type of religion. While a Presbyterian in theory, he did not admire the rigidity of the Scotch type of his day, and was opposed to the carrying, by appeal, cases of discipline to the higher ecclesiastical judicatories. In 1778, at a meeting of the

<sup>1</sup> The manuscript, or a portion of it, the writer has seen in the library of the late Dr. John Neill, of Philadelphia.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Dr. Samuel Miller*, vol. i. p. 25.

Synod of New York and Philadelphia,<sup>1</sup> he expressed the opinion that a Synod "was only a voluntary association of different Presbyteries, or a Council to give advice in difficult matters, and to secure peace, orthodoxy, edification, and mutual confidence, and has no power to make any arbitrary decisions."

When the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America was formed, he was disappointed that provision was made for carrying up cases of discipline to the General Assembly. In a private letter to his old friend, the Rev. John Miller, written in August, 1788, he gives vent to his feelings. Among other words are these:<sup>2</sup> "The two Scot's doctors, and the poor wrangling wiseacres of our mountains carried all. The Scot's unscriptural hierarchy was determined beforehand to be adopted." In appreciation of his standing as a theologian, in 1786, the degree of D.D. was conferred upon him by the University of Pennsylvania. March 31, 1790, his eyes were closed to the scenes of earth.

Indulgent to the negroes to whom he was master, quick to aid the poor and distressed, affable in the presence of the young, courteous among his equals, acquainted with the world's progress in the arts and sciences, and an humble disciple of Christ, he was known to a large circle of acquaintances, and his departure from this life was sincerely mourned.

<sup>1</sup> Minutes of May, 1773, in Records of Presbyterian Church.

<sup>2</sup> Life of Dr. Samuel Miller, vol. I.

**EARLY FURNACES AND FORGES OF BERKS  
COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA.**

BY MORTON L. MONTGOMERY.

The first permanent settlements in Pennsylvania were made by Swedes in 1643, in the extreme southeastern section along the Delaware River. Previously, for over twenty years, the English had visited this locality in the interest of trade; but they had effected no foothold. Prospecting parties had explored the valleys and hills for many miles to the north and west; and practical observation had revealed to them the wealth of the surrounding country in respect to agriculture, mining, and commerce. And within fifty years afterward, by the time that William Penn came to be the Proprietor of the land, special attention was directed to minerals and mining.

Similar explorations were made far to the north and northeast, and to the south and southwest, and similar discoveries were made. But there would seem to have been more energy and enterprise displayed in these directions by the English than they, or the Swedes, or the Dutch displayed in Pennsylvania; for, by the time that William Penn and the numerous settlers of his great province came to fully appreciate the value of the lands and streams for mining and manufacturing purposes, not only ores had been discovered elsewhere, but iron had in fact been manufactured. And yet the surrounding circumstances were about the same. Water-power was superior, ore was convenient, and wood was superabundant on the hills near by. This is rather surprising.

The Swedes were the first permanent settlers in the Schuylkill valley for any considerable distance from Philadelphia. In 1701 they effected a foothold by taking up ten thousand acres of land at a point about forty-five miles from its confluence with the Delaware. This Swedish settlement, a score of years afterward, became Amity Township. Agri-

culture alone would seem to have induced them to locate here. And a similar reason induced the first German settlers in Oley valley to locate along the Manatawny Creek from eight to ten miles to the north. And yet within ten miles to the northeast and east of these respective settlements, along the Ironstone Creek—a tributary of the Manatawny—iron ore had been discovered before the settlements were made; and it had been successfully mined, and iron manufactured therefrom certainly about 1720, before either Amity or Oley Township was erected. No iron ore nor furnace was in the Swedish settlement, or near by, either then or afterward. These Swedes were not even workers in iron; and, strange to say, their descendants were not subsequently, excepting in a few instances, when they entered this great industry as if by accident.

The county of Berks was formed out of parts of Philadelphia, Lancaster, and Chester counties in 1752. The largest portion was taken from Philadelphia County, and comprised the entire upper section, about 280,000 acres, which lay east of the Schuylkill River. The portion from Chester County was comparatively insignificant, comprising only about 4000 acres. In each portion taken from the respective counties there were iron industries at an early period in the history of the county, especially in the lower part of the portion taken from Philadelphia County. These were scattered many miles from one another. They extended from the southern boundary to the northern, and from the eastern to the western. All were located along strong streams which afforded constant water power, and in the midst of thickly wooded territory which furnished an inexhaustible supply of charcoal. The greater number were east of the Schuylkill. The eight following streams were occupied before the Revolution: Manatawny and its tributary, the Ironstone, West Branch of Perkiomen, French, Hay, Allegheny, Tulpehocken, and its tributary, Spring.

South of the "South Mountain" were the following:

Furnaces: Colebrookdale, Mount Pleasant, Hopewell, and Oley.

Forges: Pool, Pine, Hay-Creek, Oley, Spring, Mount Pleasant, and Gibraltar.



North of this mountain, however, there were only one furnace, Roxborough or Berkshire, and one forge, Charming.

The following historical facts are submitted, relating to the industries named. They conflict with and antedate numerous statements heretofore made and published. They were gathered almost entirely from the recorded deeds, etc., in the Recorder's Office of Berks County. For this reason they can be generally relied upon as correct. Notwithstanding my diligent search, this narrative is incomplete. Further investigation will doubtless reveal additional facts with respect to some of the industries named, as well before as after the Revolution, and these may modify certain statements made and opinions expressed.

#### COLEBROOKDALE FURNACE.

The Colebrookdale furnace was situated on the Ironstone Creek, an important branch of the Manatawny, in Colebrookdale Township, within a mile to the south of the Borough of Boyertown. A valuable deposit of iron ore here induced its erection at this point. It is supposed to have been erected in the year 1720, "or a year or two earlier," by a company, comprising, among others, Thomas Rutter, Anthony Morris, James Lewis, and Thomas Potts. Especial mention of it is made in Watson's *Annals*, in the *Potts Memorial* by Mrs. James, and in the able and exhaustive chapter on "Iron Making in Pennsylvania," by Mr. James M. Swank, in *Pennsylvania and the Centennial Exhibition*, vol. 1. The transmission of title to this furnace property is complicated. The facts about its inception, operation, and abandonment are involved in considerable obscurity. A correct statement of facts about it will therefore not be attempted. It is generally conceded to have been the first furnace which was erected in Pennsylvania. Thomas Rutter died in 1730. In November, 1728, he executed a last will, by which it would appear that he owned two-thirds of a furnace and of a forge; the former, it is supposed, was this furnace, and the latter "Pool Forge." In 1731 it was owned in one-twelfth parts, as

follows—the Rutter family apparently not owning any interest:

Anthony Morris . . .	1—12	Nathaniel French . . .	3—12
Alexander Wooddross	3—12	George Mifflin . . .	1—12
Samuel Preston . . .	1—12	Thomas Potts } . . .	1—12
William Attwood . . .	1—12	George Boone } . . .	1—12
John Leacock . . .	1—12		

About this time the furnace was carried on extensively. Pig-iron was manufactured and sold in large quantities. The price was \$15.00 a ton. “Country-castings”—articles of iron used by farmers in the vicinity—were also made, the price of which was twice that of pig-iron.

A stove-plate, inscribed as having been cast at this furnace in 1768, was exhibited at the “Centennial Exhibition” in 1876. It is supposed that the furnace was abandoned soon after this cast was made.

The furnace was named after one of the same name in Shropshire, in England. The surrounding territory naturally took the same name; and, subsequently, in 1786, upon its erection into a township, it was called “Colebrookdale.”

#### MOUNT PLEASANT FURNACE.

The Mount Pleasant furnace was situated on the West Branch of the Perkiomen Creek, in Colebrookdale (now Washington) Township, about five miles north of “Colebrookdale” furnace, at a point a short distance beyond Barto, the terminus of the Colebrookdale Railroad. It is said to have been erected by Thomas Potts, Jr., in 1788. The first blast was made on 12th of October, 1788, and continued to 11th of December, following, during which time there were manufactured: pig-iron, 85 tons; country castings, 6 T. 1 cwt. 2 qr. 2 p.; and forge castings, 7 cwt. 3 qr. 6 p.; altogether 91 T. 9 cwt. 1 qr. 8 p. Six blasts were made to the 20th of July, 1741; a total of 470 days, during which time 690 tons of iron were produced. The subsequent history of the furnace is not known; at least it has not as yet been published, perhaps not even investigated thoroughly, owing to the

absence of unrecorded agreements and title-papers. Its exact locality can still be identified by the base of the stack.

#### HOPEWELL FURNACE.

The Hopewell furnace is situated on French Creek, in Union Township, near the county line. It is said to have been erected by William Bird in 1759. This is possible, but not probable. He died 16th November, 1762. But this furnace was not then part of his possessions. And yet he then owned the Roxborough furnace in Heidelberg, distant at least fifteen miles from Birdsboro. If he had owned it, why should he have sold it just before his death, inasmuch as it was only five miles distant, whereas the Roxborough was situated three times as far off? But there is no title of record from him to any one. It is more than likely that Mark Bird built this furnace after his father's death, say about 1765. He was then twenty-six years old. He held it for twenty years. The first mention of it is made in a mortgage, dated in 1772, made by him to his sister Mary and brothers William and James to secure the payment of certain trust moneys. Becoming subsequently embarrassed, he, in 1785, was first compelled to borrow money (200,000 Spanish Milled Dollars) from John Nixon, a merchant, of Philadelphia, on a mortgage, in which (among other properties) he described the "Birdsborough" ironworks and 8000 acres of land, which included the Hopewell furnace property; and then, finding himself insolvent, he, in 1786, transferred the property to Nixon, in trust to sell, and satisfy debts, etc. Nixon accordingly exposed it to public sale, and in 1788 transferred one-third to Cadwallader Morris, and two-thirds to James Old, both iron-masters. At this time the furnace lands comprised altogether 5163 acres. In 1790 Cadwallader Morris sold his one-third of the premises to Benjamin Morris; and in 1791 James Old sold his two-thirds to the same person. In 1793 Benjamin Morris resold the entire furnace property to James Old. After the lapse of seven years, Old became embarrassed

and was forced to yield up his title through the law and the sheriff to his creditor Benjamin Morris, who bought it at the sale. This was in 1800. In August, 1800, Morris sold it to Daniel Buckley, of Lancaster County, Thomas Brooke, of Montgomery County, and Matthew Brooke, Jr., of Berks County, for £10,000. The furnace was rebuilt in this year. The Brookes subsequently sold out their interests, and Dr. Charles Clingan acquired an interest in it. Edward S. Buckley is now a joint owner with the estate of Dr. Clingan. Charcoal has been used from the beginning till now. It may be the oldest furnace in the county now in existence. The "Oley" was built about the same time. The "Hopewell" has been in the Buckley family over eighty years. The "Joanna" has been in the Smith family nearly ninety years.

#### OLEY FURNACE.

The Oley furnace is situated on the Furnace Creek, a branch of the Little Manatawny, in Oley Township, a short distance north of Friedensburg, and near the line between Oley and Ruscombmanor Townships. It was built most probably by Dietrich Welcker, an iron-master of Skippack, between 1758 and 1768, say about 1765; and it is possible that William Mayberry was a joint owner with him in the beginning. In 1768 the furnace was certainly in existence and in active operation, for Welcker then borrowed £100 from John Leshner, an iron-master of Oley, and executed a mortgage to him, in which the furnace is mentioned and five tracts of land, together 558 as. 110 ps. He had borrowed money from others, who sent the sheriff after him. Subsequently Daniel Udree came to own this furnace, and carried it on in connection with the "Rockland Forges," situated several miles to the northeast, till his death in 1828. It is now, and has been for years, owned by the "Clymer Iron Co." A plate, with an inscription, "1770," is built in the stack of the furnace; but this must certainly relate to some other fact than the date of the beginning of the furnace. An ore bank is near by. But iron ore was also supplied in its early operation

## 62 *Early Furnaces and Forges of Berks County, Penna.*

from the Moselem mine, in Richmond Township, distant about eight miles to the northwest.

### BERKSHIRE FURNACE.

The Berkshire furnace was situated on a branch of Spring Creek, in Lower Heidelberg Township, about two miles southwest of Wernersville. It was erected by William Bird about 1760. It was part of his estate at the time of his death in 1762. The name first given to it was Roxborough. It is not known when the name was changed to Berkshire. About 1790 George Ege purchased the furnace property and carried it on for several years, when he abandoned it, doubtless owing to scarcity of water. During the Revolution cannon balls were manufactured at this furnace. Ege carried it on under a lease with the widow of Wm. Bird—intermarried with John Patton—from 1774. She owned it from 1764 to 1790. Mr. Ege rendered an account to the "United States" April 3, 1783, in which it appears that he furnished the Government November 14, 1780, with the following shells and shot, altogether of the value of £2894 11s. 6d.:

Shells: 867, 10 in.; 714, 8 in.

Shot: 843, 24 pd.; 2137, 18 pd.; 289, 12 pd.

### POOL FORGES.

Pool forge was situated on the Manatawny Creek, a short distance below the point where the Ironstone flows into it; and another of the same name on the Manatawny, several miles below. The latter is supposed to have been the first of the two, and erected in the year 1717. This would be a few years before the time generally allowed as the date of the erection of the Colebrookdale furnace. It is believed that the remarks of Jonathan Dickinson, in a letter written in 1717, related to this forge. He said: "This last summer one Thomas Rutter, a smith, who lived not far from Germantown, hath removed farther up in the country, and of his own strength hath set upon making iron. Such it proves

to be, as is highly set by by all the smiths here; who say that the best of Sweed's iron doth not exceed it. And we have accounts of others that are going on with iron works." It is not known when the former forge began. Thomas Rutter was interested in one, or perhaps both, of these forges. A forge is mentioned in his last will, dated in 1728, in which he disposes of two one-third interests. In 1731 a "Pool Forge" was owned in one-sixteenth parts, as follows:

Anthony Morris . . .	2—16	Nathaniel French . . .	1—16
Alexander Wooddross . . .	2—16	George Miffin . . .	1—16
Samuel Preston . . .	1—16	Thomas Potts } . . .	1—16
William Attwood . . .	1—16	George Boon } . . .	1—16
John Leacock . . .	1—16	Rutter's Estate . . .	6—16

The subsequent history of this forge is unknown. It is possible that Pine forge was built in 1740, near by to take its place in the manufacture of blooms.

#### PINE FORGE.

The Pine forge was erected in 1740, by Thomas Potts. It was situated on Manatawny Creek, in Douglass Township, very near the line of Amity. One of the "Pool" forges was situated a short distance above and the other some distance below. His son, John Potts, succeeded him. After the forge had been carried on for some years by him, it was sold in 1769 to David Potts, Jr. In 1783 David Rutter bought it at public sale, and he carried it on till his death in 1815, when his son John became the owner of the property. Subsequently Joseph Bailey came to own the works, and in 1845 he converted the forge into a rolling-mill. There was a "Little Pine" forge not far distant, but its locality and history have not been ascertained.

#### HAY-CREEK FORGE.

William Bird obtained land along Hay Creek, in the eastern extremity of Robeson Township, in 1739, the patent therefor having been taken out three years before by Francis

64 *Early Furnaces and Forges of Berks County, Penna.*

Hughes. In the following year he began the iron business in this locality by the erection of a forge on Hay Creek, about a half-mile above the Schuylkill. He then took up additional tracts of land by warrant and survey, and by 1756 he had secured about three thousand acres. This forge was carried on by him till his death in 1762. Subsequently his widow owned it for some years. His son, Mark Bird, carried on business here until he failed in 1788 and was sold out by the sheriff. At this time it is supposed that Mark Bird had about 8000 acres of land in connection with his iron industries.

In 1764 the iron works here comprised three forges, corn (grist) mill, saw mill, and about 2400 acres of land.

The pig iron was probably obtained at Colebrookdale furnace, distant about ten miles, for about twenty-five years till the erection of Hopewell furnace, five miles distant to the south.

Mr. Bird laid out a town below the forge towards the river, it is believed about 1750, and called it Birdsboro. In 1751 he erected within the limits of the town plan a fine two story cut-stone mansion house. This building is still standing, and is now the "Birdsboro House."

At the sheriff's sale in 1788 the forge property was purchased by Cadwallader Morris, James Wilson, and others, of Philadelphia; and in 1796 John Louis Barde became the owner. Matthew Brooke married a daughter of Barde, and subsequently purchased the property. It has since remained in the Brooke family. Edward Brooke and George Brooke, brothers, began business here in 1837. The iron works then comprised two forges, with a capacity of two hundred tons of bar iron per annum. In 1846 they erected a charcoal furnace called "Hampton;" in 1848 a rolling mill and nail factory; in 1851 an anthracite furnace, and some years afterward two additional furnaces. Their total annual capacity is about 38,000 tons of pig iron and 175,000 kegs of nails. After the death of Edward Brooke in 1878 "The Brooke Iron Co." was instituted, and this company is now carrying on the business. The iron industry at Birdsboro, which, in

the course of one hundred and forty years, has been so admirably developed out of the "Hay-Creek Forge" of William Bird, was in 1878 the largest and richest personal enterprise in this section of the State.

#### OLEY FORGE.

The Oley forge was situated on the Manatawny Creek, about ten miles from its confluence with the Schuylkill, and about a half-mile south of the "Oley Churches." It continued in active operation for one hundred and twenty years.

In 1744 John Ross, gentleman, of Philadelphia, and John Yoder and John Leshner, of Oley, entered into a joint partnership for erecting a forge for manufacturing pig metal into bar iron. They then purchased from Sebastian Graeff a tract of one hundred and ninety-seven acres of land, situated in Oley Township, on the Manatawny Creek, adjoining lands of Robert Stapleton and John Yoder, and the "Great Road" leading to Philadelphia; and thereon erected a forge, constructed a water pond, water courses, and the necessary buildings, and supplied the utensils for the business of making bar iron; and they also purchased warrants for taking up land on the hills adjacent to the forge in order to supply it with charcoal. In 1750 John Yoder sold to John Leshner his one-third interest "of said tract and of the forge, working gears, tools, implements, dams, etc." Leshner and Ross held their respective interests in the forge till Ross's death. In the settlement of the partnership affairs litigation arose between Leshner and the Ross estate. This was being conducted in 1784, when Leshner sold his two-thirds to his son Jacob Leshner, an iron-master, and his sons-in-law, John Potts, a miller, and Jacob Morgan, a merchant. In 1794 Frederick Spang, an iron-master of Oley, obtained an interest in this forge property, and some years afterward secured all the interests. He, and, after his decease, his son Jacob, and grandson of the same name, carried on the iron business here for seventy years, until the close of the Rebellion. During this long interval, especially for fifty years, the forge was



## 66 *Early Furnaces and Forges of Berks County, Penna.*

known as the "Spang Forge." It was abandoned about 1870. Nothing is left to mark the spot, excepting the dam. In the transfer by Leshar to his son and sons-in-law, in 1784, mention is made of a furnace. It was situated in District Township, near the head waters of Pine Creek, a tributary of Manatawny. The Oley furnace was then in operation several miles to the northwest. Leshar loaned money on it in 1768, and between that time and 1784 he may have come to own it. But the titles of record do not disclose the fact.

### SPRING FORGES.

A Spring forge was at one time in existence, on the Manatawny, not far from "Pool Forge." It was owned by Anthony Morris, and in operation in 1729. Pig metal was supplied from Colebrookdale furnace. No definite information in relation to it has as yet been developed.

Another Spring forge was situated on Pine Creek, a branch of the Manatawny, in District (now Pike) Township, about four miles north of the "Oley Churches." Its early history is involved in obscurity. In 1760 Rebecca Potts purchased at sheriff's sale a one-sixth interest in it. She died possessed of this interest, and in 1778 her executor sold it and a like interest in six tracts of land, together containing eight hundred and thirty-eight acres, to John Old, an iron-master, resident in District Township. Old subsequently obtained an increased interest in this industry, and in 1778 sold seventeen twenty-sevenths parts to Mark Bird. During its later history it was owned successively by William Schall, Jacob Deysher, and Francis R. Heilig. It was abandoned by Heilig about 1865.

A third Spring forge was erected by John Schenkel Bertolet about 1812. It was situated on the Manatawny Creek, in the southern extremity of Earl Township, near the line of Amity. He carried it on till his death in 1828. Then his son, Dr. David K. Bertollette, took the forge property under his last will, and continued operations till 1840. Subsequently it passed through various hands, and was finally

*Early Furnaces and Forges of Berks County, Penna. 67*

abandoned about 1860. It is possible that the forge first mentioned of this name was situated here or near by. But it (the first) may have been the second mentioned. And this is probable, for it existed before 1760, it occupied a superior site, ore was not far distant, and wood was abundant in the immediate vicinity.

**MOUNT PLEASANT FORGE.**

A forge (it is believed) was connected with the Mount Pleasant furnace; but there is no definite knowledge concerning its early history. It stood on the West Branch of the Perkiomen, about a mile above the furnace. If it was not erected and carried on by the Potts family, it is probable that it was by either Nicholas Hunter or his son-in-law, John Fisher, about fifty or sixty years afterward. Mr. Fisher, it is certain, carried it on for a number of years till his decease in 1828, when his estate continued operations for over twenty years, latterly by a son, J. N. H. Fisher, and son-in-law, Abraham B. Bechtel. On the 25th March, 1854, it was sold to Samuel W. Weiss, and then operated by him till the close of the Rebellion. The dam was washed away by a freshet several years ago. The "Dale Iron Works" were situated a mile above it on the same stream.

**GIBRALTAR FORGE.**

Mark Bird, it is supposed, in connection with his other enterprises, began a forge on the Allegheny Creek, about a mile from the Schuylkill, in Robeson Township, and named it "Gibraltar." The year of its erection is not known, though it is supposed about 1770; nor its subsequent history for many years. But this supposition is questionable.

It is more than probable that this industry was founded by Thomas Bull, John Smith, and Thomas May about the time that they erected the Joanna furnace, about six miles to the south in the same township. They were interested then in "Dale Furnace," and probably prepared the way

### 68 *Early Furnaces and Forges of Berks County, Penna.*

for selling it by first erecting the "Gibraltar" forge which was to be used in connection with the Joanna furnace.

In 1827 the estate of Thomas May owned it. In 1828 his two sons Newton and Addison, by their guardians, sold it and 444 acres of land to Simon Seyfert and John Schwartz, for \$6500. These two iron-masters then operated it in connection with the "Mt. Penn" furnace several miles to the west, on "Flying-Hill" Creek. In 1835 they dissolved partnership, Schwartz taking the furnace, and Seyfert the forge. Subsequently the forge property was transferred to Seyfert, McManus & Co.

#### CHARMING FORGE.

The Charming forge is situated on the southeastern border of Tulpehocken Township, on the Tulpehocken Creek, several miles north of Womelsdorf. It was erected by John George Nikoll, a hammersmith, and Michael Miller, in 1749. Then, in pursuance of an agreement entered into shortly before, they, "at their joint expense, erected an Iron work or Forge and Dam, and dug a Race or water course and made other great improvements for the commencing of forging and the manufacturing of iron." After passing through several parties Henry William Stiegel was the owner in 1763. It was then known as the "Tulpehocken" forge. Then he sold an undivided half part of the forge property and of 859 acres of land to Charles Stedman and Alexander Stedman, merchants, of Philadelphia. By 1770 the quantity of land used in connection with the forge had increased beyond 3700 acres. In this year Charles Stedman bought his brother's interest in the forge property at sheriff's sale. In the sheriff's deed-poll to him the forge is called for the first time, in the title, "Charming Forge." It had been so known and commonly called for some years previously. Its name arose from the picturesque, charming locality. In 1778 the sheriff of the county sold Stiegel's undivided half interest in the forge property (then comprising 1291 acres) to Paul Zensinger, merchant, of Lancaster, for £1660. Zensin-

ger, on the same day that he obtained the sheriff's deed-poll for the property, (9 February, 1774,) conveyed his interest to George Ege, iron-master, of York County, for £838 14s. 9d. Nine years afterward Ege bought Stedman's interest in the property for £1563 13s. 6d. From this time onward for nearly fifty years Mr. Ege was very prominently identified with the industrial life of Berks County. From 1791 to 1818 he was an associate judge. In 1804 he built and operated the "Schuylkill Forge," which was situated on the Little Schuylkill (Tamaqua Creek) a short distance north of Port Clinton. At this time he was doubtless the largest land holder in the county. His possessions then were: Charming Forge, with 4000 acres; Reading Furnace, with 6000 acres; Schuylkill Forge, with 6000 acres; also four large and valuable farms, situated in Heidelberg and Tulpehocken Townships, comprising together nearly a thousand acres, and known in the vicinity as the "Spring," "Sheaff," "Leiss," and "Richard" farms. In 1824 he was forced to make an assignment. His debts and expenses exceeded \$300,000. But his estate proved entirely solvent. Through the prudent management of his estate, for a period covering fifteen years, by his acting assignee, Andrew Taylor, all the debts were satisfied, and a balance was left for distribution to his heirs. He died in December, 1830.

This forge property then passed through a number of parties until 1855, when it became vested in Andrew Taylor and his two sons, William and B. Franklin. In 1866 Mr. Taylor died, and his interest passed to the sons named by devise. They have since held and operated the forge. They own in connection with the forge about 3600 acres of land. Five-sixths of this large quantity lie in the Blue Mountain range. The land extends from "Round-Head" eastwardly, in an unbroken tract for seven miles.

In 1777 Ege improved the property at the forge by the erection of a large, commodious, and conveniently arranged cut-stone, two-story mansion house. It is still standing, in fine order.

About this time he hired from the Government thirty-four

## 70 *Early Furnaces and Forges of Berks County, Penna.*

Hessian prisoners, for the purpose of cutting a channel from twelve to fifteen feet deep, and two hundred and fifty feet long, through a bed of limestone in order to supply with water-power a "slitting mill" which he had erected. The channel is still used. November 5, 1782, he allowed the United States Government £1020 for their services.

In 1780 he owned ten slaves, seven males and three females; certified of record in the prothonotary's office of the county.

### OTHER FURNACES AND FORGES.

Furnaces and forges were erected in different parts of the county during or subsequent to the Revolution and before 1800. Among them there were the following:

Furnaces: Union, District, Sally-Ann, Joanna, Dale, Mary-Ann, Reading, and Greenwood.

Forges: Brobst's, Rockland, Burkhart's, Dale, and District.

### UNION FURNACE.

The Union furnace is mentioned in connection with the Union or "Brobst's Forges."

### DISTRICT FURNACE.

The District furnace was situated on Pine Creek, in District Township, about a mile from the line of Pike Township. The time of its erection is not known, nor the builder, though it has been asserted that Jacob Leshar erected it previous to 1797. It was owned by John Leshar, father of Jacob, previous to 1784. He may have erected it about the time of the erection of the Oley forge. This is possible, even probable. The distance between the two industries was about six miles. The pig metal was obtained from some furnace. He was a man of wealth, energy, and enterprise; and it is more than likely that he supplied his own pig metal rather than purchase it at the Colebrookdale and Mt. Pleasant furnaces, (which were situated across the "Oley Hills," and distant from eight to ten miles,) and

haul it over rough and steep roads. In 1791 he conveyed it to his son Jacob, "out of love and affection," together with a grist-mill, saw-mill, and three tracts of land. The "furnace tract" in District comprised 1582 acres, 104 perches. The other tracts were in Earl, and contained 213 acres, 60 perches. Its subsequent history is not known. On a county map of 1820 it is marked as "Lesher's furnace." It is supposed to have been abandoned about 1797 by Jacob Lesher, because he could not satisfactorily work up the primitive rock ore of that vicinity. (By a deed of record dated in 1793 it would appear that John Lesher sold one-third of this furnace to John Teysher; it having been called "German" or District furnace.)

#### SALLY-ANN FURNACE.

The Sally-Ann furnace was erected, it is supposed, by Valentine Eckert, an iron-master, about 1791. It is situated on the Sacony Creek, in the northern section of Rockland Township. This supposition is, however, doubtful, if not erroneous. Previous to 1811 Abraham Biever, a farmer, owned the tract of 94 acres upon which the furnace stands. In the year named he sold this tract to Nicholas Hunter, an iron-master. There was no furnace on then. It is, therefore, probable that Mr. Hunter erected this furnace soon after the purchase of the land. Subsequently he transferred the furnace and lands to his son Jacob V. R. Hunter; whose estate still holds it. Active operations were discontinued about 1869. It was leased in 1879, but work was carried on for only a year.

#### JOANNA FURNACE.

The Joanna furnace was erected in 1792, by Potts and Rutter, and named after a daughter of the former. It is situated on Hay Creek, in Robeson Township, near the line of Cærnarvon. In 1796 it was purchased by Thomas Bull, John Smith, and Thomas May. Subsequently Levi B. Smith, son of John Smith, became the owner, and operated it till his

## 72 *Early Furnaces and Forges of Berks County, Penna.*

decease in 1876, when it passed to his son, L. Heber Smith, who is the present owner. Near 6000 acres of land are connected with the furnace, lying together in a great, irregular tract, and situated in Robeson, Cærnarvon, and Brecknock Townships. The furnace was rebuilt in 1847. It is run by water and steam power.

### DALE FURNACE.

The Dale furnace was situated on the West Branch of the Perkiomen Creek, two miles above the Mt. Pleasant furnace. It was erected about 1791, by Thomas Potts, Joseph Potts, Jr., and John Smith, iron-masters. In the year named they purchased from Lewis Walker a tract of 150 acres in Hereford Township, (but since 1839 in Washington,) and doubtless immediately proceeded to erect thereon a furnace. In 1793 it was certainly in existence, for then Joseph Potts, Jr., sold his one-third interest to Robert E. Hobart. In 1811 it was owned by Thomas Bull, Robert May, John Smith, and John Thompson, iron-masters. About this time, probably soon afterward, a forge was erected near by. Then this enterprise took the name of "Dale Iron Works." In 1819 these works were in active operation. The furnace was abandoned about 1821. In 1822 they were owned by Dr. Jacob Loeser. In 1826 they were purchased by George Schall and David Schall for \$11,900, comprising a forge, a large dam covering fourteen acres, a fine commodious stone mansion and tenant houses, and other buildings and over six hundred acres of land. Subsequently David Schall became the sole owner of the works and operated them till 1868, when he abandoned the manufacturing business.

### MARY-ANN FURNACE.

The Mary-Ann furnace was situated in Longswamp Township, on the headwaters of the Little Lehigh. It was erected before 1797, possibly about 1789, by Jacob Lesher, and carried on by him actively till 1808. He then sold it to his son-

in-law, Reuben Trexler. It was operated by Mr. Trexler till 1837, when he transferred it to his son Horatio, who carried on work till a suspension of business there was forced in 1869 by the scarcity of wood, high price of labor, and the increased demand and cost of the Longswamp ore, superinduced by the introduction of the East Penn Railroad through the East Penn Valley from Reading to Allentown. The railway, instead of benefiting the "Mary-Ann," as it had been argued and hoped that the result would be, actually robbed her of glorious and profitable activity, and transferred the life of industry into the Lehigh Valley.

The first "stone coal" stoves, manufactured in Pennsylvania, were made at this furnace by Reuben Trexler. They were called the "Lehigh Coal Stove." The plates of these stoves were first made in the open sand about 1820; subsequently flasks were introduced. They were made here till 1857, but the development of foundries for this purpose caused the discontinuance of this branch of industry.

#### READING FURNACE.

Upon the abandonment of the "Berkshire" furnace by George Ege, he, in the same year, 1794, erected a furnace several miles to the west, on Spring Creek in Heidelberg Township, and carried it on successfully till his assignment for the benefit of creditors in 1824. In 1807 he improved the property by the erection of a mansion house (similar to the one occupied by him at Charming forge) for the manager of the furnace, Andrew Taylor. It subsequently became vested in Robeson & Brooke, who abandoned it about 1850. They improved the property by the erection of an anthracite furnace in 1845, and another in 1858. It was then purchased by White, Ferguson & Co.

#### GREENWOOD FURNACE.

In 1796 Lewis Reese and Isaac Thomas erected a furnace near Schuylkill Gap, on the north side of Sharp Mountain, and carried on the manufacture of iron till 1806. They then



#### 74 *Early Furnaces and Forges of Berks County, Penna.*

sold it to John Pott, of District Township, in Berks County. In 1807 Pott tore it down and erected in its stead another furnace which he named "Greenwood."

Near the mouth of the Little Schuylkill, a short distance above Port Clinton, George Ege, it is said, erected the "Schuylkill" furnace about 1804.

These two furnaces are also mentioned in this narrative because they were included in the territory of Berks County, beyond Blue Mountain, till 1811, when Schuylkill County was erected.

#### BROBST'S FORGES.

In Albany Township, in the northern section of Berks County, on a branch of Maiden Creek, called Pine Creek, there were two forges and a furnace. It is not definitely known when or by whom they were erected. In 1780, Arnold Billig sold to Michael Brobst two tracts of land in this township, one of 115 acres, and the other of 15 acres, with the *buildings, improvements, etc.*, for the sum of *eleven thousand pounds*. No iron works are mentioned, as they generally are in deeds conveying property including such important improvements. But why should Brobst pay such a large consideration for 130 acres of land if there had not been erected thereon valuable improvements, such as iron works? Accordingly, it may be inferred that there were iron works in this township then. Billig, however, is not described as an iron-master, nor Brobst. But Brobst was subsequently engaged in the manufacture of iron in this locality with his brother, John Brobst; and in 1818 they were sold out by the sheriff, the properties sold comprising one furnace, two forges, and 3646 acres of land. These iron works were subsequently known by the name of "Union," and operated for a number of years by George Reagan.

#### ROCKLAND FORGES.

The Rockland forges were situated in the southern section of Rockland Township, on Beaver Creek, a tributary of

Manatawny. One of the forges was erected by John Truckenmiller, an iron-master of Richmond Township, in the year 1783; and shortly afterward he erected a second forge about one-fourth of a mile farther up the creek. In 1788 he was sold out by the sheriff of the county, and Richard Lewis, an iron-master of Robeson Township, bought the forges. Ten years afterward, in 1798, he sold them to Daniel Udree, who operated them till his decease in 1828. They, in connection with a very large estate, then passed to his son-in-law, J. Udree Schneider, and were operated by him also till his death in 1834. Subsequently the Udree estate became involved by its management, and in 1841 these forges were again put under the hammer by the sheriff and sold. After passing through several hands, they were finally abandoned about 1850. A third forge stood on the same creek a short distance above these forges. It was erected about 1830 by Daniel Oyster, and operated ten years. Its site was just above the "Rohrbach Mill."

#### BURKHART'S FORGE.

The Burkhardt's forge was situated in Alsace Township, on Antietam Creek, about one hundred and fifty yards north of the "Stony-Creek Mill." It was erected by Philip Seidel, an iron-master, resident in this township about 1792. He, in 1791, had purchased tract No. 82 of "Penn's Manor," containing 15 as. 118 ps. By the record it would appear that he erected *forges* on this tract. On the 12th of March, 1796, he sold these forges to Samuel Burkhardt, of Bern Township. Burkhardt operated them—at least one of them—subsequently for a number of years. In 1830 one forge was operated by Burkhardt & Keen. It was known as the "Green Tree," having taken its name from the evergreen trees on the steep hillsides in the vicinity. It was abandoned about 1850.

#### DALE FORGE.

The Dale forge is mentioned in connection with the furnace of same name constituting "Dale Iron Works."

#### DISTRICT FORGE

The District forges comprised two forges situated on Pine Creek, in District Township. The first of these forges was erected about 1793, by Jacob Leshar. About fifteen years afterward he conveyed it to his son-in-law, Reuben Trexler, who carried it on till about 1830, when he demolished it, and erected in its stead a large stone grist-mill. Another was built by Jacob Leshar a half mile farther up the stream about the year 1812. He built it for his son-in-law, Samuel Sands. It was discontinued several years afterward. A third was built (it is supposed) by Jacob Else about the same time lower down the stream, in what is now Pike Township. Subsequently it was operated by William Schall, Jacob Deysher, and Francis Heilig. This supposition must be erroneous. This forge was known in the vicinity as the "Pott Forge," formerly the "Spring Forge" hereinbefore mentioned. A fourth forge was erected by Reuben Trexler, in 1828, a half mile distant to the north. He carried it on till 1846, when he sold it to his son, Horatio Trexler. This also subsequently became vested in Francis Heilig. He operated both for some years, till about 1865, when he gradually discontinued active operation, and finally abandoned them. They were latterly known as "Heilig's Forges."

#### SPEED-WELL FORGE.

The Speed-well forge was erected, it is supposed, by Philip Seidel, about 1800. In 1815 it was purchased by Nicholas Yocum, who operated it for some years. It was situated in Cumru Township, on Angelica Creek, about five miles south of Reading. Speed-well, No. 2, was built by Mr. Yocum, in 1835. Moses and Daniel Yocum, his sons, then operated them separately till about 1870, when they were abandoned.

#### RECENT INDUSTRIES.

Among the more recent furnaces and forges in the county, there were the following, the date after the name indicating the year of erection :

*Early Furnaces and Forges of Berks County, Penna. 77*

*Furnaces.*

Windsor . . . .	Reading (Seyfert, Mc-
Hamburg . . . .	Manus & Co.) . . . 1853
Moselem . . . . 1823	second stack . . . 1873
Mount Penn . . . 1825	Temple . . . . . 1867
Earl . . . . . 1835	Keystone . . . . . 1869
Mount Laurel . . . 1836	second stack . . . 1872
Henry Clay . . . . 1844	Topton . . . . . 1873
second stack . . . . 1854	East Penn (2 stacks) . 1874
Monocacy . . . . . 1852	Kutztown . . . . . 1875
Leesport . . . . . 1853	Bechtelsville . . . . 1875
Maiden Creek . . . . 1854	

*Forges.*

Do-Well . . . . . 1825	Exeter . . . . . 1836
Moyer's . . . . . 1825	Mount Airy . . . . . 1840
Moselem . . . . . 1825	Seidel's . . . . . 1853
Sixpenny . . . . . 1825	Keystone . . . . . 1854
North Kill . . . . . 1830	Reading . . . . . 1857
Bloom . . . . . 1830	Douglassville . . . . 1878

**IRON-MASTERS.**

The iron-masters of the county comprise many men distinguished for their energy, enterprise, success, and wealth. They extend through the history of the county from its earliest settlements till now. A great proportion of the material prosperity and enrichment of the county has been contributed by them. They have, to a great degree, influenced its social, political, and industrial welfare. In the settlement and development of its several sections, south, east, west, and north, they have been pioneers. Though their great and influential industry does not antedate agriculture in the affairs of the county, it has, nevertheless, been a traveling companion; and, like agriculture, it has been transmitted from grandfather to son and grandson. Their names reveal the fact that the great majority of them have been Germans or of German origin.

In the year 1806 Berks County was distinguished for its numerous manufacturing establishments, its trade and enter-

78 *Early Furnaces and Forges of Berks County, Penna.*

prise. The following iron industries were then in operation:

Tilt hammers . . . . . 9	Furnaces . . . . . 8
Slitting-mill . . . . . 1	Forges . . . . . 20

Other industries of the county:

Powder-mills . . . . . 4	Distilleries . . . . . 212
Fulling-mills . . . . . 14	Grist-mills . . . . . 155
Hemp-mills . . . . . 2	Tanneries . . . . . 49
Paper-mills . . . . . 10	Oil-mills . . . . . 20
Saw-mills . . . . . 235	Hat factories (Reading) 40

(These were reported by assessors and published in the *Reading Adler* in 1807.)

The county at that time was evidently a great industrial centre. In the manufacture of iron alone it contained thirty-eight establishments. In 1830 there were eleven furnaces and twenty-four forges; in 1850, thirteen furnaces and twenty-three forges; and in 1876, twenty-seven furnaces, but only four forges. The great decrease of forges is accounted for by the introduction of rolling-mills, of which there were ten in the year last named. Water-power was apparently supplanted by the introduction of steam power. And instead of being located in many places throughout the county, as theretofore through a period of one hundred years, they were concentrated in several places.

The only industries of those named which were begun before 1800, now still in operation, are the following:

- Furnaces: Oley, Hopewell, and Joanna.
- Forges: Charming and Gibraltar.

The two following tables were arranged by Daniel M. Keim, to show the furnaces and forges in operation in Berks County for the years 1828, 1829, and 1830, the number of hands employed, the amount of production, etc., and published in the *Berks and Schuylkill Journal*, from which they were copied:

*Early Furnaces and Forges of Berks County, Penna. 79*

FURNACES.	OWNERS.	Work- men.	Depend- ent per- sons.	No. of horses.	Cords of wood.	Tons of pig metal.	Tons of castings.	Wheat, rye, and corn used.	Beef and pork used.
Reading . . . . .	George Ege . . . . .	228	1056	198	23,822	3,568	95	33,000	150,000
Hopewell . . . . .	Bachley & Brooke . . . . .	168	1600	84	15,000	1,279	981	21,000	30,000
Josama . . . . .	Wm. Darling . . . . .	168	1358	80	15,000	2,200	500	21,000	78,500
Mount Penn . . . . .	Seyfert & Schwarts . . . . .	220	1050	120	15,000	1,700	500	16,890	92,000
Oley . . . . .	J. Udree Schneider . . . . .	153	765	75	10,500	1,050	360	14,226	46,500
Sally Ann . . . . .	J. V. R. Hunter . . . . .	150	750	51	10,800	1,300	252	11,650	36,000
Mary Ann . . . . .	Reuben Trexler . . . . .	153	765	81	12,000	1,350	330	12,500	47,000
Windsor . . . . .	Jones, Keim & Co. . . . .	195	1075	48	11,200	650	750	8,600	49,000
Moselem . . . . .	N. V. R. Hunter . . . . .	18	90	15	4,500	643	.....	2,000	2,000
Union . . . . .	George Resgan . . . . .	18	90	15	6,000	700	.....	2,500	15,000
Kernaville . . . . .	Jonas Kern & Co. . . . .	12	60	12	4,500	260	100	3,000	3,000
		1483	8659	779	128,322	14,690	3868	146,366	549,000

80 *Early Furnaces and Forges of Berks County, Penna.*

FORGE.	OWNERS.	Work- men.	Depend- ent per- sons.	No. of horses.	Cords of wood.	Tons of bar iron.	Tons of blooms.	Wheat, rye, and corn used.	Beef and pork used.
Charming	George Ege	99	475	70	9,000	800	.....	9,000	98,550
Gibraltar (2)	Seyfert & Schwartz	168	740	60	9,000	.....	1900	12,000	175,000
Do-Well	Jonathan Seidel	85	425	60	5,000	.....	1000	7,000	65,000
Six-penny	George Zacharias	62	310	36	3,000	.....	600	5,500	56,000
Birdsboro'	Heirs of M. Brooke	94	470	52	7,500	750	.....	10,500	81,000
Speedwell	Daniel Yocum	99	99	54	3,450	205	300	11,000	88,000
North Kill	B. & J. Seyfert	36	160	22	3,000	300	.....	5,000	33,000
Green Tree	Keen & Burkhart	19	82	12	1,600	150	.....	2,500	17,000
Moselem	N. & J. Hunter	110	550	60	7,500	300	750	13,000	102,000
Rockland (2)	J. Udree Schneider	63	265	31	4,500	450	.....	6,000	5,000
Union	George Reagan	61	305	37	3,000	.....	600	5,600	25,000
Spring	J. S. Bertollette	41	205	40	3,750	375	.....	6,000	36,000
Oley	Jacob S. Spang	35	165	61	3,000	300	.....	5,000	32,000
New District	William Schall	30	146	48	3,000	240	.....	4,000	26,000
District (2)	Reuben Trexler	62	320	64	5,300	480	.....	7,000	53,000
Mount Pleasant (3)	.....	93	453	47	9,600	720	.....	10,000	78,000
Dale	David Schall	32	146	19	3,100	240	.....	3,500	25,000
Rockland	Daniel Oyster	18	81	17	2,500	150	.....	2,400	16,500
Pine	J. Rutter	90	460	61	8,500	700	.....	10,000	79,000
		1287	5887	851	95,300	6160	5150	135,000	1,089,050

*Early Furnaces and Forges of Berks County, Penna.* 81

The following statement shows the number of iron-works in Berks and adjoining counties for the years 1850 and 1876 respectively:

	FURNACES.		FORGES.		MILLS	
	1850.	1876.	1850.	1876	1850	1876.
Berks . . . . .	13	27	23	4	5	10
Bucks . . . . .	2	1	0	0	0	1
Chester . . . . .	5	4	6	6	14	9
Dauphin . . . . .	6	12	2	1	1	5
Delaware . . . . .	0	0	0	0	1	2
Lancaster . . . . .	16	15	12	2	2	6
Lebanon . . . . .	6	10	3	3	0	2
Lehigh . . . . .	9	28	0	0	0	3
Montgomery . . . . .	6	15	2	0	4	9
Philadelphia . . . . .	0	1	3	0	8	14
Schuylkill . . . . .	5	9	6	1	1	6
	68	122	57	17	36	67
Total of State . . . . .	298	279	127	39	79	156



**THE FIRST TAX LIST FOR PHILADELPHIA COUNTY.**

A. D. 1693.

**INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY WILLIAM BROOKE RAWLE.**

In the 59th Chapter of "The Great Law," passed at Upland in 1682, it had been provided that no money or goods should be raised upon or paid by any of the people of the province by way of a public tax, but by a law for that purpose made by the Governor and freemen thereof, and that no tax at any time should continue any longer than the space of one whole year. This law was substantially re-enacted, and approved by the Governor, Benjamin Fletcher, June 1st, 1693, and forms the 37th section of the law known as the "Bill of Right."

Previously to this, however, owing to great miscarriages, as it was alleged, in the Government of the Province, and the absence of the Proprietor, by reason of which it had fallen into disorder and confusion, Penn, in the year 1692, had been deprived of his Government by King William and Queen Mary, and a commission had been granted by them to Benjamin Fletcher, Governor of New York, to take Pennsylvania also under his government. He arrived in Philadelphia on April 26, 1693. After some opposition an Assembly was chosen in answer to his call, and a letter from Queen Mary to him was read, in which was embodied the chief business which he had to present for its action. This letter represented that great expense had been entailed upon the province of New York in the defence of its frontiers against the French, and called upon the several colonies to assist New York in resisting the attempts of the French and Indians. The Governor also, in his address to the Assembly, called its attention to the necessity of providing a general revenue for the support of the government. This, in fact, was the Governor's main object in calling the Assembly. But the great discontent among the people, caused by the abrogation by the King and Queen in council of various laws passed by the Assembly, showed itself in the many obstacles thrown in the way of the adoption of the Bill of Supply. Advantage was taken of the Governor's earnest desire that the bill should pass to procure the confirmation of existing laws, or the re-enactment of new ones of like import. These were embodied in the Petition of Right, and with the Bill of Supply and twenty-nine other new bills were finally passed into laws.

On the 18th of 3d mo. (May), 1693, the second day after the reading to Assembly of the Queen's letter, a Committee of Eleven was appointed to consider the part of the Governor's speech relating to the support of the Government and Fortification of the Province, etc., the sum needed, and how it could be raised. On the 19th the Committee reported that there was an absolute necessity of raising money to support the Government, and suggested a mode of doing so. On the 26th the report was considered, and it was resolved that a penny per pound of all the real and personal estates

within this Province and Territories, with respect had to the moderate assessment of all uncultivated and unprofitable land, and six shillings per head, should be assessed toward the support of Government. A motion that part of the money to be raised be appropriated for the use of the two late Governors was negatived; and it was voted that all counties should defray their respective county charges, and that the same be levied or taxed proportionably. David Lloyd, James Fox, Samuel Richardson, Thomas Pemberton, and Edward Blake were accordingly appointed a Committee to draw the bill.

The bill was presented on May (3d mo.) 30th, read the first time and passed, and on the following day it passed second reading. On June 1st it passed third reading, and was sent to the Governor, who gave it his assent on the same day.

This Act, which was the first in the history of the Province authorizing a general tax to be assessed for public purposes, was entitled "An act for granting to King William and Queen Mary the rate of one penny per pound upon the clear value of all real and personal estates, and six shillings per head upon such as are not otherwise rated by this Act, to be employed by the Governor of this province of Pennsylvania and territories thereof for the time being towards the support of this government."

The Preamble to the Act sets forth that "since it hath pleased the King and Queen to take the government of this Province and country into their own hands, and supply the absence of our Proprietor by so worthy a person who gives us such great assurances of his good desires to preserve and confirm us in our rights and liberties, We, . . . the General Assembly, . . . do humbly present the said King and Queen with the free gift of the rates and assessments hereinafter mentioned, which we desire they will please to accept of as a testimony of our dutiful affections towards them, and we do likewise desire that the King and Queen would be pleased to give and allow one-half thereof unto Benjamin Fletcher, Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over this Province and country."

It was therefore enacted "That all and every person and persons within this government having any personal estates either in their possession or in the possession of others in trust for them, other and besides the household goods and implements they use, and such sums of money as they really owe or ought to pay, shall yield and pay to the use aforesaid after the rate of one penny per pound; and to the end that this tax may be laid with such equality and indifference as may be, upon all lands within this government, and that a due regard may be had to the many tracts of uncultivated and unimproved lands, which produce rather a charge than profit to the owners thereof," it was enacted "that all lands and other real, as also the personal estates, shall be and are hereby charged, for one year only and no longer, with one penny for one pound clear value."

And it was further enacted "That all freemen within this province and territories, who have been out of their servitude by the space of six months, and shall not be otherwise rated by this Act, nor worth one hundred pounds,

84 *The First Tax List for Philadelphia County.*

shall pay unto the use aforesaid the sum of six shillings per head ; provided always that our Chief Proprietary and his late Deputies in government shall not be assessed, or otherwise chargeable by virtue of this Act: Provided also, that no person or persons shall be taxed by this Act, who have a great charge of children and become indigent in the world, and are so far in debt that the clear value of their real and personal estate doth not amount to thirty pounds."

The Act then provided for the appointment of Collectors and Assessors, the time of payment, the collection by distress of taxes due by delinquents, the alteration of assessments, etc.

It seems that there was some dissatisfaction regarding the manner of the assessment of the tax. A Committee of the Governor's Council, which, in consequence of this, had been appointed to investigate the matter, reported on the 26th of May, 1694, "that having examined the several rates of the respective Counties did find that in most of the Counties there have been great errors and partiality committed by the Assessors in undervaluing their own and others' estates whereby the whole amounts but to £760 16 2 money of Pennsylvania ; in money of New York to about £700 ; in English money about £560, which £60 may come short in the salaries for collecting the same and in runaways, so that the nett produce may be about £500 English money."

The total of the assessments in the following list amounts to £61,759. From this the value of the private estates and property at that time in Philadelphia County may be approximated.

The Province of Pennsylvania was then composed of but three counties—Philadelphia, Chester, and Bucks—and the Territories, or Three Lower Counties upon Delaware—New Castle, Kent, and Sussex—now comprising the State of Delaware. Philadelphia County extended indefinitely toward the northwest, bounded on either side by the counties of Chester and Bucks. Chester County included all the territory (except a small portion now in Philadelphia County) southwest of the Schuylkill River, to the extreme limits of the province, and Bucks County had for its northern boundary the Kittatinny Mountain, or as far as the land might be purchased from the Indians—a very indefinite limit, as subsequent events proved.

The Rates of the several counties as returned to the Assembly were as follows :

County of Philadelphia . . . . .	£314	11	11
“ Chester . . . . .	65	0	7
“ Bucks . . . . .	48	4	1
“ New Castle . . . . .	143	15	0
“ Kent . . . . .	88	2	10
“ Sussex . . . . .	101	1	9
Total . . . . .	£760	16	2

The original Tax list is in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The spelling of names, though decidedly *phonetic*, can scarcely be said to be worse than that which has been found in some tax books of later years.

Philadelphia County

By Virtue of a Law made at Philadelphia by a Gen:<sup>l</sup> Assembly held the 15th May 1693

For Granting One penny  $\text{æ}$  pound to King William & Queen Mary &c Wee the Assessors under Written have Taxed and Assessed the Inhabitants the respective Sums following

Samuel Rowland . . . . .	£100	£—	8s.	4d.
Peter Sherbone . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Thomas January . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Thomas Bud . . . . .	400	1	13	4
Joseph Kirl . . . . .	250	1	—	10
Abraham Carpenter . . . . .	350	1	9	2
Andrew Derickson . . . . .	800	3	6	8
John Fisher . . . . .	72	—	6	—
Edward Shippy . . . . .	200	—	16	8
Patrick Robinson . . . . .	400	1	13	4
John Cox . . . . .	50	—	4	2
Henry Flower . . . . .	150	—	12	6
Arthur Cook . . . . .	200	—	16	8
Thomas Harding . . . . .	—	—	6	—
William Coleman . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Carried over . . . . .		£13	11	8
Brought from other side . . . . .		£13	11	8
Thomas Lacey . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Augustine the Trumpeter . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Francis Little . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Fran: Jobson Lott & Land . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Richard Basnett . . . . .	150	—	12	6
Richard Whitpains Building . . . . .	500	2	1	8
Jasper Yates . . . . .	500	2	1	8
Peregrine Stockdale . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Francis Jones & Compa <sup>y</sup> . . . . .	800	3	6	8
John Songhurst . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Charles Goss . . . . .	800	3	6	8
John Whitpain . . . . .	100	—	8	4
James Claypoole . . . . .	50	—	4	2
Edward Claypoole . . . . .	100	—	8	4
John Claypoole . . . . .	100	—	8	4

Griffith Jones Front & Second Str <sup>as</sup> . . . . .	1000	4	3	4
Thomas Parsons . . . . .	80	—	6	8
Widdow Dcan . . . . .	30	0	2	6
Abraham Hooper . . . . .	150	0	12	6
John Felles . . . . .	70	—	5	10
Bentall & Harts Brewhouse . . . . .	500	2	1	8
Thomas Griffith . . . . .	50	—	4	2
James Piller . . . . .	30	—	2	6
W <sup>m</sup> . Salsbury . . . . .	30	—	2	6
John Shippy . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Sum carried over . . . . .		£36	09	—
Brought from the other side . . . . .		£36	09s. —d.	
Joseph Pidgeon & Comp <sup>y</sup> . . . . .	1300	5	8	4
Anthony Burgis . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Widdow Delaval . . . . .	250	1	—	10
Thomas Morris . . . . .	60	—	5	—
Samuel Cart . . . . .	150	—	12	6
Samuel Carpenter . . . . .	1300	5	8	4
Samuel Jennings . . . . .	150	—	12	6
Wid: Eckley . . . . .	200	—	16	8
Ben: Waller . . . . .	—	—	6	—
John Fleckny . . . . .	60	—	5	—
John Philpott . . . . .	—	—	6	—
John Crapp . . . . .	80	—	6	8
Hermon Johnson . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Tho: Hooton & Moth <sup>r</sup> . . . . .	400	1	13	4
John Deplove . . . . .	200	—	16	8
Thomas Wharton . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Arthur Holdens . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Joshua Carpenter . . . . .	1000	4	3	4
Sam: <sup>l</sup> Holt . . . . .	70	—	5	10
James Wood . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Jeremiah Price . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Peter Goit . . . . .	300	1	5	—
Richard Kees . . . . .	800	3	6	8
Summ carried over . . . . .		65	4	10
Brought from other side . . . . .		£65	4s. 10d.	
John Godfry . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Robert Eure . . . . .	600	2	10	—
John Debran . . . . .	100	—	8	4

*The First Tax List for Philadelphia County.*

87

Peter Basilon . . . . .	300	1	5	—
Georg Robinson . . . . .	120	0	10	—
John Murry . . . . .	150	—	12	6
William Hern . . . . .	72	—	6	—
Widdow Alen . . . . .	80	—	6	8
John Heath Sadler . . . . .	—	—	6	—
John Smith . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Edmond Dutton . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Anthony Morris . . . . .	800	3	6	8
Thomas Short . . . . .	—	—	6	—
John Test . . . . .	150	—	12	6
Nicholas Collins . . . . .	—	—	6	—
James Fox . . . . .	200	—	16	8
Cornelius Dire . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Christo: Lob . . . . .	—	—	6	—
John Haukins . . . . .	—	—	6	—
John Otte . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Edmond Ducastle . . . . .	800	3	6	8
Sum carried over . . . . .		82	8	2
Brought over . . . . .	—	£82	8s.	2d.
Alexander Berdsly . . . . .	200	—	16	8
William Alloway . . . . .	—	—	6	—
William Pascall . . . . .	100	—	8	4
John Patrick . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Ceser Geslein . . . . .	100	—	8	4
James Delaplain . . . . .	72	—	6	—
Nat: Sikes . . . . .	100	—	8	4
John Sands . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Humphry Murry . . . . .	500	2	1	8
Samuel Griffith . . . . .	72	—	6	—
Richard Perce . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Thomas Harris . . . . .	50	—	4	2
John Harris . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Thomas Hartly . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Wid: Culcup . . . . .	40	—	3	4
John Howard . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Thomas Marle . . . . .	80	—	6	8
Nat: Edgcome . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Richard Barnes . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Richard Cockett . . . . .	—	—	6	—

William Bevan . . . . .	100	—	8	4
John Holmes . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Summ Carried over . . . . .	£ —	91	7	4
Brought over . . . . .	—	91	7	4
Samuel Buckley . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Daniel Beaks . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Peter Charles . . . . .	800	3	6	8
Philip James . . . . .	200	—	16	8
Widdow Guest . . . . .	250	1	—	10
William Say . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Mary Hauge . . . . .	100	—	8	4
John Colly . . . . .	72	—	6	—
John Ward . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Jeremiah Collets . . . . .	200	—	16	8
Peter Debuke . . . . .	800	3	6	8
John Nash . . . . .	60	—	5	—
Abra: Hardiman . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Causper Hoote . . . . .	120	—	10	—
Christo Sibthorp . . . . .	150	—	12	6
Samuel Nichols . . . . .	—	—	6	—
John Heath . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Tho: Meckin . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Edward Shaw . . . . .	—	—	6	—
John Roberts . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Carried over . . . . .		£106	—	2
Brought over . . . . .	£000	£106	—s.	2d.
John Jones . . . . .	—	—	6	—
William Hunne . . . . .	50	—	4	2
Philip Howell . . . . .	100	—	8	4
John Smart . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Mathew Clements . . . . .	100	—	8	4
William Salway . . . . .	50	—	4	2
John White . . . . .	50	—	4	2
William Hudson . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Nicholas Perce . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Francis Cook . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Samuel Richardson . . . . .	250	1	—	10
James Poltis . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Thomas Prichart . . . . .	30	—	2	6
William Kelly . . . . .	50	—	4	2

*The First Tax List for Philadelphia County.*

John Wait . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Robert Merrifeild . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Bernard Vigore . . . . .	—	—	6	—
John Williams . . . . .	80	—	6	8
William Walker . . . . .	80	—	6	8
Randal Spikman . . . . .	80	—	6	8
William Brightwell . . . . .	100	—	8	4
James Vaveere . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Carried over . . . . .		£113	11	—
Brought over . . . . .		£113	11s.	— <i>d.</i>
William Laycock . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Robert Wallis . . . . .	50	—	4	2
John Prichart . . . . .	—	—	6	—
William Davis . . . . .	40	—	3	4
Joseph Knight . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Josh Knight . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Thomas Roberts . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Jeremiah Osborn . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Georg Paris . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Richard Jones . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Joseph Willcox . . . . .	150	—	12	6
Abigal Willcox . . . . .	60	—	5	—
William Wait . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Ben: Holt . . . . .	72	—	6	—
Edward Douty . . . . .	120	—	10	—
Widdow Elfrith . . . . .	50	—	4	2
William Carter . . . . .	200	—	16	8
John Macoom . . . . .	100	—	8	4
John Rodman . . . . .	50	—	4	2
James Stanfeild . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Carried over . . . . .		£120	10	—
Brought over . . . . .		£120	10	—
Jacob Coffin . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Richard Turner . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Robert Bonn3 . . . . .	—	—	6	—
John Austin . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Constant Gray . . . . .	40	—	3	4
Doct <sup>r</sup> Hudson . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Robert Pound . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Thomas Achely . . . . .	40	—	3	4



Daniel Ridges House . . . . .	40	—	3	4
Thomas Truss . . . . .	200	—	16	8
Ralph Ward . . . . .	80	—	6	8
Evan Jones . . . . .	30	—	2	6
James Polter . . . . .	80	—	6	8
Widdow Welch . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Francis Rawles . . . . .	150	—	12	6
Robert Turner . . . . .	900	3	15	—
Anthony Sturgis . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Andrew Robinson . . . . .	600	2	10	—
John Farmer . . . . .	80	—	6	8
Thomas Wait . . . . .	100	—	8	4
John Stevens . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Carried over . . . . .		£132	13	2
Brought over . . . . .	£ —	£132	13s.	2d.
Thomas Peart . . . . .	120	0	10	—
James Chick . . . . .	40	—	3	4
James Thomas . . . . .	150	—	12	6
Gabriel Willkeson . . . . .	80	—	6	8
Ellis Jones . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Gilbert Wheler . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Lionel Britton . . . . .	150	—	12	6
Benja Chambers . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Henry Johnson . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Richard Sutton . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Jonas Smith . . . . .	60	—	5	—
John Furnis . . . . .	—	—	6	—
John Palmers house &c . . . . .	60	—	5	—
James Jacob . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Thomas Fittswater Ju: <sup>r</sup> . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Robert Stacy . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Thomas Bristol . . . . .	80	—	6	8
Thomas Langstone . . . . .	80	—	6	8
William Southersby . . . . .	40	—	3	4
John Day . . . . .	200	—	16	8
Joshua Tittery . . . . .	30	—	2	6
		140	—	4
Brought over . . . . .	£ —	£140	—	4
James West . . . . .	100	0	8	4
Jacob Turner . . . . .	—	—	6	—

Henry Furnis . . . . .	30	—	2	6
John Jennett . . . . .	120	—	10	—
William Dilling . . . . .	150	—	12	6
Richard Jenett . . . . .	—	—	6	—
William Freeman . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Benjamin Whithead . . . . .	60	—	5	—
Edward Farmer . . . . .	200	—	16	8
Nat: Lamplly . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Israel Hobs . . . . .	60	—	5	—
James Cooper . . . . .	100	—	8	4
John Otter . . . . .	400	1	13	4
John Jones . . . . .	500	2	1	8
Cap: <sup>d</sup> Billops house . . . . .	100	—	8	4
John Griffith . . . . .	60	—	5	—
German the Weaver . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Edward German . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Evan Griffith . . . . .	30	—	2	6
William Hard . . . . .	60	—	5	—
Joseph Taylor . . . . .	100	—	8	4
		150	7	8
Brought from other side . . . . .		£150	7s.	8d.
William Sneed . . . . .	60	—	5	—
Ralph Jackson . . . . .	80	—	6	8
John Roads . . . . .	80	—	6	8
Georg Harmer . . . . .	72	—	6	—
Edward Smout . . . . .	150	—	12	6
William Snoden . . . . .	40	—	3	4
Robert Tate . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Richard Whitfeild . . . . .	30	—	2	6
William Lee . . . . .	200	—	16	8
John Griffith . . . . .	—	—	06	—
John Redwood . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Philip Richards . . . . .	400	1	13	4
Johanes Van Laure . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Berbados House . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Herbert Curry . . . . .	80	—	06	8
Semercy Adams . . . . .	80	—	6	8
Georg Emlin . . . . .	150	0	12	6
Abell Noble . . . . .	60	—	5	—
James Shaddock . . . . .	50	—	4	2

92      *The First Tax List for Philadelphia County.*

John Bolt . . . . .	120	—	10	—
Anthony Taylor . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Carried over . . . . .		£158	9	8
Brought over . . . . .	—	£158	9s.	8d.
Hance Peters . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Thomas Willard . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Hannah Wood . . . . .	30	—	2	6
John King . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Henry Stirk . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Thomas Hill . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Samuel Atkins . . . . .	250	1	0	10
Georg Cook . . . . .	—	—	6	—
John Landish . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Mary Lash . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Charles Pickering . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Daniel Standish . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Andrew Griscome . . . . .	100	—	8	4
John Busby . . . . .	40	—	3	4
John Goodson . . . . .	150	—	12	6
Hugh Derbora . . . . .	30	—	2	6
John Parsons . . . . .	150	—	12	6
James Coat . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Henry Badcock . . . . .	250	1	—	10
James Gresham . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Carried over . . . . .		£166	8	6
Brought over . . . . .	—	£166	8	6
John Sanders . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Emanuel Dawson . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Edward James . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Nehemiah Allen . . . . .	100	—	8	4
John Bud . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Thomas Bradford . . . . .	200	—	16	8
Thomas Masters . . . . .	300	1	5	—
Thomas Pascall . . . . .	150	—	12	6
Richard Tucker . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Thomas Bowyer . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Ellis . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Richard Wall . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Daniel Cook . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Walton Price . . . . .	50	—	4	2

Walter Tomson . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Abell Tudor & Compa <sup>y</sup> . . . . .	100	—	8	4
William Trent & Compa <sup>y</sup> . . . . .	500	2	1	8
Samuel Stacy & Compa <sup>y</sup> . . . . .	500	2	1	8
Thomas Hooton & Compa <sup>y</sup> . . . . .	500	2	1	8
Thomas Bud & Compa <sup>y</sup> . . . . .	200	—	16	8
Carried over . . . . .		£179	15	10
Brought over . . . . .	—	£179	15s.	10d.
Samuel Perry . . . . .	300	1	5	—
Georg Hethcott . . . . .	300	1	5	—
Georg Keith . . . . .	150	—	12	6
John Collins . . . . .	—	—	6	—
John Punyard . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Thomas Pepitt . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Thomas Cook . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Thomas Tudor . . . . .	—	—	6	—
		184	8	4
Brought over . . . . .	—	£184	8	4
Thomas Rouse . . . . .	50	—	4	2
James Jacobs . . . . .	45	—	3	9
James Harrison . . . . .	30	—	2	6
John Lewden . . . . .	80	—	2	6
Joseph Yard . . . . .	30	—	2	6
John Hart . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Young Morgan . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Gabriel Thomas . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Richard Ormes . . . . .	30	—	2	6
John Bird . . . . .	30	—	2	6
John White . . . . .	—	—	6	—
John Day House . . . . .	50	—	4	2
Isacc Warner . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Christo: Sibthorp . . . . .	40	—	3	4
Richard Goves . . . . .	30	—	2	6
John Lineam . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Anthony Weston . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Christo: Sibthorp for Colyer . . . . .	50	—	4	2
Joseph Walker . . . . .	60	—	5	—
David Brintnall . . . . .	100	—	8	4
William Forest . . . . .	120	—	10	—
Henry Lakin . . . . .	30	—	2	6

94 *The First Tax List for Philadelphia County.*

John Martin . . . . .	30	--	2	6
John Kensy . . . . .	60	--	5	--
Carried over . . . . .		£189	10	1
Brought over . . . . .	--	£189	10s.	1d.
Mary Hilyard Brick House . . . . .	100	--	8	4
Robert Burrows . . . . .	30	--	2	6
David Powell . . . . .	50	--	4	2
William Crues . . . . .	150	--	12	6
Thomas Hobs . . . . .	50	--	4	2
Samuel Meals . . . . .	--	--	6	--
Daniel Jones . . . . .	100	--	8	4
Rachell Jones . . . . .	40	--	3	4
John Harris . . . . .	--	--	6	--
John Chandler . . . . .	40	--	3	4
W: <sup>m</sup> Hudson Bricklayer . . . . .	100	--	8	4
Robert Roe . . . . .	30	--	2	6
William Trotter . . . . .	30	--	2	6
John Beedle . . . . .	30	--	2	6
Richard Roberts . . . . .	60	--	5	--
Pat: Robinson . . . . .	400	1	13	4
W: <sup>m</sup> Crues High Street . . . . .	30	0	2	6
Humph: Murry Mulbery Stre . . . . .	30	--	2	6
Charles Butler . . . . .	--	--	6	--
Thomas Bristol . . . . .	40	--	3	4
Carried over . . . . .		£195	17	3
Brought over . . . . .	--	£195	17s.	3d.
Joshua Morris . . . . .	--	--	6	--
William Bowling . . . . .	100	--	8	4
William Southysby Jun: <sup>r</sup> . . . . .	50	--	4	2
Griffith Owen . . . . .	100	--	8	4
Philip England . . . . .	100	--	8	4
Michael Wallton . . . . .	--	--	6	--
Reece Peters . . . . .	30	--	2	6
Evan Morris . . . . .	30	--	2	6
William David . . . . .	60	--	5	--
Stephen Fouke Jun: <sup>r</sup> . . . . .	--	--	6	--
Thomas Andrews . . . . .	30	--	2	6
Thomas Miller Jun: <sup>r</sup> . . . . .	--	--	6	--
William Rakestraw . . . . .	100	--	8	4
Thomas Marle . . . . .	80	--	6	8
		£199	17	11

**Mounce Cox Northern Liberty**

Brought over . . . . .	—	£199	17s.	11d.
Daniel Pegg . . . . .	250	1	0	10
Daniel Rugges . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Lawrence Evins . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Robert Stiles . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Neels Loycon . . . . .	150	—	12	6
Joshua Carpenter . . . . .	130	—	10	10
Daniel Chruis . . . . .	—	—	—	—
Philip Gunter . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Georg Walker . . . . .	60	—	5	—
Eman <sup>n</sup> Walker his Son . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Andrew Robinson for J. Songerst Hou	60	—	5	—
John Goodson . . . . .	100	—	8	4
John Palmer . . . . .	100	—	8	4
William Palmer his Brother . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Andrew Davis by Vinyard . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Presid: <sup>a</sup> More Estate . . . . .	100	—	8	4
John Thomas . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Ginkin Lewis . . . . .	—	—	6	—
John Miffin . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Abell Robinson . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Carried over . . . . .		£207	5	5
Brought over . . . . .	£ —	£207	5s.	5d.
Robert Stacy & Son . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Ellis Jones Govern <sup>m</sup> Mill . . . . .	72	—	6	—
Robert Turner . . . . .	200	—	16	8
Sam: <sup>n</sup> Carpenter . . . . .	50	—	4	2
Wid: <sup>o</sup> Bowyer . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Evan Oliver . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Peter Dale . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Robeson & Sanders Mill . . . . .	350	1	9	2
Joseph Brown . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Luke Townsend . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Francis Cranton . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Cornelius Ellis . . . . .	—	—	6	—
James Morris . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Jacob Dubra . . . . .	80	—	6	8
Robert Pulman . . . . .	—	—	6	—

96      *The First Tax List for Philadelphia County.*

Joseph Jones . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Paul Johnson . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Clement Pudinghorn . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Daniel Howell . . . . .	70	—	5	10
John Croshy . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Summ Carried over . . . . .	—	£214	9	9
Brought over . . . . .	£ —	£214	9s.	9d.
Widdow Smith . . . . .	150	—	12	6
Edward Jerman charged in Town. . . . .	—	—	0	—
Timothy Carter . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Thomas Cartor . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Richard Dawson . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Miles Morrey . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Thomas Cotton . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Thomas Williams . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Michael Nellson . . . . .	150	—	12	6
Thomas Fairman . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Gunner Rambo . . . . .	100	—	8	4
John Tank . . . . .	80	—	6	8
Andrew & Hance Nellson . . . . .	200	—	16	8
Griffith Jones . . . . .	350	1	9	2
Richard Tom inson . . . . .	—	—	6	—
John a Dutchman . . . . .	—	—	6	—
W: <sup>m</sup> Preston . . . . .	130	—	10	10
Mounce Cox . . . . .	100	—	8	4
W: <sup>m</sup> Salloway . . . . .	250	1	—	10
Edward Roberts . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Erick Cock . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Carried over . . . . .	—	£224	6	3

Oxford Township Jn:<sup>o</sup> Worrell.

Brought over . . . . .	£ —	£224	6s.	3d.
John Tissick . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Jacob Hall . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Erick Mullicker . . . . .	50	—	4	2
William Taylor . . . . .	50	—	4	2
Ericks 2 Sons . . . . .	—	—	12	—
Ann Salter . . . . .	50	—	4	2
Richard Whitfeild . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Widdow Keen . . . . .	30	—	2	6

*The First Tax List for Philadelphia County.* 97

Erick her Son . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Hermon Enock . . . . .	60	—	5	—
William Busby . . . . .	50	—	4	2
John Fletcher . . . . .	120	—	10	—
Atwell Willmoreton . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Joseph Paul . . . . .	100	—	8	4
John Harper . . . . .	100	—	8	4
John & Charles his Sons . . . . .	—	—	12	—
Halls Journy Man . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Georg Burson . . . . .	30	—	2	6
John Wells . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Carried over . . . . .	—	£230	5	7
Brought over . . . . .	£ —	£230	5s.	7d.
Daniel Street . . . . .	72	—	6	—
John Bunce . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Henry Waddy . . . . .	150	—	12	6
Daniel Hall . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Yeomans Gillingham . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Thomas Graves . . . . .	72	—	6	—
Thomas Parsons $\frac{1}{2}$ Mill . . . . .	40	—	3	4
Samuel Carpenter $\frac{3}{4}$ . . . . .	60	—	5	—
Robert Addams . . . . .	200	—	16	8
John Worrell . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Richard Seary . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Carried over . . . . .	—	£234	9	9

Cheltenham Jos: Phips.

Brought over . . . . .	£ —	£234	9s.	9d.
Humphry Waterman . . . . .	200	—	16	8
Edmond Megvaugh . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Samuel Voss . . . . .	80	—	6	8
Thomas Terwood . . . . .	80	—	6	8
Philip Hill . . . . .	30	—	2	6
John Ironmonger . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Humphry Murry . . . . .	60	—	5	0
Samuel Carl . . . . .	200	—	16	8
John Roberts . . . . .	30	—	2	6
John Barnes . . . . .	150	—	12	6
Thomas Canbey . . . . .	—	—	6	—
W. <sup>m</sup> Routlidg . . . . .	—	—	6	—



98 *The First Tax List for Philadelphia County.*

Joseph Phips Sen <sup>r</sup>	. . . . .	60	—	5	—
Joseph Phips Jun <sup>r</sup>	. . . . .	—	—	6	—
Richard Hall	. . . . .	100	—	8	4
Tobias Leach &	. . . . .	200	—	16	8
3 Poles	. . . . .	—	—	18	—
Georg Shoomaker	. . . . .	80	—	6	8
Tho: Whitton & Jonas Potts	. . . . .	—	—	12	—
Edward Eaton	. . . . .	30	—	2	6
John Russell	. . . . .	60	—	5	—
Carried over	. . . . .		£242	16	1

Bristol Township Rich: Townsend.

Brought over	. . . . .	£ —	£242	16s.	1d.
Samuel Richardson	. . . . .	300	1	5	—
Thomas Godfry	. . . . .	100	—	8	4
John Moon Deceased Estate	. . . . .	80	—	6	8
John Moon Jun <sup>r</sup> .	. . . . .	50	—	4	2
Joseph Willcox	. . . . .	100	—	8	4
Georg Willcox	. . . . .	30	—	2	6
William James	. . . . .	60	—	5	—
Thomas Shute	. . . . .	—	—	6	—
Edward Lane	. . . . .	—	—	6	—
Samuel Bennett	. . . . .	50	—	4	2
Thomas Rutter	. . . . .	50	—	4	2
Israel Morris	. . . . .	30	—	2	6
Jacob Evans	. . . . .	30	—	2	6
John Coster	. . . . .	—	—	6	—
Joseph Godfry	. . . . .	—	—	6	—
Thomas Bridg	. . . . .	—	—	6	—
Carried over	. . . . .	—	£247	19	5

German Town Pet<sup>r</sup> Knerless.

Brought over	. . . . .	—	£247	19s.	5d.
Derick Up de Grave	. . . . .	30	—	2	6
Thomas Rutter	. . . . .	30	—	2	6
Hermon Up de Grave	. . . . .	60	—	5	—
Abraham Up de Grave	. . . . .	80	—	6	8
William Streipers	. . . . .	80	—	6	8
Paul Woolf	. . . . .	30	—	2	6
Daniel Pastorius	. . . . .	100	—	8	4

*The First Tax List for Philadelphia County.* 99

Jacob Shoemaker . . . . .	60	—	5	—
Heyfert Papen . . . . .	80	—	6	8
Jacob Isacc & Isacc Jacobs . . . . .	150	—	12	6
Cornelius Siverts . . . . .	80	—	6	8
Albertus Brant . . . . .	120	—	10	—
Claws Tamson . . . . .	40	—	3	4
Hance Millan . . . . .	80	—	6	8
Henry Fry . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Aert Klinken . . . . .	80	—	6	8
Arnold Wassell . . . . .	—	—	6	—
John Silans . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Dirick Keyser . . . . .	60	—	5	—
Geritt Henrix . . . . .	50	—	4	2
William Ruttinghuysen . . . . .	50	—	4	2
Carried over . . . . .		£253	15	5
Brought over . . . . .	£ —	£253	15s.	5d.
Andrew Souplis . . . . .	50	—	4	2
John Doeden . . . . .	40	—	3	4
Paul Castern . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Hermon Von Bon . . . . .	50	—	4	2
Mary Henrix . . . . .	50	—	4	2
Abraham Tunes . . . . .	50	—	4	2
John Lucken . . . . .	50	—	4	2
Reinert Tisen . . . . .	60	—	5	—
Lenert Artes . . . . .	30	—	2	6
John Lensen . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Tunes Conders . . . . .	50	—	4	2
Peter Kuerless . . . . .	50	—	4	2
John Bleekers . . . . .	50	—	4	2
Rineir Hermans . . . . .	50	—	4	2
Henry Sellen . . . . .	50	—	4	2
Derick Sellen . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Claws Rutting Heysen . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Andrew Griscome . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Jacob Delaplain . . . . .	30	—	2	6
David Scherkers . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Walter Simens . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Peter Clever . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Carried over . . . . .	—	£258	4	5
Brought over . . . . .	£ —	£258	4s.	5d.

100 *The First Tax List for Philadelphia County.*

Johannis Pettinger . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Hermon Op De Trap . . . . .	—	—	—	—
John Van de Woestyne . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Anthony Loof . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Mathias Jackson . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Peter Shoomaker . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Hance Peter Upstead . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Peter Shoomaker . . . . .	80	—	6	8
		—	£260	9 5

Plymouth Township Nat: Christophers.

James Fox . . . . .	50	—	4	2
William Reynolds . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Carried over . . . . .		£260	19	7

Bybery Dan:<sup>n</sup> Walton.

Brought over . . . . .	£ —	£260	19s.	7d.
Richard Collitt . . . . .	45	—	3	9
John Turner . . . . .	42	—	3	6
Thomas Cross . . . . .	34	—	2	10
Nat: Walton . . . . .	31	—	2	7
Thomas Grome . . . . .	70	—	5	10
Sam: <sup>n</sup> Ellis . . . . .	85	—	2	11
Henry English . . . . .	50	—	4	2
Giles Knight . . . . .	30	—	2	6
William Hibbs . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Thomas Bingley . . . . .	—	—	6	—
William Walton . . . . .	50	—	4	2
Thomas Walton . . . . .	30	—	2	6
John Carver . . . . .	34	—	2	10
William Carver . . . . .	50	—	4	2
Michael Butcher . . . . .	30	—	2	6
John Williamson . . . . .	—	—	6	—
John Hiburne . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Daniel Walton . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Carried over . . . . .	—	£264	6	10

1100

Upper Precinct Nich: Scull.

Brought over . . . . .	£ —	£264	6s.	10d.
Nicholas Scull . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Richard Sanders . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Robert Whitton . . . . .	30	—	2	6
William Harmer . . . . .	100	—	8	4
John Fisher . . . . .	80	—	6	8
	—	£265	18	8

Dublin Georg Eaton.

Joseph Fisher . . . . .	350	1	9	2
Allen Foster . . . . .	63	—	5	3
Silas Crispin . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Jonathan Levesly . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Richard Worrill . . . . .	37	—	3	1
Edmond Wells . . . . .	60	—	5	—
Joseph Ashton . . . . .	150	—	12	6
John Sibly . . . . .	60	—	5	—
Erick Nellson . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Neels Neelson . . . . .	64	—	5	4
Carried over . . . . .	—	£270	9	0
Brought over . . . . .	£ —	£270	9s.	—d.
Peter Rambo . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Lace Bore . . . . .	124	—	10	4
William Cunditt . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Georg Northorp . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Benja: Duffield . . . . .	80	—	6	8
Joseph Write . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Edward Williams . . . . .	60	—	5	—
William Wells . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Thomas Clark . . . . .	—	—	6	—
John Ayres . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Henry Wells . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Peter Taylor . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Robert Prismall . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Samuel Jones . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Georg Eaton . . . . .	45	—	3	9
William Black . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Georg Buson . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Carried over . . . . .	—	£275	4	7

Passiunck Wiccaco Moymensing Pet: Cock.

	£	—	£275	4s.	7d.
Brought over . . . . .	£	—	£275	4s.	7d.
Peter Rambo . . . . .	100	—	—	8	4
Lace Cox . . . . .	150	—	—	12	6
Andrew Bankson . . . . .	200	—	—	16	8
John Stilly . . . . .	100	—	—	8	4
Causper Causten . . . . .	30	—	—	2	6
Mathias Holston . . . . .	100	—	—	8	4
Richard Roads . . . . .	60	—	—	5	—
Peter Dalbo . . . . .	50	—	—	4	2
Henry Jones . . . . .	30	—	—	2	6
Swan Swanson . . . . .	250	1	—	10	—
Wolla Swanson . . . . .	30	—	—	2	6
Andrew Swanson . . . . .	30	—	—	2	6
Andrew Wheler . . . . .	80	—	—	6	8
John Hendrick . . . . .	—	—	—	6	—
Thomas Waite . . . . .	50	—	—	4	2
Alexand: Crookshank . . . . .	100	—	—	8	4
Peter Cox . . . . .	80	—	—	6	8
Peter Cox Jun: . . . . .	80	—	—	6	8
Bank Bankson . . . . .	80	—	—	6	8
Robert Wilkins . . . . .	—	—	—	6	—
Carried over . . . . .	—	—	£282	9	11
Brought over . . . . .	£	—	£282	9s.	11d.
Peter Homan . . . . .	—	—	—	6	—
Gerrett Morten . . . . .	—	—	—	6	—
John Swanson . . . . .	—	—	—	6	—
Gunner Swanson . . . . .	—	—	—	6	—
Ditlo Casten . . . . .	—	—	—	6	—
John Cock . . . . .	—	—	—	6	—
And: Bankson Jun: . . . . .	—	—	—	6	—
	—	—	£284	11	11

Beyond Schoolkill Tho: Pascall Jun:.

William Smith . . . . .	250	1	—	10	—
Paul Sanders . . . . .	100	—	—	8	4
John Gardner . . . . .	30	—	—	2	6
Jonathan Duckett . . . . .	100	—	—	8	4

*The First Tax List for Philadelphia County.*      103

Thomas Duckett . . . . .	100	—	8	4
John Roads . . . . .	120	—	10	—
William Powell . . . . .	100	—	8	4
John Albore . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Carried over . . . . .	—	£288	4	7
Brought over . . . . .	£ —	£288	4s.	7d.
William Wilkins . . . . .	50	—	4	2
James Keight . . . . .	40	—	3	4
William Warner . . . . .	120	—	10	—
John Warner . . . . .	40	—	3	4
John Boles . . . . .	150	—	12	6
Georg Scottson . . . . .	60	—	5	—
John Scooton . . . . .	120	—	10	—
William Bedward . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Thomas Pascall . . . . .	150	—	12	6
Georg Willcox . . . . .	170	—	14	2
	—	£292	2	1

**The Welch Tract Edw. Reece.**

Hugh Roberts . . . . .	200	—	16	8
James Thomas . . . . .	80	—	6	8
John Roberts . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Rowland Richards . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Hugh Jones . . . . .	40	—	3	4
Cadwalladr Morgan . . . . .	50	—	4	2
Robert David . . . . .	80	—	6	8
Carried over . . . . .	—	£294	10	5
Brought over . . . . .	£ —	£294	10s.	5d.
Abell Thomas . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Robert John . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Edward Rice . . . . .	60	—	5	—
John Roberts . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Daniel Thomas . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Joshua Owen . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Charles Hues . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Philip Price . . . . .	40	—	3	4
Isaac Price . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Fran: Howell . . . . .	80	—	6	8
Robert Owen . . . . .	60	—	5	—

104      *The First Tax List for Philadelphia County.*

Richard Cureton . . . . .	80	—	6	8
David Price . . . . .	30	—	2	6
David Haverd . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Evan Henry . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Morgan David . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Thomas Jones . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Robert Lloyd . . . . .	—	—	6	—
David Thomas . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Edward Williams . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Carried over . . . . .	—	£299	7	3
Brought over . . . . .	£ —	£299	7s.	3d.
Edward Griffith . . . . .	40	—	3	4
John Hugh . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Thomas Davis . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Rice Thomas . . . . .	40	—	3	4
Edward Jones . . . . .	40	—	3	4
John Humphrys . . . . .	80	—	6	8
Edward Jones of Merrion . . . . .	80	—	6	8
Rice Jones . . . . .	30	—	2	6
Griffith Jones . . . . .	60	—	5	—
Katherine Thomas . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Her two Sons . . . . .	—	—	12	—
Richard Wallter . . . . .	30	—	2	6
David Hughs . . . . .	—	—	6	—
William Probert . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Evan Harris . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Carried over . . . . .	—	£303	3	11
Brought over . . . . .	£ —	£303	3s.	11d.
Neels Jones . . . . .	60	—	5	—
Mounce Jones . . . . .	40	—	3	4
Andrew Jones . . . . .	40	—	3	4
Peter Yoakam . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Robert Longshore . . . . .	200	—	16	8
Andrew Longoker . . . . .	80	—	6	8
Eusta Eustason . . . . .	80	—	6	8
Widdow Eustason . . . . .	100	—	8	4
Two Sons of Age . . . . .	—	—	12	—
Jonas Nellson . . . . .	200	—	16	8
James Hunt . . . . .	150	—	12	6
And: <sup>r</sup> Swanson Boon . . . . .	350	1	9	2

*The First Tax List for Philadelphia County.*      105

Three Sons of Age . . . . .	—	—	18	—
Widdow Cock . . . . .	150	—	12	6
Two Men . . . . .	—	—	12	—
John Ellett . . . . .	60	—	5	—
Otto Earnest Cock . . . . .	200	—	16	8
Two Sons of Age . . . . .	—	—	12	—
John Hart . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Oliver Roberts . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Daniel Macgar . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Richard Bennett . . . . .	—	—	6	—
Total . . . . .	£ —	—	£314	12    9

Witness our hands at Philadelphia the 26<sup>th</sup> day of Sept: 1693.

Samuel Carpenter	}	Assemblymen.
Samuel Richardson		
James Fox		
John White		

W: <sup>m</sup> Salway	}	Assistance.
Joseph Willcox		
John Jones		

This is a true Copy drawn  
from the Original Rate  
for this County of Philadelphia }  
}

☞ John Claypoole Collect: 2



## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## Notes.

TRADITION CONCERNING COLUMBUS.—Solorzano, in his work *De Indiarum Jure*, gives an account of the following tradition concerning Columbus's first conception of the existence of a New World, and cites various authors on the subject. The work is written in Latin, and was first published in 1629 in one volume folio. In making the following abstract, that edition, pp. 29, 144, and a subsequent edition of 1672 in two volumes, I., 29, 144, have been used.

While Columbus was residing in Portugal and making his living by working upon nautical maps, he married a woman from Madeira, and afterwards emigrated to that island. The general opinion is that, while living there, his study of astronomical science and of ancient records, together with other reasons differently given by different writers, led him first to imagine and finally to believe that great stretches of land beyond the known world existed in the West as well as the East. Others, however, give another tradition. They say that Columbus derived his ideas and hopes from the accounts of a certain man, who was a guest of his in Madeira. This man had suffered shipwreck in the Atlantic Ocean. The force of the tempest cast him upon a land hitherto unknown to cosmographers. Of this land he made a careful description. With difficulty he at length reached Madeira. There he became the guest of Columbus, in whose house he died, and to whom he communicated everything concerning this discovery as a reward for his hospitality. Among the writers who speak of this tradition, Benzoni inconsiderately asserts that it was concocted by the Spaniards in order to deprive Columbus fraudulently of his glory. Some writers say that this man was a Portuguese. Among these is Peter Damiriz, who pretends that the discovery of the New World should therefore be attributed to the Portuguese. But the most frequent opinion is that Columbus's guest was a mariner and merchant of Andalusia or Grenada, and that his name and birthplace are unknown, it being God's will that men should attribute so great a matter to none other than Himself. Garcilasso, the Inca, however, in his Commentaries has recently written that this man's name was Alphonzo Sanchez, and that his shipwreck took place in 1484—assertions, which, as far as our author knows, are made without any authority. Aldrete, in his Spanish Antiquities, seems to follow Garcilasso. Torquemada, who regards the discovery of the Indians of America as miraculous, maintains that the mariner aforesaid was brought to Columbus by the angels. He thinks that a divine mystery, and neither human counsel nor accidental chance opened a way to the conversion of the Indians, and holds Columbus to have been inspired and chosen of God to carry it out. On the other hand, that most learned theologian, Father Francis de Victoria, expresses admonitions against such views as Torquemada's. He thinks that such missions and inspirations are frequently deceptive, and sent by the devil, and that no miracles can be shown which prove that the mission of the Spaniards in the New World was ordained of God. Acosta seems to be of the same opinion as to the dearth of miracles, for in a certain passage he asks why miracles in converting the heathen do not occur now as in ancient times. Davila affirms that few miracles were seen in those parts of Mexico of which he treats.

THE EIGHTH SWEDISH EXPEDITION TO NEW SWEDEN.—The following is translated from a copy, in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, of the original Swedish MS. document in the Royal Archives at Stockholm entitled *Rulla som meedh H. Commandanten Hans Amundson åter affordighe till Nye Sverige så wel Mann som Quinn Personen den 3 Julij 1649*:

*List of Persons, Male and Female, who set out with Commandant Hans Amundson for New Sweden, July 3, 1649.*

The Commandant Hans Amundson, with his wife and children, in all seven.  
 The preacher Mr. Matthias Rosenlecchig.  
 The bookkeeper Joachim Lucke.  
 Gunner Jöran Duffua, with his wife and two children, a boy and a little daughter, in all four.  
 Johan Jönson, with his wife, two.  
 Hans Pärson, with his wife, two.  
 The barber, with his wife and two children, in all four.  
 Gunne Turckelson Timmerman (carpenter), with his wife and children, in all four, born in Sivedaheiat.  
 Gunnar Olufson Roth, born in Giöteborg.  
 Pär Larsson Bryggiare (brewer), born in Reduegs district.  
 Swen Hockeson Bräd, born in Iland.  
 Tolle Anderson Kiempe, born in Uddewal.  
 Pär Anderson Snickare (joiner), born in Giöteborg.  
 Oluf Benckson Hiort, born in Swedish "hysing."  
 Oll Hakeson Buur, born in Mandaal.  
 Pär Johanson Rutare (trooper), born in Kynna district.  
 Olff Swensson Repslagare (ropemaker), born in Uddewal.  
 Mäns Josephson Fälcke, born in Ängermanland.  
 Beria Pärson Ugla, born in Tesberg parish.  
 Haken Larson Skoster, born in Kynna district.  
 Erik Anderson Drake, born in Ängar parish.  
 Gösta Pärsson Krabbe, born *ibidem*.  
 Anders Carlson Gedda, born in Giöteborg.  
 Lars Oluffson, with his wife and a daughter and two boys, born in Nerikie, in all five.  
 Jon Olffson, born in Wermerland.

BOYS.

Daniel Olufson Buurman, born in Stockholm.  
 Biörn Toolfson Flygare, born in Vesberg parish.  
 Börje Hakensen Rennare, born in Tuffur parish.  
 Anders Pärson Kiärna, born in Vesberg parish.  
 Oluf Tiörberson Sachtmodig, born in Siö parish.  
 Hendrich Benckson Buller, born in Danish "hysing."  
 Printe Nielson Jeagare, born in Giöteborg.

WOMEN.

Ingrij Pär's daughter, born in Lundby parish.  
 Sigrij Oluff's daughter, born in Borg parish.  
 Britha Oluff's daughter, born *ibidem*.  
 Karin Pär's daughter, born in Österbåtn in Vasa.  
 Sigri Niels's daughter, born in Langland parish.  
 Margaretha Hans's daughter, born in Bolnes parish.  
 Annika Hans's daughter, born in Finnland.

Maria Benck's daughter, born in Arbåga.  
 Margaretha Niels's daughter, born in Vesberg parish.  
 Karin Niels's daughter, born *ibidem*.  
 Cristin Jöns's daughter, born in Bongsund.  
 Ingrij Lars's daughter, born *ibidem*.  
 Brita Suen's daughter, born in Mariestadh.  
 Anna Lars's daughter, born in Siöö parish.  
 Wife Elie Oluff's daughter, with a little child born in Skara, two.  
 Ingebår Bänc's daughter, born "på hysing."

HANS AMUNDSON.  
 G. B. K.

THE FRIEDENSTHAL PRINTING OFFICE.—In my little sketch, "Rev. John Brandmiller, the Moravian Printer" (PENNA. MAG., Vol. VI. pp. 249-50), I referred to the printing office at Friedensthal, from which were issued a "Harmony of the Gospels" and a "Hymn Book," translated into Delaware by the missionary B. A. Grubé, and also an edition of Scripture Texts for the year 1767.

On Washington's birthday, in company with my uncle, John Jordan, Jr., I visited the Archives of the Moravian Church at Bethlehem, and, while searching for historical items relating to another matter, found in one of the Day Books of the congregation the outfit and cost of the Friedensthal Printing Office. The entry bears date December 1, 1761, and reads as follows:

" 134 lbs Double English . . . .	£2.	3.	1½
7½ lbs two line letters . . . .	3.	14.	—
4½ lbs Flowers . . . .	1/6	6.	9.
5½ lbs Great Primmer . . . .	/6	2.	9.
157 lbs English . . . .	/5	3.	5.
208½ lbs Pica . . . .	/5	4.	6.
194 lbs Small Pica . . . .	/8	6.	9.
215 lbs Long Primmer . . . .	/10	8.	19.
61 lbs Brevier . . . .	1/3	3.	16.
1 Printing Press . . . .	3.	—	—
Scabbard . . . .	—	2.	—
5 cases 2 @ 2/ 3 @ 2/ . . . .	—	13.	—
1 Composing Stick . . . .	—	1.	—
7 wooden cases . . . .	1/6	—	10.

£37. 10. 2. stg."

The printing office was shipped from London to New York, where it was stored. From the latter place it was transported by boat to New Brunswick, N. J., and from thence to Friedensthal *via* Bethlehem by wagon, at a cost of £1. 7. —

JOHN W. JORDAN.

REGISTRY OF THE BAPTISM OF WILLIAM PENN.—In the Rev. Joseph Maskell's Collections relating to the History of the Parish of Allhallows, Barking, in the City of London, published in 1864, are to be found numerous extracts from the parish registers. Under those of baptisms is the following on page 68:

"1644. October 23. William, son of William Penn and Margaret his wife, of the Tower Liberty."

The author's note remarks that this is the baptism of the founder of Pennsylvania. His father was then a captain in the navy, residing on Tower Hill, at that time a favorite residence with navy men. William Penn was

born on Tower Hill October 14, 1644. The exact locality was the east side of Great Tower Hill, within a court adjoining London Wall. Most of Penn's biographers describe him as a native of Saint Katherine's precinct. This is an error; he was born in the Tower Liberty. The authority for Admiral Penn's residence as above is a letter from P. Gibson to his son, which is quoted in Cunningham's Hand-book of London.

VISIT OF THE REV. DR. MANASSEH CUTLER TO WILLIAM HAMILTON AT THE WOODLANDS.—Readers of this MAGAZINE will remember the interesting account of the Woodlands in Mr. Townsend Ward's "Walk to Darby," Vol. III. pp. 160 *et seq.* Among persons who recollected the place as there depicted, was the late Miss Quincy, daughter of Josiah Quincy, of Massachusetts, at one time a guest of Mr. Hamilton. For the following copy of the greater part of a letter written by the Reverend Doctor Manasseh Cutler to his daughter Mrs. Torrey, we are indebted to the courtesy of Col. E. O. Dawes, of Cincinnati, Ohio. "At the time of the visit described," says Mr. Dawes, "Doctor Cutler was a member of Congress from Massachusetts, and was on his way to Washington. He had recently received a severe injury in his side from an accidental fall. His well-known fondness for botany explains the pleasure of Mr. Hamilton in meeting him. Mr. Pickering (then United States Senator from Massachusetts), in a letter to his wife under date Oct. 17, 1803, says, 'Stopping at Gray's Ferry, Doctor Cutler and I went to Mr. Hamilton's, at his elegant seat called Woodlands, on the Schuylkill, where we lodged.' (See *Life of Timothy Pickering*, vol. iii. page 68.)"

WASHINGTON, Nov. 22d, 1803.

\* \* \* Since you are quite a gardener, I will mention a visit I made, on my journey, near Philadelphia, to a garden, which in many respects exceeds any in America.

It is at the country seat of Mr. Hamilton, a gentleman of excellent taste and great property. The visit was accidental. The fever rendered it necessary to avoid the city. We hired the stage to drive us through the suburbs on to a Tavern called Gray's Inn, over the Schuylkill, about three miles from the city. We found the Inn, although very large, so crowded, that not one in our stage could have a bed; we could be furnished with blankets if we would consent to lay on the floor. We were ten in number, and no other tavern within six or eight miles. It was about three in the afternoon when we arrived. The state of my side was such as to render it impossible for me to get rest without a bed. Mr. Pickering was indifferent with regard to himself, but felt much concern for me. As soon as we had dined, he called me aside, and told me, he had been acquainted with Mr. Hamilton, who was noted for his hospitality, and who lived but half a mile up the river, where he did not doubt we should be kindly entertained. We immediately set out and arrived about an hour before sun-set. This seat is on an eminence which forms on its summit an extended plain, at the junction of two large rivers. Near the point of land a superb, but ancient house built of stone is situated. In the front, which commands an extensive and most enchanting prospect, is a piazza supported on large pillars, and furnished with chairs and sofas like an elegant room. There we found Mr. Hamilton at his ease, smoking his cigar. He instantly recognized Mr. Pickering, and expressed much joy at seeing him. On Mr. Pickering's introducing me, he took me by the hand with a pretty hard squeeze. "Ah Dr. Cutler I am glad to see you at last—I have long felt disposed to be angry that I should hear of you so often at Philadelphia, and passing to and from the Southward, and yet never make me a visit, and Dr. Muhlenburg of Lancaster, a few days ago, made to me

the same complaint. Come gentlemen, walk in and take some refreshments, for I have much to show you, and it will directly be night." This, and much more was said, as fast as he could utter. We declined refreshment, and Mr. Pickering told him our situation. "Ah," says he, "I rejoice the Inn was full, I am indebted to this circumstance for this visit. There is my house, we have plenty of beds, and whatever it affords is at your service." We then walked over the pleasure grounds, in front, and a little back of the house. It is formed into walks, in every direction, with borders of flowering shrubs and trees. Between are lawns of green grass, frequently mowed, and at different distances numerous copse of the native trees, interspersed with artificial groves, which are of trees collected from all parts of the world. I soon found the fatigue of walking too great for me, though the enjoyment, in a measure, drove away the pain. O! that I had been well! We then took a turn to the garden and green houses. In the garden, though ornamented with almost all the flowers and vegetables the earth affords, I was not able to walk long. The green houses, which occupy a large space of ground, I cannot pretend to describe. Every part was crowded with trees and plants, from the hot climates, and such as I had never seen. All the spices. The Tea plant in full perfection. In short, he assured us, there was not a rare plant in Europe, Asia, Africa, from China and the islands in the South Sea, of which he had any account, which he had not procured.

By this time, it was so dark that no object could be distinctly examined. We retired to the house. The table was spread and tea was served. Immediately after, another table was loaded with large botanical books, containing most excellent drawings of plants, such as I never could have conceived. He is himself an excellent botanist. O my unfortunate side! when I had time to think of it, while I sat at the table, I was obliged to bite my lips to suppress my groans. When we turned to rare and superb plants, one of the gardeners would be called, and sent with a lantern to the green house to fetch me a specimen to compare with it. This was done perhaps twenty times. Between ten and eleven, an elegant table was spread, with, I believe, not less than twenty covers. After supper, we turned again to the drawings, and at one, we retired to bed. Our lodging was in the same style, and I had a most excellent night's sleep. \* \* \* In the morning, as we had informed him we must do, we rose as soon as daylight appeared. When we came down we found him up and the servants getting breakfast. We assured him we must be excused, for the stage would leave us, if we were not in season, and the passengers would breakfast at Chester. "Well," he said, "if it must be so, you cannot go until you have gone over the apartments in the house." I cannot now describe them—can only say they were filled with a collection of rich and elegant paintings, of all descriptions. A carriage was at the door with servant to conduct us to the inn where the stage was waiting. At parting with our hospitable friend, he extorted from us—and especially from me—a promise never to pass again without calling. He is a bachelor about 54 or 55. Has an aged mother about 88—of whom he spoke with great affection \* \* He has with him a nephew about 24 and two young ladies, his nieces. They took a large share with us in looking over the drawings, very social, and as engaged as their uncle.

In Dr. Cutler's diary occurs the following :

Tuesday, Oct. 11, 1803.

Breakfasted at Trenton, avoided going into Philadelphia on account of the fever. We kept in the northerly and westerly suburb until we had passed the city and went on to Grey's Inn over the Schuylkill, where we dined. At four P. M. after dinner, Mr. Pickering and myself not being able to get a bed at the inn, concluded to make Mr. Hamilton a visit, who lived on the

banks of the Schuylkill where we were very cordially received. He expressed much joy on seeing me and wondered I had never called before. He has a most beautiful seat. A large green house, prodigious collection from all parts of the world—fine walks and lawns. House nicely furnished. We had an elegant supper and much entertainment from the finest drawings of plants I have ever seen. A nephew and two nieces live with him. He is an immensely rich old bachelor.

LETTERS FROM DR. SAMUEL KENNEDY TO HIS WIFE IN 1776.—Samuel Kennedy, M.D., was a son of David Kennedy, who, in the year 1730, arrived in Chester County, Pennsylvania, Samuel being then an infant, born at sea during a long voyage. He received the best literary and medical education the period afforded, and was possessed of a competence prior to the breaking out of the Revolution. Inheriting the determined character conspicuous in his progenitors in Scotland, he took early stand in the cause of liberty, and in December, 1775, he, with Anthony Wayne and six others, "gentlemen," was appointed to represent the County of Chester in the Provincial Convention for the year 1776. January 3, 1776, he addressed "The Honorable the Continental Congress," representing his readiness to "cheerfully serve his country in the most acceptable manner his capacity and ability will admit."

January 19, 1776, in Committee of Safety, George Clymer, President, it was "Resolved, that Doctor Samuel Kennedy be appointed Surgeon to the Fourth Battalion Pennsylvania Troops in the service of the United Colonies." On the 1st of May, 1777, he was appointed "Senior Surgeon and Physician in the General Hospital of the Middle Department." The General Hospital was erected, and the building continues, on the Yellow Springs property, then owned by Dr. Kennedy. It is now occupied by the State as a school for orphans. The Continental Army for a time occupied this property, where General Washington for a time had his headquarters—the British army under General Howe having possession of Dr. Kennedy's homestead farm in the Great Valley, in consequence of which there was great loss of personal property. Dr. Kennedy was senior surgeon to Wayne's command at Long Island, Ticonderoga, and on the borders of Canada; also was at the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, and the affair at Paoli, and at Valley Forge.

He never asked for, and never received, a dollar for his services. Dr. Cutting, of the Revolutionary Army, in a letter to Judge John Kennedy, of East Tennessee, referring to Dr. Kennedy's services, writes: "I am bound conscientiously to declare that a more useful, skilful, and humane public service has seldom been executed. In the zealous performance of his medical duties he imbibed a contagious hospital malady which in two days carried him off, June 17, 1778, to the unspeakable grief of family and friends. The melancholy duty devolved upon me of committing to paper and witnessing his last will, and of closing the eyes of one of the noblest Surgeons and most meritorious patriots that benefited and adorned the Revolutionary Army." The wife of Dr. Kennedy was the daughter of Job Ruston, of Penn's Manor, and sister of Dr. Thomas Ruston, of Philadelphia, whose residence, built for him, was what is now occupied as the store of Sharpless, on Chestnut Street, Philadelphia. Dr. Thomas Ruston Kennedy, of Western Pennsylvania, and Judge John Kennedy, of Tennessee, were sons of Dr. Samuel Kennedy.

I have a well-preserved copy of the large folio "Concordance to the Bible," by Samuel Newman, D.D., printed in London, 1643, wherein is written "DAVID *dedit* GILBERT KENNEDY, 1651." Elliott mentions this work as

having been compiled in New England "by the light of burning pine knots." The volume doubtless formed one of the richest treasures of the immigrant of more than a century and a half since.

Washington, D. C.

JOSEPH C. G. KENNEDY.

Camp Long Island, June 2, '76.

My dearest.

The principal part of my comfort here arises from the opportunities which offer in communing with you in this way, but a line from you would give me great pleasure. I have been here two weeks to day which seems in retrospect equal to two months, notwithstanding, I am treated with every mark of respect, and have all the comforts of life which the place affords by nature and improvement. I wrote you two letters last week but have rec<sup>d</sup> not one line. Pray write me by every opp<sup>y</sup> and be explicit and at large. Our stay here seems uncertain. We were favoured yesterday evening with the agreeable intelligence that a party of our people fell in with and killed and took prisoners upwards of 700 of the enemy on their way to Carlton<sup>1</sup> from Detroit. The particulars I cannot give you as the bearer waits. When you write you may send to Mr. Graham, and desire him to send by the Stage Coach direct to Dr Saml Kennedy, Surgeon 4th Battalion Pennsylvania troops at Long Island.

As to Politics the papers give you everything which I yet know of. Col. Wayne and three companies are mounted for Quebec, also my mate. Five companies here. Kiss the dear Children for me. Next opportunity shall write to Tommy.<sup>2</sup>

I am my dearest, with hourly wishes that Almighty God may be your preserver and comforter, your

Most affectionate Husband,

SAM<sup>L</sup> KENNEDY.

Mrs. Sarah Kennedy, In the Great Valley, Chester County, Penna.

Long Island, June 7<sup>th</sup> 1776.

My Dearest.

I fully expected a letter from you prior to this date but am still unhappy through disappointment. I am apprehensive your letters must have miscarried, therefore would have you send them to Mr W<sup>m</sup> Bradford and request him to send them to his brother Cornelius who keeps the Coffee House in New York. He has treated me very genteelly and gives me a Philadelphia Paper every Friday gratis. The inclosed interesting intelligence I received last ev'g at the Coffee House where it just then came to hand, by which it appears Providence seems still to operate in our favor, and finally I make no doubt, will cover our endeavours with success. We are yet uncertain as to our destination, as no arms are yet obtained 'tho daily expected. Col. Roberdeau arrived here the evening before last with Col. McDougal's lady, his sister-in-law. I accidentally met them at Paulus Hook in company with Gen<sup>l</sup> Green and Col. Knox of the Artillery. Yesterday there were six large ships at the Narrows which arrived from Europe. Some of them came in a few days ago. Whether any of them are Transports is yet uncertain, but on y<sup>e</sup> whole it is expected we shall have warm work before three weeks are expired. I must beg you will write me, particularly how our affairs are and how you do. My separation from you and my dear little ones becomes daily more Intolerable, so that sometimes I feel almost ready to resign. I have been down on Long Island and find an almost innumerable set of villainous Tories who have effrontery enough to speak plainly except when

<sup>1</sup> Sir Guy Carlton, Governor of Canada.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Thomas Buston Kennedy, father of J. C. G. Kennedy.

some of the military are present. In my next if time permits I shall give you a description of the Fortifications, military stores, &c.

I am, my Dearest, in haste,  
Yours most affectionately,

SAM<sup>L</sup> KENNEDY.

Kiss my dear little ones for me and tell them I hope to see them ere long. I have enjoyed tolerable health since I left Philadelphia.

Addressed—Mrs. Sarah Kennedy, In the Great Valley.

Camp Long Island, June 10, 1776.

My dearest self.

I have written you four letters since our unhappy parting, but have never received a line, which adds daily to my distress, and notwithstanding I live well and have the best company, I apprehend myself declining in flesh, which must undoubtedly arise from local separation from you. How time and a greater distance may operate I know not, but at present I feel as much as my constitution will bear. We are still in Dubio whether for Quebec or otherwise. Sundry of the ships of war are gone out of the Harbor which causes some speculation.

On Saturday last General Green, his Lady, Col. Johnston, Capt. Frazer & his lady with whom the Major, Capt. Frazer & I live, went to the Sea shore to observe the enemy's shipping by Telescope. We there found a number of Tories who immediately dispersed. The rifle regiment are stationed there, who seized a Boat, the property of a Tory who lives near here, returning from the Asia man of war with a bag of Letters which they had not time to sink, tho the attempt was made: the contents not yet published, but no doubt they will afford entertainment and advantageous intelligence. Our last account of Col. Wayne & three companies inform they were on their march toward Quebec beyond the Lakes. The Col. was well, please to inform Mrs. Wayne. I beg you will write to me often and be very particular. Also desire Tommy to write often. Mr. Sherrief Vernon,<sup>1</sup> the bearer, waits. Must take leave of you once more. Farewell, my Dearest. May Almighty God protect and bless you and be your comforter. Kiss the dear little children for me.

Monday Morning, 10<sup>th</sup> June,  
Camp Long Island, 1776.

Y<sup>r</sup> affectionate Husband,

SAM<sup>L</sup> KENNEDY.

Mr. Blair preached here yesterday, the first time since his appointment for our Battal<sup>n</sup>. When you write direct Doctor Sam<sup>L</sup> Kennedy, Surgeon Fourth Battalion Pennsylvania Troops to the care of Mr. Cornelius Bradford, Coffe house, New York. Send your letter to Mr. Bradford of Phila.

Addressed—To Sarah Kennedy, In the Great Valley, Chester County, Pennsylvania. Favored by Mr. Vernon. Recommended to the care of W<sup>m</sup> Bradford, Esqre.

New York, June 29, 1776.

My dear Partner.

I expect to embark this evening for Albany where we will probably stay a long time, or perhaps return as there is no probability of getting arms.

General Green handed me a letter yesterday by which we understand our whole army with their baggage retreated to Ticonderoga & Crown Point. They have lost about 250 killed, wounded & taken, among whom are Gen<sup>L</sup> Thomson,<sup>2</sup> Col. Erwin,<sup>3</sup> Mr. McCalla our minister, and Dr. McKinney.

<sup>1</sup> Ex-sheriff Nathaniel Vernon.

<sup>2</sup> General William Thompson, of Carlisle.

<sup>3</sup> Colonel William Irvine.



This is a heavy blow indeed as it will discourage the troops greatly. Col. Wayne behaved like a hero and the three companies fought like brave fellows. You need not be afraid on my account as I apprehend no danger. I am sorry Mr. McCalla and Dr. McKinney have gone into such imminent danger as it was not their duty nor for the good of the Cause.

Our officers and men are very healthy, of which you may notify their friends. I wrote you two days ago and beg you will write me often. I received no letter since my return here. I must beg you will get Mr. John Claryd to superintend your Harvest. Please give my compliments to him and family and tell them the Lieutenant is well. May Almighty God be your comforter and support.

I am my Dearest  
Yours most affectionately

SAM<sup>L</sup> KENNEDY.

Sundry vessels arrived yesterday at the Hook and it is said Lord Howe is arrived: consequently an engagement cannot be far distant. Kiss our dear little ones one hundred times for me.

Addressed—Mrs. Sarah Kennedy, in the Great Valley, Chester County, Pennsylvania. Favoured by Johnston.

Ticonderoga, Aug. 5, 1776.

My dearest self.

I wrote you two days since by the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. Joans,<sup>1</sup> but so fond am I of writing that no opportunity is neglected.

Our affairs are much in statu quo as to accommodations and provisions, and indeed the health of the army is such as will not easily be restored. I am so much recovered as just to be able to walk about a little this afternoon—intend to ride a little. This is the ninth day of my illness, and you may be assured I never passed so many days so disagreeably, tho every comfort this place could afford was at my service. What adds to my misfortune is I have not rec<sup>d</sup> a line from you. That infamous villain G. S. . . . r, has, I am told made a practice of stopping every letter of importance yours I suppose among others. Tis said he has retarded the service by every means in his power, which I well believe. I know that provisions and ammunition with arms and accommodations of every kind have been too much under his direction & that has been of the worst kind language can paint, and has . . . been exhibited in the most loose and tardy manner imagineable. G. de Wolkey<sup>2</sup> is dead. I apprehend his tombstone, if any there shall be, will not labor under a mighty load of Epitaphs other than of his engagements in the field of Bacchus & Venus. In the former, tis said he was famous and often attempted the latter, so much for y<sup>e</sup> Genl.

I should be more particular as to the situation of the place with its connections and appendages but as Mr. Joans promised to . . . my last I must refer you to that. Last evening two men arrived here from St. Johns via New England, who being advised that the English invaders have evacuated St. Johns in consequence of a French fleet being arrived in the River St. Lawrence and that vast numbers of the foreign troops had deserted them. I am not willing to credit them too hastily nor will the General. They are ordered to stay a few days until our flag returns who went down to make known y<sup>e</sup> Declaration of Independency and that the Congress would not confirm the engagements at y<sup>e</sup> . . . . . By y<sup>e</sup> return we shall be properly ascertained of the truth of what they say and be able to form our measures in conformity. What effect these matters, shall they prove facts, may have on our destination I cannot yet be certain of, but you may depend I intend home in the Fall if spared. I must again entreat you to write often and

<sup>1</sup> Rev. David Jones, grandfather of the Hon. Horatio Gates Jones.

<sup>2</sup> Baron de Woedtke, of the Prussian Army, who died July 31, 1776.

through post if you have no other way. If the bearer Capt. Jenkins resigns, which he thinks he will, you may write him a letter to learn the best method. . . .

I feel quite fatigued, my dearest, and must therefore close by subscribing myself your affectionate husband,

SAM<sup>L</sup> KENNEDY.

Addressed—Mrs. Sarah Kennedy, In the Great Valley, Chester County, Pennsylvania.

Ticonderoga, August 10, 1776.

My Dearest.

With the greatest pleasure I improve this opportunity of communicating to you the very agreeable intelligence that I am tolerably recovered of my illness by the Blessing of Heaven, for which it becomes me to be devoutly thankful. I wrote you by Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. (Evans?) also pr. Capt. Jenks, which I am confident you must have received. Two days since I rec<sup>d</sup> yours of 4<sup>th</sup> of July, which is the only line I have heard from you since our unhappy parting. The army, both officers and men, continue sickly of Putrid, Nervous, Billious intermitting & remitting fevers with fluxes, &c. &c. I am extremely fatigued, having on my hands the care of three Regiments, and were it not for the goodness of the General officers I should not be able to subsist: Indeed, General Gates was kind enough to tell me he would give me anything I would ask in the reach of his power. I frequently dine and sup with him, and am as familiar there as anywhere in Camp.

Our Lines are nearly completed, and we expect to man them with 4000 men, who I think will defend against 1600. We are also very strong on the Lakes by Sloops, Brig's, Gondolas, &c. A part of 5000 troops from Connecticut are arrived to-day. I was at Gen. Gates when their General arrived: he appears midling. From what I can hear of the enemy's situation, am confident they will not visit us here this season, hence you may be encouraged especially seeing Providence seems so much on our side to the southward. Some time ago I felt much discouraged, but it often happens that a cloudy morn precedes a clear day. I hope God in his infinite goodness will cover our heads in y<sup>e</sup> day of Battle should we be reduced to the necessity of engaging, for I find that defence is the part pointed out for each commander. I am glad to observe by the papers and letters that our countrymen have appeared so freely in Defence of the common cause. Pray let me know about all the affairs I am naturally anxious to hear from. It seems like two years since I saw you. I would be glad to write to the neighbors, but have not time now to take the hours for rest. I am sorry to tell you that poor Mordecai Davis is extremely ill at the General Hospital at Lake George and not expected to live. I have thought of going to see him to-morrow. As you mentioned stockings, &c., anything of the kind may be sent by y<sup>e</sup> Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. Joans, who has promised to return here. Hope you will present my best compliments to all our friends. It is now late, and no other occupation could possibly have kept me awake. Must bid you good-night, sending you and the dear little ones a thousand kisses. May Almighty God keep, preserve & direct you in all your affairs.

I am, my dear self, your most affectionate Husband,

12 o'clock at night.

SAM<sup>L</sup> KENNEDY.

Addressed—Mrs. Sarah Kennedy, In the Great Valley, Chester County.

Ticonderoga, Sept. 2, '76.

My dearest self.

I want words to express my feelings for you laboring under such a load of fatigue, anxiety, and care, and most ardently pray Divine aid for your support. I endeavour to please myself with the idea of your having gone through the heat of the day and the hope of being received into your dear

arms once more, an event which I would prefer to all things here below; and give me leave to assure you that tho nearly 500 miles separate us personally, but few hours pass, you absent from my thoughts. Our situation is much in statu quo as in my last, except the addition of two Regiments yesterday from Boston. Our number is now about 10,000 men, more healthy than before. Two days since all the Surgeons on the ground were called together by order of the General, who required a true statement of the sick, the quantum of medicines, the necessary comforts required, and the most salutary measures for the preservation of the army, &c. &c. He also required that an examination might take place relative to the mode of practice in each Department. Your Dr Friend was honored with the Presidency. We met conformably to order, went through the business with all the solemnity becoming the Faculty, and made Report accordingly, which the General accepted very politely and gave out in General Orders. I hope in a short time to have the pleasure of giving you joy on receipt of good news from N. York. Col. St. Clair is appointed a Brigadier. He is much of a gentleman I assure you, and hearty in our cause. This day I am to dine with him. Our friends here are generally well. I am in haste, my Dearest Comfort.

Your most affectionate Husband,  
SAM<sup>l</sup> KENNEDY.

Kiss the dear little ones for me. Comfort yourself and them with the hope of my return.

Addressed—Mrs. Sarah Kennedy, Chester County, Pennsylvania. To be left at the Coffe House, Philadelphia. Favored by Maj. Scull.

Ticonderoga, Sept. 11, 1776.

*My Dearest.*

I wrote you two days since by Capt. Todd, who brought me the things you sent to me. You see I let no opportunity slip of conversing in this unhappy way. Yesterday we were very happy in receiving better accounts from N. York as well as our fleet which is down Champlain at the Isle of Mott: there three of y<sup>e</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> Regiment were killed and four wounded as they were cutting fascines. Our people fired on the enemy, but know of none being killed. From the Enemy's disposition and the intelligence of their being flogged at N. York, I apprehend they will not come here this season, if so hope to see my dear self in about two months at longest; at any rate expect me to return this Fall if spared. I find by your account I have not received near all your letters, tho many more than any of the other officers, which I attribute to the care of the Bradford families. Our people still continue sickly, but not so much so as before, and but few die. I am anxious to hear from you, as your letters are the only medium of my comfort, tho I am ever treated with the utmost complaisance by every officer from the General down. I am this day appointed principal operator here, and the lint, bandages, and other necessary apparatus put into my care, but all these things appear as nothing while absent from my dear wife and children.

The bearer waits, whence I must conclude with most tender sentiments of affection and warmest wishes for your comfort. Kiss y<sup>e</sup> dear children for me.

Your most affect. Husband,  
SAM<sup>l</sup> KENNEDY.

P. S.—I am some time past living in one of the best rooms in the Fort, and have every comfort the place will afford, by the Gen<sup>l</sup> orders. Yesterday heard from cousin Sammy, he is well at Crown Point.

Qr. Where is Brother David?

Addressed—To Mrs. Sarah Kennedy, In Chester Co., Penna., to be left at the Coffe House, Philada. Favored by Lieutenant Moulder.

<sup>1</sup> La Motte, in Vermont.

LETTER OF COL. RICHARD BUTLER TO GEN. WILLIAM IRVINE.—The following letter has been kindly communicated by Isaac Craig, Esq., of Allegheny :

Dear General: I hope you' not charge my silence either to taciturnety or neglect when I assure you it is neither, I would have wrote you had any op<sup>r</sup> happ<sup>d</sup> since I could collect subject to write on & although I Essay it now I cant hope much either to please or amuse you.

After a fatiguing march with bad weather we join<sup>d</sup> the Marquiss the 10th of June, about this time L<sup>d</sup> Cornwallis was really sporting through the country without opposition, the very name of a dragoon had such influence on the minds of (not only) the country people but the troops of the army that few dar<sup>d</sup> to approach them, the consequence of which was *very bad intelligence*. Charlotteville was sack<sup>d</sup> without a shot & every kind of depra-dation committed with impunity, the people seem<sup>d</sup> scar<sup>d</sup> to death & nothing but dispondency & resignation appeard in their countinances. Indeed they seem<sup>d</sup> quite prepar<sup>d</sup> for the yoke; however our junction gave a zest to busi-ness & things began to wear a new face. Cornwallis turn<sup>d</sup> About on hearing of our arrival, & the exaggrated Acct<sup>t</sup> of our force add<sup>d</sup> to his anxiety in return. & he moved back with a little more caution than he advanced. The militia was now call<sup>d</sup> Provisions collected & on the 14<sup>th</sup> we mov<sup>d</sup> toward Richmond, the people from the back country join<sup>d</sup> us in considerable num-bers & are really good troops; on the 24<sup>th</sup> I was sent out with a small Advanc<sup>d</sup> light Corps to strike the British rear, after three days and nights succesive march I got up with Simcoe. I gave him a handsome stroke with little loss myself; we kill<sup>d</sup> about 50, and some officers, took a few pris-oners, a good many dragoon horses & furniture with a number of Cattle belonging to the Inhabitants, but eight miles from Williamsburgh, & their whole force could not think of runing a greater risque by a pursuit therefore drew back, the excess of fatigue, heat Exertion of spirits and want of sleep threw me into a violent fever & Diarcehea which had like to have taken me off, but am now perfectly restor<sup>d</sup> & Shall join the army to-morrow, I cannot acc<sup>t</sup> for the Enemy's movements they have lain since the 26<sup>th</sup> at and below Williamsburgh & yesterday mov<sup>d</sup> to Jamestown but a few miles from there; our troops mov<sup>d</sup> down near town but return<sup>d</sup> 8 miles again the same day—the Army is generally healthy though they undergo much fatigue, the Country here is poor & Sandy, the weather intensely hot & the water but midling; our provis<sup>ns</sup> is tollerably good & the troops get some Apple-brandy which I think is of some Service to them, these are things I know your humanity & good wish for a Soldier Interest you in I therefore take pleasure in informing you, I find we shall be at a great loss for Shoes Over-alls & Shirts in a little time indeed many of the men are now bare foot, owing to the heat of the Sand which burns the leather, & is insupportable to the bare foot, the swet & want of soap & opp<sup>r</sup> to wash destroys the linen so that the men will be naked if they dont get a supply soon. I think it proper to give you this Information in order that you may make timely application & if possible forward them by some officer, if you succeed my paymaster L<sup>t</sup> Lytle may answer the Purpose

My Battall<sup>ns</sup> is now very small the Companies not being quite full at first & a considerable desertion and Sickness since, I have therefore wrote Co<sup>t</sup> Mentges to send on what he can Collect with some fifers, & A number of spare fifes for the line I think about 30 will do, I must request of you my dear Gen<sup>l</sup> to have them push<sup>d</sup> on as fast as possible as I think their Assistance will be wanting in case the *Earl* plays the cuning game & lays by till our militia is dispers<sup>d</sup> by the calls of their harvest (which is now in) and other necessi-tys and a push when weak may oblige us to move backward which I would not like—I conclude with assuring you that I am with every sentiment of Friendship & respect Dear Sir Your most Obed<sup>t</sup> & very Huble S<sup>t</sup>

Quarters 8th July 1781.

RICH<sup>d</sup> BUTLER Co<sup>t</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> P. Reg<sup>t</sup>.

General Irvine

My compliments to your lady.

**POLLOCK GENEALOGY.**—A biographical sketch of Oliver Pollock, Esq., of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, United States Commercial Agent at New Orleans and Havana, 1776-1784. With genealogical notes of his descendants. Also genealogical sketches of other Pollock families settled in Pennsylvania. By Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden. Harrisburg, Pa., 1883. 8vo. 59 pages.—“The Pennsylvania Pollocks,” says the author, “are all of Scotch-Irish descent,” and embrace descendants of James and Oliver Pollock, of Carlisle, Pa., comprising family names of Alger, Bradford, Briggs, Dougherty, Dady, Foley, Gibson, Morrison, McKay, O'Brien, Pharis, Penniman, and Robinson. Genealogical sketches of these occupy the chief place in this pamphlet. It also includes accounts of “descendants of John, James, and Charles Pollock, brothers, who emigrated from Coleraine, Ireland, about 1750, and settled in Pennsylvania,” as well as of “descendants of Samuel Pollock, of Chester and Dauphin Counties, Penna.,” and a few other Pollock families.

**DOROTHEA SCOTT**, otherwise Gotherson and Hogben, of Egerton House, Kent, 1611-1680. A New and Enlarged Edition by G. D. Scull. Oxford, 1883. Small 4vo. 222 pp.—This book is an enlargement of a little pamphlet noticed in this *MAGAZINE*, vol. vi. p. 367. It comprises interesting accounts of Dorothea, John, and Thomas Scott, and of Daniel Gotherson, and includes a reprint of Dorothea Gotherson's *Call to Repentance* (printed in 1661), and copies of the will of Thomas Scott, and of his *Discourse of Polle-tique and Civell Honor* from MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Appended to the volume are genealogical tables tracing the descent of Dorothea Scott from Charles Martel and William Baliol le Scot (about A. D. 1300), and deriving from her a distinguished American posterity.

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### Queries.

**BETHLEHEM WATER-WORKS.**—The first water-works for the Moravian town of Bethlehem, in this State, were planned and built in 1754 by Hans Christopher Christiansen, who immigrated from Denmark in 1751, and was by trade a millwright. The pump used was made of lignum vitæ, and worked by a lever on the plan formerly used in working furnace or forge bellows. Water was forced through bored hemlock logs to a wooden reservoir, erected on the site now covered by the Moravian church, at the corner of Main and Church Streets. These wooden mains were subsequently removed, and leaden pipes 1½ inches in diameter, laid in trenches made of brick filled in with a cement of pitch and powdered brick, substituted. The rapidly growing town requiring increased water facilities, in 1761 Christiansen, aided by John Arbo and Frederick von Marschall, prepared plans for new works. A two-story stone building was erected (still standing), in which were placed three single-acting force-pumps of iron (cast at Durham Furnace) of 18-inch stroke, worked by a triple crank geared to the shaft of an under-shot water-wheel, 18 feet in diameter, and 2 feet clear in the buckets. The head of water was 2 feet. On the water-wheel shaft was a wallower of 33 rounds, which geared into a spur wheel of 52 cogs attached to the crank; the three piston-rods were attached each to a crosshead working in grooves, to give them a motion parallel to the pumps, etc. The works were designed to raise water 70 feet, subsequently increased to 112 feet. The rising mains were made of gum-wood, the other pipes of yellow pine. These were in use

about thirty years, when they were replaced by lead pipes, and in 1813 by iron ones. In 1832 the triple pumps were supplanted by the double-acting pump of larger dimensions, and in 1868 steam was resorted to as a pumping agent. The last enlargement of the works took place in 1874.

The Bethlehem water-works were undoubtedly the first built in this State, and, so far as my own researches have progressed, I believe the first in the United States. Should any antedate them, I desire to be informed.

JOHN W. JOB

WOODROW—KNIGHT—PUSEY.—Information is desired concerning Simeon Woodrow, who came to Chester Co., Pa., from Mansfield, N. J., about 1720, and concerning his ancestry. In 1758, Wm. Brown of E. Nottingham, Chester Co., Pa., an eminent minister in the Society of Friends, married Elizabeth, daughter of Wm. and Elizabeth Knight; what was the maiden name of Wm. Knight's wife, and what is known of his residence and ancestry? In 1707 Wm. Pusey married Elizabeth, daughter of John and Frances Bower, at Middletown Friends' Meeting-House, Delaware Co., Pa.; who were William Pusey's parents?  
J. A. M. P.

HARRY—CLARK—STEWART—MEREDITH.—I should like to obtain full information concerning descendants of the following:

*Aubrey and Sarah (Bonsall) Harry.*—She received certificate from Darby to Haverford 10 mo. 1st, 1755, and from Haverford to Philadelphia 5 mo. 10th, 1771. They had three children, viz.: 1. *Hannah*, 2. *Mary*, and 3. *Bonsall*.

*Samuel and Jane (Bonsall) Clark.*—She received certificate (then unmarried) from Darby to Philadelphia 1 mo. 3d, 1759. I have no further accounts of them.

*John and Hannah (Lea) Stewart* were married at Wilmington 6 mo. 10th, 1756. She received certificate to Philadelphia 5 mo. 15th, 1765, and from Philadelphia to Wilmington 4 mo. 29th, 1768, which names her husband and children Elizabeth and Martha. He died at Wilmington 6 mo. —, 1772, and she 9 mo. 20th, 1779. They had four children, viz.:

1. *Elizabeth*, b. 9 mo. 27th, 1759. Received certificate from Wilmington to Kennett Square, "to be placed with friends there," 9 mo. 15th, 1773, and thence to Wilmington 6 mo. 12th, 1777.

2. *Martha*, b. 8 mo. 10th, 1762. Received same certificates as her sister. Was disowned by Kennett Meeting 5 mo. 11th, 1780.

3. *George*, b. 3 mo. 6th, 1767. Not named in his mother's certificate, 1768.

4. *Ann*, b. 9 mo. 10th, 1769.

*Walter and Rachel (Lea) Meredith.* She was disowned by Wilmington Friends' Meeting, for marriage out of meeting, 4 mo. 14th, 1773. She was still living in 1803. They had four children, viz.: 1. *Margaret*, 2. *Sarah*, 3. *Mary*, 4. *George*.

Fairhaven, Mass.

J. HENRY LEA.

DINWIDDIE OR DUNWOODY.—Where can I find any account of the Dinwiddie family of Virginia, of whom Robert was governor in 1753 and later? I am collecting records of the Dunwoody family in this country, some of whom claim relationship with the Dinwiddies of Va., and would be pleased to be informed of the whereabouts of any of the different branches. Tradition says that Robert and John Dunwoody were soldiers in the Revolution, and helped to carry the wounded Gen. Lafayette from the field of battle. Is this corroborated by any published history?  
GILBERT COPP.

West Chester, Pa.

## Replies.

SAMUEL POWELL (Vol. vii, p. 495).—A. S. M. states that he knows nothing of Samuel Powell's parentage nor whence he came. From some investigations made by me I find that he came of a Somersetshire family, many of the name, and apparently his kinsmen, being resident in the parish of North Curry and its neighborhood. Samuel Powell's aunt, Ann Powell, of North Curry, married John Parsons, of Middlezoy, at Greinton, 6 mo. 23, 1685. The places named are in Somerset (*Vide* Book A, p. 4, Records, Mo. Meeting of Friends, Arch Street, Philadelphia). Samuel's father was William Powell (died in 1735, will recorded at Philadelphia). This William had gone up to London before the year 1681, and was then engaged in the cooperative business in the suburb of Southwark. He was evidently a man of means, and probably left England chiefly on account of the persecution which it appears befell his family (*Vide* Besse's *Sufferings of Friends*, "Powells of Somerset"). He was an original purchaser of land under Penn to the extent of twelve hundred acres and over (*Vide* Patents, 1681 *et seq.*, Philadelphia).

His son, the above-mentioned Samuel, besides inheriting paternal estate, was one of the heirs of his aunt Ann Parsons (will recorded, Philadelphia, Book C, p. 331). He was a great builder—the well-known "rich carpenter" of his day. At his death, in 1756, he left a large landed estate, and the reputation of having been one of the greatest contributors to the growth of Philadelphia, and to its material and moral improvement (*Pa. Gazette*, July 1, 1756). His wife was Abigail, daughter of Barnabas Wilcox. By her he had a son, Samuel Powel (*sic*, one "l," either for distinction from others of the name or a reversion to the spelling of former generations; *vide* Besse). This Samuel married Mary, daughter of Anthony Morris, 9 mo. 9, 1732. He was a merchant of Philadelphia, and the grantor of Friends' Meeting, Pine Street. His son was Samuel Powel, of Powelton, Speaker of the Assembly, and the patriot Mayor of Philadelphia during the Revolutionary times. Mr. Powel was a man of wealth, culture and influence. He abjured Quakerism, married, but died childless, the last male of his line. His death occurred in 1793.

Regarding the Emlen connection, the following statement is correct. Joshua Emlen, fourth son of George Emlen, who came from Shepton Mallet, Somersetshire, in the time of Penn, married, first, Mary, daughter of \_\_\_\_\_ Holton and widow of \_\_\_\_\_ Hudson, by whom he had no surviving issue, and, secondly, Deborah, daughter of (the first) Samuel Powell. By this marriage he had Samuel Powell Emlen, afterwards called simply Samuel Emlen, the well-known Quaker preacher. He married twice. By his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter of William Mood, he had a son, namely, Samuel Emlen, of West Hill and of Burlington, N. J. This Mr. Emlen was the founder of the Emlen Institute now established at Warminster, Bucks County, Pa. He married in 1795 Susanna Dillwyn (not "Delroy"), daughter of William Dillwyn. He died childless. Returning to his father, Samuel Emlen, he, after the death of his first wife (Elizabeth Mood), married Sarah, daughter of Asher Mott, by whom he had Deborah, who died unmarried, and Elizabeth. The latter married Sept. 18, 1800, Philip Syng Physick, M.D. Dr. Physick left four children, as stated by A. S. M., one of whom, Susan Dillwyn, wife of Commodore Conner, U. S. N., was my mother. I mention this because knowledge of it may help to confirm this statement.

April 11, 1884.

P. S. P. CONNER,  
126 S. Eighteenth St., Phila.







Handwritten text below the engraving, possibly a name or date.

*Handwritten signature in cursive script, possibly reading 'Clemens', with a large flourish extending to the right.*

Faint, illegible text at the bottom of the page, possibly a page number or reference.





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DANIEL HYACINTH MARY LIÉNARD DE BEAUJEU,

COMMANDANT OF FORT DU QUESNE AND OF THE FRENCH FORCES  
IN THE BATTLE OF JULY 9, 1755.

BY JOHN GILMARY SHEA.

The officer who planned the boldest operation of French arms against the English, in the struggle for supremacy in the New World, and who fell at the head of his little force when a victory, he could not have dared to promise himself, was already assured, has nevertheless failed to obtain the place in history to which he is so well entitled. His very name has slowly and recently emerged from the shades of obscurity; his native Canada and his fatherland France have done nothing to commemorate him; his very grave is unknown.

Daniel Hyacinth Mary Liénard de Beaujeu, who so bravely attacked with a petty force the finest army ever sent from England to operate against the French, was descended from a family from Dauphiné, which has left its name to the Beaujolois, one of the divisions of that ancient province. The family figures in French history from the eleventh century. In 1210 Guichard, Sire de Beaujeu, was sent by

Philip Augustus as his ambassador to the Sovereign Pontiff Innocent III. Humbert V., Sire de Beaujeu, was Constable of France, and attended the coronation of Baudouin II. as Emperor at Constantinople. Another of the name fought under St. Louis in Egypt. William de Beaujeu was Grand-master of the Templars in 1288, and was killed at the siege of Antioch in 1290. They figure in later times in the annals of the brave. The Seigneur de Beaujeu, an officer of great experience and ability, fell at the siege of Montbart in 1590; another at Fontarabia in 1638; Paul Anthony Quiqueran de Beaujeu is famous for his imprisonment at Constantinople and his daring escape in the seventeenth century. One of this brave race commanded the man-of-war sent out as part of the expedition of René Cavalier de la Salle, to operate against the rich mining country of Mexico, by way of Texas, and is now receiving tardy justice from false and groundless charges. He sustained well the reputation of his race in the naval battle of La Hogue.

One of the family, Louis Liénard de Beaujeu, born at Versailles, son of Philip, an officer in the royal guards and holding other positions at court, came to Canada before the close of the seventeenth century, to seek advancement in the marines serving in the colony. The first mention of him is as a member of the pious association of the Perpetual Adoration, established at Quebec in 1700. Two years after, he obtained a commission as ensign, and in 1704 a lieutenancy. On the 6th of September, 1706, at the age of twenty-four, he married Dénise Thérèse Migeon de Branssac, widow of Charles Juchereau, S'eur de St. Denis. He prospered, obtaining a captaincy in 1711, and the Cross of St. Louis fifteen years after, and was Mayor of Quebec in 1733, and had received grants of land on Chambly River.

By his marriage he had three sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Louis, became a priest, and, after being chaplain to the Ursulines at Quebec, was confessor to Louis XVI. The second was Daniel Hyacinth Mary de Beaujeu, the hero of the Monongahela. He was born at Montreal August 19, 1711, and at an early age entered the service in which his

father held a commission.<sup>1</sup> He rose rapidly, showing that his ability was recognized, and in 1748 we find him a captain in the detachment of the marines which constituted the French troops in Canada. As such, he was one of the officers who attended the conference between Mr. de la Galissonière, Governor of Canada, and the deputies of the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, and Tuscaroras, at the Castle of St. Louis, Quebec, November 2, 1748, when the Cantons expressed their wish to remain neutral between France and England.<sup>2</sup> He was next, it is said, commandant at Detroit.<sup>3</sup>

De Beaujeu, who had evidently had experience among these Indians, was sent in 1750 to take command at Niagara, where an adroit and able officer was required to defeat the plans of the English, and divert the trade of the western cantons of the Six Nations from the English establishment at Oswego.<sup>4</sup> In August of that year he entertained at his post the Swedish naturalist, Peter Kalm, sending two of his officers to guide the traveller to the Falls of Niagara, and giving him a letter to Captain Joucaire, whose long residence there made him better acquainted than any other with everything worth knowing of the great cataract and the neighboring country.<sup>5</sup> That he soon after received the Cross of St. Louis shows that Beaujeu discharged his duties with ability.

In 1755 he was sent to Fort Duquesne, with men and supplies,<sup>6</sup> and was appointed commandant of that important post, which was directly menaced by attack from Virginia. M. de Contreœur had in the preceding winter asked to be recalled, and the Marquis Duquesne, when dispatching Cap-

<sup>1</sup> Daniel, *Nos Gloires Nationales*, i. p. 132-137; manuscripts furnished by the late Count Saveuse de Beaujeu.

<sup>2</sup> *N. Y. Colonial Documents*, x. p. 187-8.

<sup>3</sup> Documents of Hon. M. Saveuse de Beaujeu.

<sup>4</sup> *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, vi. p. 592.

<sup>5</sup> Kalm, Letter from Albany, Sept. 2, 1750, in Bartram's *Observations on the Inhabitants, Climate, Soil, Rivers, Productions, Animals, and other matters worthy of notice*, etc., London, 1751, pp. 80, 81.

<sup>6</sup> "Since Sieur de Beaujeu's arrival it must be well supplied," wrote Duquesne, July 6, 1755. "as he had carried with his brigade succors of every description." (*Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, x. p. 300.)

tain de Beaujeu to relieve him, ordered Contreccœur to remain at the fort till after the expected operations.<sup>1</sup>

The officer thus sent to hold with scanty force the fort, which France had so boldly planted at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela, had no easy task assigned to him. A formidable army, commanded by General Braddock, composed of veteran English regiments, and Virginia colonial troops, well supplied with artillery, was advancing against Fort Duquesne. That post was in no condition to sustain a siege, and the force at Captain de Beaujeu's command was utterly inadequate to defend it; still less was it such as to make it at all possible to retard the march of the enemy. There seemed to be no alternative but to abandon the fort and fall back on Fort Machault and the Fort de la Rivière au Bœuf, so as to cover the important position at Niagara.

There was, indeed, a motley gathering of Indians near the fort, representing a score of tribes, from the Hurons of Lorette and the Abnakis of St. Francis, on the lower St. Lawrence, to the Ottawas of Lake Superior. But to place any reliance on their co-operation in such an emergency seemed impossible. Yet Beaujeu could not bring himself to wait tamely there to be crushed, or retreat in inglorious haste. He would not give up Fort Duquesne without striking a blow. Canadian officers of that city had great contempt for the slow movements of the English. Buoyed up by this, Beaujeu resolved to advance on the enemy and form an ambuscade where the road they had taken crossed the Monongahela. Indian scouting parties had kept up regular reports of the advance of Braddock, and knew the topography of the country. The Chevalier de la Perade, soon to fall beside his commander, had sallied out on the 6th of July, and returned the next day to announce the proximity and strength of the enemy. Beaujeu resolved to march forth

<sup>1</sup> "Annales" of Mère de la Nativité, Ursuline, cited in *Les Ursulines de Québec*, ii. p. 276. This explains the presence of Contreccœur at the time of the battle, and his reassuming the command on Beaujeu's death, as well as the consequent error in those who spoke of him as having had uninterrupted command, and of Beaujeu as acting under him.

with all the troops that could be spared; not a dissenting voice seems to have been raised, and the 8th of July was spent in preparing to take the field. But, when Beaujeu visited the Indian camp and announced to the chiefs the decision of the French officers, there was no response. To his earnest appeal they at last cried: "What, Father, do you wish to die and sacrifice us? The English are more than four thousand men, and we only eight hundred, and you wish to go and attack them! You see at once that you have no sense! We must have till to-morrow to decide."

There was no alternative. Precious as the moments were, Beaujeu was compelled to defer his march till morning. At daybreak, on the 9th of July, the French officers and soldiers gathered in the little "chapel of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin at the Beautiful River," as that in the fort was styled. The commandant knelt in the confessional before the gray-robed chaplain, the Recollect Father Denys Baron, and, when mass was said, received holy communion at his hands. Evidently he did not expect to return alive to the fort of which he had so recently assumed command.<sup>1</sup> Then the little party marched gayly out, numbering 72 regular soldiers, 146 Canadians. They halted at the wigwams, and Beaujeu asked the decision of the dusky allies of France. The chiefs sullenly replied: "We cannot march." "I am determined to go and meet the enemy," replied Beaujeu. "Will you let your Father go alone? I am sure to beat them." As the French moved on, the Indians, led by the Huron, Athanase of Lorette, and by Pontiac, followed, till

<sup>1</sup> "Ayant esté en confesse et fait ses devotions le mesme jour." (*Régistre du Fort Du Quesne*, p. 28; *Relations Diverses*, p. 49.) The Government scribe who copied the *Régistre* at the Prothonotary's office, Montreal, wrote Leonard for Liénard; but the original, as examined by my antiquarian friend, Rev. Felix Martin, was clearly Liénard. I may here note that the statement made in *Potter's American Monthly*, that the *Régistre* was printed at the expense of N. B. Craig, Esq., is incorrect. The volumes of my Cramoisy series were all printed at my own cost, as Mr. Munsell's books will show. I did not receive any aid from Mr. Craig in the matter. The Carter-Brown Catalogue has similarly unfounded statements as to other of my volumes.



the band (from many a tribe) numbered more than six hundred.

Beaujeu's plan had been to form an ambuscade at one of the crossings of the Monongahela; but the sun had passed the meridian when, as he approached the crossing nearest to the fort, he came in view of the van of the English army ascending the second slope from the river side. Gordon, the English engineer, who was with the carpenters in advance, was the first to see the French troop led by Beaujeu, who came bounding on, rifle in hand, his hunting dress relieved only by the silver gorget which betokened his rank. As he cheered on his men, hat in hand, the engineer's party fell back on Gage's command, and at once the quick fire of the French startled the whole line. The Indians had as promptly glided along the woods on either flank of the English pickets and opened fire. Gage formed his men and returned the fire in front with musketry and grape; on the flanks the English fired at invisible foes, except where an Indian would dart out to scalp a soldier as he fell, when the line began to yield. At the third volley from the English, de Beaujeu fell, pierced through the forehead, it is said, with a ball. His death did not dishearten his men; Captain Dumas, assuming command, kept up the fight, the disorder in the English force increasing under the murderous fire, until an attempt was made to reform the line, which the Indians, who had secured a commanding hill, took for a general retreat. With renewed yells they dashed into the English line, and the rout became a reality. French and Indians pursued, Washington with his provincials in vain endeavoring to meet the French and Indians by their own tactics. The history of the defeat is well known. Washington himself said: "We have been beaten, shamefully beaten, by a handful of men!"

Thus fell Daniel Liénard de Beaujeu, in the arms of victory, dying as nobly as any of his crusader ancestors on the fields of Palestine, Egypt, or Tunis; and dying more gloriously, for not one even of his gallant race ever achieved so great a success, or turned a desperate cause into a triumphant defeat of so superior a force.

As the tide of battle rolled away, his body lay on the field; but when the warriors returned to count the spoil, and some that fell were interred on the spot, the body of the brave commandant was carried back to the fort. His brave comrades, Lieutenant de Carqueville and Ensign de la Perade, were interred on the 10th. The body of de Beaujeu seems to have been kept in honor till the 12th, when it too was committed to the earth in the cemetery of the fort, as the chaplain states in the entry in his register:

“Burial of Mr. De Beaujeux, Commandant of Fort Duquesne. The year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, the ninth of July, was killed in the battle given to the English, and the same day as above, Mr. Liénard Daniel, esquire, Sieur de Beaujeu, captain in the infantry, Commandant of Fort Duquesne and of the army, who was aged about forty-five years, having been at confession and performed his devotions the same day. His body was interred on the twelfth of the same month in the cemetery of Fort Duquesne under the title of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin at the Beautiful River, and this with the ordinary ceremonies by us, Recollect priest, undersigned, King’s chaplain in said fort, in testimonial whereof we have signed

FRAN DENYS BARON, P. R.,  
Chaplain.”<sup>1</sup>

All trace of this cemetery disappeared when Fort Pitt was erected, and nothing remained to show the spot where the French commander in the battle of the Monongahela lay. In the busy city that now occupies the contested point of land, no tablet or memorial commemorates his services or death. A modest chapel in a modest church, whose pastor, the Rev. A. A. Lambing, has sought to gather memorials of the past, alone revives the name and memory of the chapel where Beaujeu last knelt in prayer, and where, doubtless, a solemn requiem was said over his remains.

While the second empire existed, I endeavored to excite the interest of the French government in the captain who defeated a well-equipped, well-officered English army. Not a tablet to his memory, however, was raised.

<sup>1</sup> *Régistre du Fort du Quesne*, p. 28.

Beaujeu did not generally, even in French works, receive the honor of having planned and carried out the movement which resulted in such a victory for the French arms. Even the official report gives prominence to Contrecoeur. Yet the Register of the Fort, written by the chaplain under the eye of Contrecoeur, calls de Beaujeu "Commandant of the Fort and the army." The account by de Godefroy, an officer of the garrison, does not mention Contrecoeur at all, and attributes the whole operation to de Beaujeu, whom it styles Commandant.<sup>1</sup> Another "Relation" from the *Dépôt de la Guerre*, with details that seem to come from one present in the fort, also speaks of de Beaujeu as "commandant."<sup>2</sup> These certainly outweigh the opposite statements, which were evidently compiled in Quebec or France from such material as was sent to them.

The Chevalier de Beaujeu obtained the Seigneurie of La Colle on Chambly River in 1733, and a revival of that granted to his father, which seems to have lapsed. On the 4th of March, 1737, he married Michelle Elizabeth de Foucault, of the family of the Counts of that name. He gave his bride a bracelet which contained a miniature of himself, which is still preserved among the heirlooms of the family in Canada. From a copy of this, made for me by the amiable Count Saveuse de Beaujeu, the portrait which accompanies this sketch was engraved. By this marriage the Chevalier de Beaujeu had a son, who went to France after the English conquest of Canada, and a daughter, who married Major de Charly, and with her husband settled finally at Tours in France.<sup>3</sup> The family in Canada descends from his brother, Louis Liénard Villemonde or Villemomble de Beaujeu, who was commandant at Michilimackinac, and, remaining in the colony, served under the English flag in the war of the American Revolution.

<sup>1</sup> *Relations Diverses*, pp. 9-16.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Daniel, *Nos Gloires Nationales*, i. p. 142.

THE HISTORY OF THE COLONY OF NEW SWEDEN.

BY CARL K. S. SPRINCHORN.

TRANSLATED BY PROFESSOR GREGORY B. KEEN.

(Continued from page 44.)

The final preparations for the equipment of the ninth Swedish expedition to New Sweden were made under the direction of the bookkeeper Hans Kramer in Stockholm, and Admiral Thiessen Anckarhjelm<sup>1</sup> at Gottenburg, from which latter port the colonists were to sail at the close of the year, the ship *Ornen* acting as escort to *Gyllene Hajen* until they should reach Porto Rico. The former vessel had already left Stockholm on the 8th of October, and waited a month afterwards at Gottenburg, where the rest of the cargo (which the College of Commerce had purchased for the sum of 2800 *riksdaler*) was to be taken on board, and where emigrants had assembled in great numbers. Among these special mention ought to be made of Peter Lindström, a military engineer appointed to serve in a professional capacity in the colony. He was an intelligent and inquisitive person, and from his letters, reports, and maps we derive much information touching the history of New Sweden.<sup>2</sup> The settlers were accompanied by the preachers Petrus Hjort and Matthias Nertunius, the clergyman that had gone out on the unfortunate *Kattan*.

<sup>1</sup> This active Hollander had arrived in 1644 as commander of the Dutch fleet, and had been ennobled and was constantly employed in the service of the kingdom. His numerous letters, preserved in the Archives of the Kingdom, prove his zeal and circumspection, especially on this occasion.

<sup>2</sup> The Archives of the Kingdom contain not only his letters but also an elegant book, comprising his journal of the voyage to and from New Sweden, with a description of the countries visited, their manners and customs, and so forth, the whole displaying a lively interest and great curiosity as to these, coupled with the *naïve* ignorance of the time regarding many things in foreign lands.

No fewer than a hundred families, who had sold their property and come from far, were obliged to stay behind.

*Gyllene Hajen*, whose dilatoriness delayed the departure of the expedition, at the end of January, 1654, at last arrived at Gottenburg, with the loss, however, of anchor and mast at Öresund, which necessitated her waiting for repairs before she could pursue her journey. *Örnen* was forced, therefore, to sail alone directly to New Sweden. On the 27th of January the people, with women and children numbering three hundred and fifty persons, with colours flying, swore allegiance to the Crown of Sweden and the West India Company, and on the 2d of February the vessel weighed anchor, and, after some difficulty in overcoming obstructions of ice, finally succeeded in getting to sea. In the Channel she was arrested by an English cruiser which mistook her for a Dutch ship, and was compelled to touch at Dover in order to obtain a pass. On the 20th of March the emigrants stopped at one of the Canary Islands, to take in fresh provisions, but were stoned by the inhabitants, the Governor being obliged to send forth a drummer to proclaim peace for the strangers, who were afterwards received in friendly fashion.<sup>1</sup> On their departure from this place, dysentery and ague began to ravage the multitude, too closely crowded upon the vessel, (partly in consequence of poor fare and the great heat,) from which many died, and on the 10th of April no fewer than one hundred and thirty (we have even seen it stated, two hundred and thirty) persons were sick. In the midst of all this, says Lindström, *Örnen* fell in with three Turkish ships, which threatened to attack her. Appreciating that in that case capture signified slavery, all made ready to defend the vessel to the best of their ability. Most of the cannon were so surrounded with luggage as not to be available; but every one was ordered on deck, including the sick, who also bore

<sup>1</sup> Lindström relates in his Journal that they were everywhere treated with sweet-meats, and that Captain Bockhorn "sold a rascally Jutlander, whom he had obtained at Helsingör, for a quantity of Canary sugar and some casks of sirup."

arms, the weaker of them supporting themselves between comrades who were well. The firing soon began, when the strangers, seeing so many on board, feared to attack the ship, and sailed on their way. After this the travellers resolved to steer for St. Christopher, where they were well received and supplied with provisions and the like. Still another trial was reserved for them, for on the 1st of May, off the American coast, their vessel encountered a violent hurricane, which stripped the sails from the masts and threw the ship upon her side, several persons falling overboard and being drowned in the sea. After cutting off their masts, they reached a neighbouring bay, where they repaired the most serious damages; and on the 12th of May they resumed their course, sailing into Delaware Bay on the 18th. Two days afterwards they arrived at Fort Elfsborg, which was now deserted and in ruins, and on the 21st of May, being Trinity Sunday, cast anchor off Fort Casimir, when they discharged a Swedish salute.

With our knowledge of the woful condition of these emigrants, we cannot but wonder at the bold enterprise with which Rising inaugurated his administration of the affairs of the colony. For he immediately sent Sven Schute, with twenty soldiers, to the shore, to demand the surrender of the garrison, and, not receiving an answer to his signal, fired at the fort from two of the heaviest guns on his ship. Taken by surprise, the Dutch commandant despatched four men with a request for three days' respite, which was refused, and, when the latter inquired the terms of the Swedes, they were told that they should be informed of these the following day at Fort Christina.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile, a certain Lieutenant Gyl-

<sup>1</sup> That Rising did not perform his fatal deed on the impulse of the moment appears to be indicated by a document in the Archives of the Kingdom signed by him and superscribed "Orders concerning Fort Casimir or Trinity." Besides the general instructions given him "to persuade the Dutch, with just remonstrances, to leave the land," he also cites the oral counsel of the late Chancellor of the Kingdom and a letter of Erik Oxenstjerna (dated Upsala, Jan. 18, 1654) confirming his opinion, that "an opportunity for action had now arrived, not to be let pass without culpability: *aut tunc aut nunquam*" was the phrase.

lengren, under orders of Schute, pressing in with some men through a gate, overpowered the sentinels, disarmed the garrison, and triumphantly displayed the Swedish flag above the fort. The insignificance of the structure is shown from the mode of its capture. The force which held it consisted of barely a dozen soldiers, although not less than twenty-two houses, inhabited by Dutch settlers, lay round about. After a body of Swedes, under the command of Schute, had entered the fort (which was named, after the day, in honour of the Sacred Trinity), the Dutch soldiers received permission to stay or go, as they pleased.<sup>1</sup> The next day *Ornen* sailed up to Christina, and we can fancy with what joy the abandoned colonists, for so many years without tidings from their native land, must have welcomed the accession of three hundred fellow-countrymen—the largest body of emigrants that had ever reached New Sweden at once.

The situation of the settlers was certainly very miserable. Not only had many persons returned with Printz to Sweden, gone off to Virginia, or died (those who were left numbering, it is said, only seventy souls); but some of those, who had just come on *Ornen*, were quite ill. At the same time an epidemic broke out among the Indians, attributed by the latter to the emigrants,<sup>2</sup> Rising himself being sick on his arrival. He recovered soon, however, and was not prevented by his indisposition from immediately beginning to attend, actively and wisely, to the affairs of the colony. Doubtless this large increase of numbers and resources might have assured prolonged existence to the settlement had not Rising's

<sup>1</sup> The foregoing and following statements are based on Lindström's Journal and letters, and Rising's Journal (the greater part of which has been destroyed by mould) and letters in the Archives of the Kingdom. In the Dutch documents, as usual, events are somewhat differently narrated. (See Hazard, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-9.) Particularly, it is said in the Dutch accounts of the taking of Fort Casimir, that Rising invited the commandant to come to him, and, "while they were at their liveliest and drinking toasts," suffered his people to seize the place. See the minutes of Isbrandt's negotiation in the Archives of the Kingdom.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Lindström to the College of Commerce, July 9, 1654, in the Archives of the Kingdom.

enterprise against Fort Casimir rendered impossible the main condition upon which this depended—peace with the Hollanders.

On the following day all the people at Christina assembled to take the oath of allegiance to Sweden and the West India Company, and Papegoja resigned his office as Governor into the hands of Rising, notwithstanding the latter had not yet been duly appointed to that charge. Papegoja and Schute continued to be the Governor's principal assistants in the direction of the colony. On the 3d of June a similar meeting was held at Printzhof on Tennakong, and, singularly enough, even the Dutch commandant of Fort Casimir and the majority of his garrison swore fealty to Sweden.

Afterwards the Governor, in company with Engineer Lindström, made a journey around the rest of the Swedish settlements, to become acquainted with the region; and finally, to establish relations of friendship with the natives, a meeting was arranged with some of the neighbouring Indians, to be held at Printzhof, June 17, at which no fewer than ten chiefs were present. A graphic account of this council is contained in Lindström's *Journal*, and is cited by both Campanius and Acrelius.<sup>1</sup> The savages agreed to a covenant of peace and amity, and recognized the right of the Swedes to all the land which they had purchased. They also recommended the settlement of Passayunk, where most of them dwelt, that violators of this treaty might be more readily detected and punished.

The day after this meeting the English Governor of Virginia, Lorentz Loyd, presented himself, setting forth a claim to New Sweden on the ground that the English first discovered the land, and private individuals had received a grant of it. We need not say, no regard was paid to this declaration. "It was refuted in a masterly manner" is the testimony of Lindström. His subsequent request, that land might be purchased to colonize, was likewise refused by Rising, who feared other-

<sup>1</sup> Printed in Campanius Holm, *op. cit.*, p. 70, and in Acrelius, *op. cit.*, p. 58. (Reprinted by Sprinchorn. The rest of this paragraph is substituted for it by the TRANSLATOR.)



wise they might become as powerful here as in New Netherland, where the English Puritans were a source of great trouble. Rising meanwhile continued his dispositions for the good of the colony. On the 3d of July he sent an open letter to all the Swedes, who had gone off to Virginia, inviting them to return, when, if they would not remain at the settlement, they should receive permission, and be provided with a pass, to betake themselves wherever they wished.<sup>1</sup> Certain inhabitants, who made their appearance with a lawsuit, which was brought at Tennakong, complaining to Rising of Governor Printz's severity, were recommended to reduce their grievance to writing and appeal to the Government of Sweden.

Fort Trinity was rebuilt from its foundations, and armed with four fourteen-pounder cannon taken from the *Örnen*. The land nearest to Christina was divided into building lots for a future town of *Christinahamn* (Christinaport), from whence traffic was to be carried on with the Province of Virginia, with which intent, also, Rising planned the widening of the Swedish territory to the west by means of a new settlement, no limit ever having been set to it in that direction. He hoped the dissensions between the English and the Dutch would enable him to draw all the fur-trade to himself. Finally a map of the river and Swedish possessions<sup>2</sup> was prepared by Lindström, with an accurate description of the region.

Her Majesty's patent of freedom from taxation for persons, who settled land in the colony,<sup>3</sup> induced many of the old inhabitants to take up new tracts and relinquish those already under culture, since these were not, like the former, exempt from levy; thus the territory cultivated was considerably enlarged. The poorer settlers were supported by Rising on

<sup>1</sup> The proclamation is to be found among documents relating to New Sweden in the Archives of the Kingdom.

<sup>2</sup> The large original map was destroyed in the burning of the palace at Stockholm in 1697. A smaller copy is contained in the often cited work of Campanius Holm.

<sup>3</sup> See below.

their new plantations, on condition that they shared the crop with the company. Soldiers, who came out with him, must serve three years, when they were to receive their wages in merchandise or grants of land in fee. Freemen had to pay sixteen *riksdaler* as passage-money, for themselves and their families, within three years. A singular decree was that issued by Rising in an "Ordinance concerning the people and the land," etc.,<sup>1</sup> dated July 8, 1654, by which: "Whoever bespeaks of the Company any slave over fourteen years in service shall give, besides the passage money received, twenty-four *riksdaler*, and the slave shall serve him six consecutive years, obtaining his food, shoes, and so forth, every year; after six years a slave shall be absolutely free."

In order to obtain legal acknowledgment of the Swedish right of possession of the country, which had been bought at sundry times, Rising held a meeting with Peminacka (formerly mentioned) and another Indian chief, Ahepameck, who were regarded as proprietors of the western shore of the Delaware—a fact attested by two documents in the Royal Archives of Sweden, both dated Christina, July 8, 1654. According to one of these, Peminacka (whose proprietary rights are then recognized) certifies that he never sold Sandhuk or the neighbouring territory to Stuyvesant, but would now confirm the purchase made by the Swedes of Mitatsimint, "so that no one may hereafter gainsay or censure this contract, which they ratify with their marks."<sup>2</sup>

The other document completes the first with a more precise description of the region, which the before-named sachems conceded to the Swedes. Peminacka granted, namely, "Tana Konck or Sandhocken, with the land in the vicinity, as well as what had not been bought from Fort Christina up to the Elve, particularly Naamans Udd, and to

<sup>1</sup> Among documents relating to New Sweden in the Archives of the Kingdom.

<sup>2</sup> This paper is signed with the marks of Peminacka, "as rightful proprietor," of Ahepameck, and two other Indians, Singvri and Pinnan, as witnesses, and by Johan Rising, Joh. Bockhorn, and van Dyck. It is given in Appendix 2, b.

Marikens Udd,<sup>1</sup> inclusively, with all their appurtenances." Ahepameck, on the other hand, "donated all the land from Marikis Hock to the half of the Schuylkill, Tennakonek, and another place, not named, which was sold by another rightful owner, with Kinsassingh, Arunameck, etc.<sup>2</sup> . . . reserving Passajungh for himself." The tract granted to Sven Schute was precisely that retained by Ahepameck; and since it was possible that the Government at home, without knowledge of the situation and conditions of its concessions, might easily prejudice the rights of others, Rising was not willing to allow Schute (or Amundsson, if he arrived) to take possession of the tract conferred on him, before receiving more detailed instructions from Sweden. In accordance with the permission given, he selected for himself a piece of fallow land south of Trinity Fort, a quarter of a mile in length.<sup>3</sup> As, however, it was situated far from his usual place of residence, he desired also to cultivate "Timmerön (Timber Island) with the land down to Sköldpadd Kilen (Tortoise-shell Creek)."<sup>4</sup> He likewise exhibited zeal and circumspection in administering the religious interests of the colony. Of the ministers (already spoken of), who came out on *Örnen*, one, Petrus Hjort, described by Rising as "both temporally and spiritually a poor parson," was assigned a home in Fort Trinity,

<sup>1</sup> These names have survived in "Naaman's Creek" and "Marcus Hook," situated on either side of the boundary between Delaware and Pennsylvania.

<sup>2</sup> The names here specified, without doubt, belonged to the places farthest north, although their site cannot be given, and only the first is indicated on the oldest map. This document, which only recently came to light (in 1878), is signed with the same marks as the former one, viz., of Peminacka and Ahepameck, as "rightful proprietors," and by Rising and van Dyck. It is given in Appendix 2, a.

<sup>3</sup> Rising to E. Oxenstjerna, June 11. In the same letter he solicits "His Excellency to find him a good wife and send her over." (Archives of the Kingdom.)

<sup>4</sup> Consequently, not as Hazard says, *op. cit.*, p. 155. The territory designated lay, without doubt, between Christina and the Delaware. Owing to the altered aspect of the tract, we can only indicate the site of it by recalling the present names of Cherry Island and the Shelpot, a little stream which empties into the Brandywine.

also to be the centre of his parochial duties, while his companion, Matthias Nertunius, dwelt at Upland.

All these orders, which were executed during the first months of his direction of the colony, were mentioned by Rising in his Report to the Government, sent home by him on *Örnen*, from which we gather our statements, when no other source is named. It is dated July 13, 1654, and it demonstrates with what earnestness he performed his duty, as well as the hopes he entertained concerning the work.

The vessel *Örnen* sailed again from New Sweden that month, carrying back to their native country some of the older colonists, with Johan Papegoja, whom we meet with in Stockholm in March of the next year. It was impossible to get a cargo ready at so short notice, but a quantity of tobacco was put on board by Rising (purchased by him in Virginia), ordered to be sold on his account in Sweden.

Returning thither, we find *Gyllene Hajen* lying at Gottenburg for repairs, and her commander Hans Amundsson, who had given evidence of incapacity in his voyage on the vessel from Stockholm, relieved from his position. He received permission, however, to accompany the ship, with his family, to Porto Rico, to press his private claims for damages through the loss of *Kattan* (which had reduced him to penury), as well as to continue his journey as a colonist for New Sweden. In place of him, Sven Höök was commissioned to take charge of *Gyllene Hajen*, under the superior command of Henrik Elsvyck, of Lübeck.<sup>1</sup> On receipt of the news of the return home of Printz and the factor Huyghen, Rising was appointed Governor, and Huyghen's post was assigned to Elsvyck. The latter, as factor in New Sweden, was to "take assiduous care that the cargoes and funds of the South Company, with everything else pertaining to the corporation in the colony, were preserved in good condition and well and faithfully administered;" and must also keep the books and accounts. Finally, he was instructed to settle the affair at Porto Rico, to which intent he was to receive the necessary papers

<sup>1</sup> Upsala, March 4, 1654. In the Archives of the College of Commerce.  
VOL. VIII.—10

at Gottenburg, among them a letter to the Governor of the Island from the Spanish Minister Pimentelli.<sup>1</sup> The compensation to be demanded, both on her Majesty's private account and on that of her subjects, was reckoned, at first, at 10,540 *riksdaler*. Now, however, by computation of interest and more accurate specifications, the original amount was swelled to 23,129 *riksdaler*, although Elsvyck had authority, if difficulty was made, after defending the justice of his claim by every argument, to abate the interest money, and, in case they would not pay the residue, demand, as the least sum he could accept, 11,000 *riksdaler*.<sup>2</sup>

With a view to increasing the population of the colony, and extending its trade, March 16, 1654, the Government issued a "*Privilegium* for those who purchase land or traffic in New Sweden or the West Indies."<sup>3</sup> In accordance with this concession, whoever bought ground either of the Company or of the Indians, and was willing to recognize the jurisdiction of Sweden, was permitted to enjoy allodial freedom from taxation for himself and his heirs for ever. Inhabitants of the kingdom, who would export their goods to the colony, should be free from all imposts there, provided the merchandise had been procured by them in Sweden or her subject provinces; and for what they exported from the colony they need only pay two per cent. and nothing in Sweden, and besides should themselves possess the right to traffic with the Indians.

Meanwhile, through the unremitting zeal and liberal contributions of Admiral Anckarhjelm, *Gyllene Hajen* was provided with a suitable cargo and left Gottenburg on the 15th of April, 1654, notwithstanding a final delay merely to procure a carpenter. Some criminals were taken out on this voyage among the emigrants, the freight consisting of merchandise.<sup>4</sup> On the 17th of June the vessel stopped at

<sup>1</sup> Instructions, dated Upsala, March 4. *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Memorial, dated Upsala, March 8. *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Printed in Stjernman, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 768.

<sup>4</sup> Letter of Elsvyck to the College of Commerce, March 31, in the Archives of the Kingdom, among documents relating to New Sweden (those of the Companies).

St. Christopher, where provisions were obtained and the many sick were carefully tended. Leaving here the 26th, they arrived at Porto Rico June 30. The new Governor, Don Diego Aquilera, stood on the shore, with his chief men, and immediately brought Elsvyck to land, in a boat, and examined Queen Christina's pass. The following day the factor came ashore again, and delivered the letters of the King of Spain and Pimentelli. Some days after he presented his claim for compensation, which, singularly enough, is given in Elsvyck's letter as amounting to 52,206 *riksdaler*, although, as we have seen, he had leave to make considerable abatement from his demand.

The Governor directed his officers to examine the affair, and these estimated the Swedish claim at 14,030 Spanish dollars. Since, however, Elsvyck would not be content with this sum, and the Governor had no means of paying a larger amount, a new examination of the accounts had to be undertaken, and fresh orders awaited from the Spanish Government, and Elsvyck was obliged to be satisfied with the apparent willingness of the Governor<sup>1</sup> and the Spanish Government to pay the money demanded. Meanwhile Amundsson died, July 2, and was buried on the island,<sup>2</sup> and in August *Gyllene Hajen* sailed again for New Sweden.

On the 12th of September the vessel arrived off the American coast, and, "through the rashness, or perhaps malice, of the mate," entered a bay believed to be the Delaware, but in fact the North River, or Hudson, the blunder not being discovered till she had reached Manhattan. In order to procure a pilot, Elsvyck despatched a couple of men in a boat to New Amsterdam, who were detained by Stuyvesant, who regarded this a favourable opportunity to avenge the taking of Fort Casimir by Rising. Elsvyck, who appears to have followed them two days afterwards, was also taken into custody, and guarded by some soldiers, although at liberty to go about the town wherever he pleased. Subsequently, the ship was brought

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Governor Aquilera to Pimentelli, Aug. 16, 1654, among documents relating to New Sweden in the Archives of the Kingdom.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of Elsvyck to E. Oxenstjerna, dated Porto Rico, Aug. 7, *ibid.*

to the place, and put under arrest, with personal freedom for the crew. The Governor declared it to be his purpose to obtain compensation for his Company for the loss sustained through the seizure of Fort Casimir, and word was sent to Rising, with the request to come to Manhattan for the settlement of the affair. Meanwhile Elsvyck was at liberty to dispose of his ship's cargo as he desired, provided the receipts were deposited with Stuyvesant until matters were determined. Rising replied, however, neither would he himself visit Manhattan, nor did he intend to restore Fort Casimir or make compensation for it. Thereupon the vessel and cargo were confiscated and appraised, in expectation of further orders from Holland. These proceedings were recited in detail in a writing signed October 20 (N. S.) by Stuyvesant and his council. Elsvyck, who was now left to himself, protested against this document in one dated October 17-27. In opposition to the allegation of the Dutch that the taking of Fort Casimir was the cause of their actions, he rejoined, that the Swedes had the right to recover a fort built on their own ground by the Hollanders, and that the inhabitants of that region voluntarily submitted to the Swedish Crown. Lastly, he protested against the whole procedure of the Hollanders, and declared he yielded only to the use of superior force. Naturally, the Dutch were under no obligation to answer this; nevertheless, on the same day they delivered an explicit counter-protest, comprising, with what pertained to this affair, a prolix statement of the claim of the Hollanders, in general, to the whole of the territory on the Delaware, and closing with the charge of espionage on the part of Elsvyck and his people.<sup>1</sup> This accusation Elsvyck refuted in a paper dated November 5 (N. S.), requesting a pass for Rising "to come thither and compose their differences."<sup>2</sup> The conclusion of all this correspondence was that *Gyllene Hajen* remained in

<sup>1</sup> The three last-mentioned papers are printed in *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, pp. 77-83.

<sup>2</sup> Among documents relating to New Sweden in the Archives of the Kingdom. Elsvyck's journal, *ibid.*, comprising the writings cited above, is almost entirely destroyed by mould.

the possession of the Dutch, and was speedily equipped by them for the service of their Company. Elsvyck himself suffered a murderous assault from one of his own people, probably one of the criminals who accompanied the expedition, who had been punished several times in Sweden. The malefactor was condemned by the court at New Amsterdam to be whipped and banished from the country.<sup>1</sup> Elsvyck did not arrive in New Sweden until the close of November, when he entered on his duties as factor. Most of his people remained at Manhattan.

At the same time an imbroglio occurred between Governor Rising and the English in Virginia, who demanded compensation for the harm they had suffered from Printz. It ended, however, in mere writing, which, nevertheless, had the greater weight, since just then closer political bonds had been established between the two mother countries through the noted Ambassador Whitelock's mission to Sweden. The immediate result of this was an agreement<sup>2</sup> to lay aside the differences that had arisen on the Guinea coast, to which was added a convention for the observance of friendship between New Sweden and the English Colonies of America, and the settlement of their boundary line. Thus on this side was the peace of the Swedish Colony guaranteed.

From another quarter, however, clouds were gathering, soon to burst in a terrible storm destructive of all Swedish might upon the Delaware. Since the last magnificent expedition from Gottenburg, the Dutch Company had come to entertain fears and take precautions for their own safety, and, accordingly, in April, 1654, they enlisted two hundred soldiers, with the intention of using them in New Netherland against the English. That becoming unnecessary through the peace, it was determined to send them to Fort Casimir.<sup>3</sup> Not long afterwards news was received of the capture of this fort by

<sup>1</sup> Hazard, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> Dated Upsala, May 8, 1654, in the Archives of the Kingdom ("Anglica"). In Whitelock's diary it is dated May 12.

<sup>3</sup> Letter dated Amsterdam, April 29 (probably from Trotzig), in the Archives of the Kingdom.



the Swedes, a circumstance that strengthened the resolution of the Directors to proceed against their adversaries with open force. In their letters<sup>1</sup> to Stuyvesant they incite him to strain every nerve to revenge the outrage suffered, not only by restoring things to their former situation, but even by driving the Swedes from both sides of the Delaware, unless they submitted to the rule of the Dutch Company. They promise to send ships and soldiers, with plenty of ammunition, as speedily as possible, but exhort Stuyvesant, without waiting for these, to endeavour to fit out an expedition against the enemy before they should receive reinforcement from the mother country. The conduct of the commander at Fort Casimir chagrined them deeply, and he should be severely punished. Further, all documents should be sent to Holland, which tended to strengthen the right of the Company to the territory on the Delaware; from whence it seems they were preparing for diplomatic controversies likely to arise between the Governments of Sweden and Holland on the score of the colony.

If we revisit the mother country, we find that the change of sovereign in 1654 did not induce neglect of New Sweden like that which, ten years before, was so unfavourable to the development of the settlement. On the contrary, we witness, on the part of both the Government and the West India Company, the immediate putting forth of strenuous efforts to sustain the enterprise. December 23, 1654, King Charles X. sent notice to the College of Commerce, that, "since it is observed that the associates in the American Company have not entered into their work with the zeal required of them," the College should "admonish and urge the partners to perform their share of duty, or else abandon future profits." The tobacco monopoly, so often renewed to the Company, until at last it was abolished by the sovereign, was once more conceded. On the day mentioned above a new "privilege" was granted to the American Company, "that it alone might im-

<sup>1</sup> Two letters of November 16 and 23, 1654, printed in *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, pp. 85-87.



*Illustrissimus et Excellentissimus, Dominus, Dominus  
Johannes Oxenstierna Axelj, Comes in Södremöre,  
L. B. in Kymisho, Dominus in Fyholm, Hörningholm.  
et Tullegarn, etc. S. R. M<sup>us</sup> Regniq, Suecia Senator,  
Consiliarius Cancellaria, et ad Universales Pacis  
Tractatus in Germania Plenipotentarius Legatus.*



port tobacco into the Kingdom," repealing the previous statutes on the subject, "as an expedient not only for preserving, strengthening, and developing New Sweden, but also for providing a better occasion for the nation to accustom itself to navigation and traffic in America as profitable pursuits."<sup>1</sup> The year 1655 opened with bright prospects for the new King's warlike policy in Europe, but brought with it destruction to the work which bore witness on the other side of the ocean to another Swedish King's far-reaching plans, not unlike his own. There was no presentiment in Sweden of the blow the Dutch West India Company was preparing in the colony, orders continuing to be issued for the improvement of the settlement. As early as April, of this year, the partners of the Swedish West India Company, among them Johan Oxenstjerna and Göran Fleming, were summoned before the College of Commerce<sup>2</sup> to deliberate "how the work in New Sweden might be undertaken aright, and to discuss its merits and the means of deriving profit from it in time." When the question was asked whether "they had a mind to continue the business, and create the capital for it, or relinquish their pretensions," the associates proved to be not much inclined to the latter course, and it was resolved to take the last funds as claim for a new endowment, and to seek to enlist additional partners in the enterprise.<sup>3</sup> It seems, also, as if the founding of a new Company was contemplated. At least, we find in the Royal Archives, among papers relating to New Sweden, a document comprising "Privileges for the Company for the Tobacco Trade in Southern Countries," conceded by the King in May, 1655, "on the humble solicitation of the participants, to the honour of God's name, and the advancement of commerce and navigation." The Company was to enjoy exclusive right to

<sup>1</sup> Stjernman, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 783.

<sup>2</sup> Erik Oxenstjerna was obliged, by reason of his pressing business with the diet and in Poland, to resign the presidency of the College, and in his room Olof Andersson Strömsköld was elected, who at the same time became Director of the American Company.

<sup>3</sup> From the scarcely legible minutes in the Archives of the College of Commerce.

traffic in New Sweden, should hold the land as a perpetual possession, on condition of recognizing the Crown of Sweden, and was not to appoint a Governor without "the consent and ratification" of the Government. All offices, the administration of justice, and the defence of the colony should be conducted, in accordance with Swedish law, "in the name and by authority" of the monarch. If the Company desired to establish manufactures, it might sell them freely in the Kingdom and provinces, paying one-quarter per cent. when they were exported. In case of need it was to have the aid of military troops. Since, however, this statute did not receive the royal signature, and is not contained in the Registry of the Kingdom, these "privileges" must be looked upon merely as a proposed scheme; still they prove, by their comprehensive nature,<sup>1</sup> that the attempt was made every way to promote the settlement and traffic of the colony.

The misfortunes, which befell this colonization enterprise, and the neglect at times experienced by it probably prevented the Company's reaping any direct gain at any time from their investment. It appears, from an "Abstract of the Resources of the Company of New Sweden, April 27, 1655," that their funds were by no means very secure, although they reached 158,178 *riksdaler*, for the chief items in the "Abstract" are "stock for building the ship in Vestervik," "the cargo of *Örnen*," "claims for *Kattan*," and "the land of New Sweden, with its forts."<sup>2</sup> The goods taken out to the colony on *Örnen* had, on her arrival, been appropriated to supply the needs of the people, instead of being employed for barter, as was intended; the demands on the score of *Kattan* were extremely insecure; and, as we are about to relate, the colony

<sup>1</sup> We may note, particularly, the ordinance that the land should now be the "perpetual possession" of the Company. As we have seen, to judge by the donations of the Government, the Crown seems to have shared the rights of ownership with the Company, although nothing definite was determined on the subject. Cf. "Report of the Case against the Directors of the Tobacco Company of New Sweden, 1654-55, by Joh. Rising," among documents relating to New Sweden in the Archives of the Kingdom.

*Ibid.*

itself was very soon lost. As to the budget of the Company,<sup>1</sup> most of which, we remember, was contributed by the Crown, this amounted for 1655 to 4404 *riksdaler* for the colony, and 884 *riksdaler* for employés at Stockholm. The number of persons in the service had also been somewhat increased. Besides those already elsewhere named, there were now added "one captain, one ensign, one engineer," and so forth, the "common soldiers" numbering thirty-six.

In the mean time, the Company (whether the old one or another recently formed with the same leaders) succeeded in fitting out the tenth and last expedition to New Sweden. The ship selected to carry this was the *Mercurius*, which was ready to take in her cargo in July, but was obliged to wait until October for a barge with cannon and ammunition. Her cargo comprised, besides other things, "a goodly quantity of linen, tow, and woollen stuffs," together with salt. The commander was Henrik Huyghen, and among the emigrants, who numbered eighty-eight souls, not counting the crew, including six Finnish families from Värmland, were Johan Papegoja and a Lutheran minister called "Herr Mathias." About a hundred persons were turned away on this occasion, also, for lack of room. The cost of equipment at Gottenburg alone came to 10,700 *daler koppar*. Rising was now commissioned by the College of Commerce "Commandant" in the colony, under date of July 30, 1655, and a letter to him promised that a new vessel should soon be sent out. The *Mercurius* sailed on the 16th of October, but, in consequence of a contrary wind, lay off Gottenburg for some time, where we leave her for the present.

While these preparations were making in Sweden, consuming too much time to be of any advantage to the colony, and only serving to alarm and hasten the measures of the Dutch Company, the latter was putting forth supreme exertions to give the *coup-de-grâce* to the settlement. The ship *De Waag*

<sup>1</sup> "Account of the servants of the American Company, etc.," among documents relating to the Swedish Trading Companies and New Sweden, in the Archives of the Kingdom.

(The Scales), of thirty-six guns, chartered from the burgo-masters of Amsterdam, was fitted out in April, and furnished with a crew of two hundred men. The expedition against New Sweden was to start immediately on her arrival at Manhattan, the directors anxiously urging despatch, in order to anticipate the projected expedition from Sweden. As for the inhabitants of the Swedish settlement, it was prescribed that they should be permitted to retain the ground occupied by Christina, with a little land for the culture of tobacco, provided they would submit to the Dutch Government and Company.<sup>1</sup> The final dispositions were made by Stuyvesant, during August, in New Amsterdam. The people in New Netherland were invited to take part in the expedition, with promise of compensation for any loss they might sustain; and captains were obliged either to turn over their vessels to the participants in it, or to give them two of their crew, with a goodly quantity of provisions, in which requisition,<sup>2</sup> actually, a French vessel was included. A small army of between six and seven hundred men was thus gathered together, which was distributed upon a fleet of seven vessels, the principal one being *De Waag*, which was commanded by Stuyvesant in person. At the last moment the Dutch Governor sought to consecrate the enterprise by appointing for his province a day of public fasting, prayer, and thanksgiving, August 15-25, solely for the purpose of "beseeching the only good God, that it might please him to grant success to the proposed undertaking, that it might lead to greater tranquillity and the enlargement of the province, and render the same prosperous and happy, to the glory of God's name."<sup>3</sup>

Although the Hollanders endeavoured by every means to prevent intelligence of these preparations from reaching the Swedish colony, the Indians had informed the latter that an attack was to be made upon Fort Trinity with four ships. Rising, also, had sent a couple of persons to New Netherland

<sup>1</sup> Letter of the Directors in *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, vol. xii. pp. 88, 90, 91.

<sup>2</sup> *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, vol. xii. pp. 95-96.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91.

to discover their intentions, and, in a letter to the College of Commerce,<sup>1</sup> urged Elsvyck to hasten to his aid with men and means. He likewise got ready to repel the enemy, if possible, strengthening the garrison of Fort Trinity, and furnishing them with a fresh supply of ammunition, and so forth. Commandant Schute was ordered not to permit the vessels to pass the fort, and, in case they tried to do so, was to discharge his cannon at them.

On the 30th of August, 1655 (at the same time as the fleet of the States-General was steering for the Baltic Sea, where it was quickly to appear in the interest of the enemies of Sweden, the very day Warsaw surrendered unconditionally to the Swedish king), the ships of the Dutch West India Company entered Delaware Bay and cast anchor before the former Elfsborg. Preparations for the assault on Fort Trinity were completed here. The Dutch forces were distributed in divisions, and some Swedish freemen were taken prisoners. The next day, "with blowing of trumpets and beating of drums," the fleet sailed so close by the fort that Lindström wanted to fire upon them, but was not suffered to do so by the Commandant in consequence of the vessels striking their sails. This, however, was only for the purpose of landing a small force a little distance above the fort, to cut off communication with Christina, and two men were immediately sent to demand of the Commandant the restoration of their lawful property to the Hollanders. Schute replied, that he had orders to defend the place, and desired Stuyvesant to appeal to Rising. He was requested to meet the former outside of the fort, and, when he again invited the Dutch Director-General to appeal to Rising, he received the response from Stuyvesant: "Rising did not send me word when he captured Fort Casimir, and I shall take the work if it were hung on chains." The troops afterwards drawing nearer, Schute solicited a delay until the next day, which was accorded, the Hollanders requiring the night to make

<sup>1</sup> Dated August 7. Among documents relating to New Sweden in the Archives of the Kingdom. ●



their dispositions for the siege. The little garrison in the fort (which numbered only forty-seven men),<sup>1</sup> having reason to fear resistance would end disastrously, to borrow the words of a document of the time,<sup>2</sup> now began "to mutiny, and, frightened by the Swedish corporal Kämpe, who carried the message to Stuyvesant, became rebellious. The Commandant went among them, however, and said: 'Comrades, what is the matter with you? Will you turn rebels at this moment, with the enemy before the fort?' The majority replying, 'we neither will nor can hold out,' the Commandant cried out loudly in the fort, 'whoever will be an honest fellow, and serve his superiors, let him leave this seditious crowd.'" Whereupon all went over to the Commandant except fifteen or sixteen, who were disarmed and put under arrest. A couple of deserters found opportunity to leave the fort (from whom Stuyvesant learned the state of affairs), and a third leaped over the bank, but "was shot in the foot by Lieutenant Gyllengren, and kept in the fort, where subsequently he died."

Meanwhile the Commandant contrived to send word by night to Christina, and was exhorted by Governor Rising to stand firm. Next morning, however (September 1), Stuyvesant and Schute had a fresh meeting, and the latter, being summoned to capitulate, replied, he did not believe that Stuyvesant would venture to seize His Majesty's fort, but was answered that both it and the land belonged to the States-General and the West India Company, and was warned that, if one Dutchman lost his life, not a single Swede should be spared. For the purpose of showing Stuyvesant his orders concerning Fort Trinity, Schute was taken on board *De Waag*, where presently he agreed to surrender. A Dutch troop followed at his heels to the fort, the doors of which he commanded to be opened, proclaiming that honourable condi-

<sup>1</sup> Minutes of the College of Commerce, April 17, 1656.

<sup>2</sup> "Trial of Sven Schute," etc., among documents relating to New Sweden in the Archives of Sweden. This is the source of our narrative of the occurrences at Fort Trinity. Excepting dissimilarity of dates, it accords, in the main, with the Dutch account of Stuyvesant printed in *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, vol. xii. p. 101.

tions had been made. On hearing of Schute's perilous situation, Rising had immediately despatched to his relief a small reinforcement of ten men, who, crossing Christina Creek, directly below the fort, early in the morning, fell in with fifty or sixty Hollanders, and, a skirmish ensuing, were taken prisoners, with the exception of two, who succeeded in re-passing the stream in their boat. A couple of cannon shot were then fired from the fort, driving the Dutchmen out of range.

Fort Trinity was now surrendered, the Commandant and other officers being promised security for their persons and private property, and permission being granted to take back to Sweden the four iron guns and five field-pieces constituting its armament, the muskets of the Crown being accredited to the Commandant. The latter marched out with twelve men fully armed, as his body-guard, and colours flying, and at noon the fort was occupied by the Dutch.<sup>1</sup> Schute having neglected to specify, among the conditions of surrender, whither the garrison should betake themselves, on being scornfully asked, where they proposed to go, they answered "to Christina." Their expectations were not realized, however, and the majority of them were sent off to Manhattan.<sup>2</sup> Some swore allegiance to the Hollanders. During the surrendering of the fort Factor Elsvyck arrived from Rising to learn the purpose of the Dutch, and see Stuyvesant's orders. He urged the latter to cease from his enterprise and be content with the recapture of Fort Casimir. This Stuyvesant declined, declaring his intention to possess himself of the whole territory on the river. Elsvyck barely escaped being treated as a spy, and, on his sending an account of the situation to Christina, preparations were immediately

<sup>1</sup> The conditions of capitulation are printed in Acrelius, *op. cit.*, where the date, however, is incorrectly given as September 16. (They are printed in full by Dr. Sprinchorn, the summary in the text being substituted for them by the TRANSLATOR.)

<sup>2</sup> Lindström's Journal, in the Archives of the Kingdom, and Stuyvesant's Report, in *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, vol. xii. p. 101, likewise printed in Acrelius, *op. cit.*

made for the defence of the latter place. As many inhabitants as possible were received into the fort, and the men worked day and night, strengthening the walls and filling the gabions.

On the following day the Dutch began to move towards the place, and made their appearance on the south bank of Christina Creek. The day after, they took possession of a house in the vicinity, and began to throw up a battery. Rising, continually feigning to discredit hostile designs, sent his Lieutenant Sven Höök, with a drummer and a boatman, across the stream, to inquire the purpose of their coming. Notwithstanding these men had received assurance from the Hollanders of a safe return, before they landed, they were taken into custody, and Höök was sent to Stuyvesant, whose vessel still lay at Fort Trinity. On the 4th of September the battery was finished, and the next day the fleet came sailing into Christina Creek and up the Fishkil. Part of the troops landed on Timber Island, where a battery was erected, while others crossed the Fishkil and encamped north of the fort, on the site of the projected town of *Christinahamn*, and a battery was likewise constructed west of the fort. Thus the latter was threatened by no fewer than four batteries, besides the Dutch vessels which lay at the mouth of the Christina.<sup>1</sup> When Rising "discharged two of his pieces, to clean them out, the party on Timber Island sent some shot over the heads of the Swedes, while the men on the west side of the fort fired whole volleys, as proof that they were there."

Hereupon Stuyvesant despatched an Indian to the Swedish Commandant with a summons to capitulate, demanding that the Swedes should either vacate the country or submit to Dutch rule. To this Rising replied by the same messenger that he would send his answer by special embassy. A council of war was then held, at which it was resolved to act on the defensive, and in case of an assault make the best stand possible; in consequence, however, of their weakness,

<sup>1</sup> Engineer Lindström's drawing of Fort Christina and the siege is in the Archives of the Kingdom. Copies of it are given in Ferris and Campanius Holm, *op. cit.*

not to begin hostilities. The day after, September 7, Elsvyck, Van Dyck, and Peter Rambo were sent as deputies to answer Stuyvesant, who was on board *De Waag*, in front of the fort. A written memorandum had been furnished them by Rising, requiring them to maintain their dignity as far as possible, the very first paragraph bidding them "above all things have a care of the high eminence and honour of His Royal Majesty of Sweden, and afterwards of the reputation of the General College of Commerce," and exact of Stuyvesant "recognition and use of the titles properly belonging to himself and other Swedish officers." They were to convince Stuyvesant of the right of Sweden to their territory both through purchase and by long-continued, undisputed possession, and were to exhort him to refrain from all hostility which might lead to a breach between the mother country and the States-General. The main cause of Rising's capture of Fort Casimir was the Commandant's readiness to surrender it; "had the gates been closed, or the least resistance offered," says the Swedish Governor, "I should have passed by." Finally, if no "remonstrances avail," says he, "Stuyvesant must be informed that we will defend the fort with all our might, and hold it to the last, protesting before God and the whole world that he will be responsible for all the blood that may be spilt." The last item in the memorandum is significant of the nature of the situation. "If it so happens that Stuyvesant suggests any measures to be agreed to, although it is not presumed that they will be other than unreasonable, nevertheless Mr. Elsvyck and his associates may engage in a conference on the subject."<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding this was propounded to Stuyvesant, he did not suffer himself to be deterred from prosecuting his undertaking, and appealed to his instructions. His people roamed about the Swedish settlements in a hostile manner,

<sup>1</sup> The Memorial, among documents relating to New Sweden in the Archives of the Kingdom. The above account of the occurrences at Christina is derived from Rising's Report of the Assault of the Dutch, printed in Arfvedson's treatise *De Colonia Nova Suecia, præc.* Geijer, Upsala, 1825; likewise given in an English translation in Hazard, *op. cit.*, pp. 190 *et seq.*

took necessary articles from the colonists, and, if we are to trust the report of Rising, plundered them outright. Meanwhile the beleaguering force pursued its work, and soon were ready to advance to the assault. On the 9th of September Stuyvesant despatched another letter of the same import as the former, which was answered with a proposal to let their disputes on boundary lines be settled by their sovereigns in Europe or by chosen commissioners.<sup>1</sup>

The peculiar *quasi* siege was still continued, without even an attempt to harm the garrison in life or limb, which was fortunate for them, since according to Rising's Report there was not a spot upon the walls where they could stand with safety. The little force, numbering about thirty persons, was not much inclined for fray, and, their provisions beginning to fail, entertained thoughts of negotiating a surrender. On the 13th of September the Swedish Governor and Elsvyck went forth from the fort, and had a meeting with Stuyvesant and one of his followers. The customary interchange of argument and counter-argument ensued, and the parties separated without result. The works of the besiegers were at length completed, and cannon levelled at the walls, when, on the 14th, Stuyvesant despatched an officer with a drummer, under truce, to summon the Commandant, with harsh threats, to surrender within twenty-four hours. Good counsellors now were valuable; so the whole garrison were assembled to consult together. However brave they had been before, they unanimously voted to accept the best terms they could make, and the following day conditions of capitulation<sup>2</sup> were drawn up, signed, and executed as follows:

“The capitulation concluded between the brave and noble Director Johan Rising, Governor of New Sweden, on the one side, and the brave and noble Director Peter Stuyvesant, Governor-General of New Netherlands, on the other side:

<sup>1</sup> Elsvyck to Stuyvesant. (Among documents relating to New Sweden in the Archives of the Kingdom.)

<sup>2</sup> Printed in Acrelius, *op. cit.*, p. 73, and in a translation in *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, xii. p. 104.

“1. That all cannon, ammunition, provisions and supplies, together with other things belonging to the Crown of Sweden, which are in and around the Fort Christina, shall belong to and be preserved as the property of the Swedish Crown and the South Company, and shall be under the power of said Governor, to take it away or to deliver it to Governor-General Stuyvesant, with the proviso that it shall be given up upon order.

“2. Governor Johan Rising, his superior and inferior officers, his officials and soldiers, shall march out of the fort with drums and trumpets playing, flags flying, matches burning, with hand and side-arms, and balls in their mouths. They shall first be conducted to Tinneuck Island, to which they shall be taken safely, and placed in the fort which is there until the Governor sets sail upon the ship *Waegh*, upon which said Governor Rising, his people and property, shall be conducted to Sandy Huck, situated five Holland miles the other side of Manhattan, under safe conduct, within at least fourteen days. Also the Governor and Factor Elsvyck shall in the mean time have allowed them four or five servants for attending to their business, whilst the others shall be lodged in the fortress.

“3. All writings, letters, instructions, and acts, belonging to the Crown of Sweden, the South Company, or private persons, which are found in Fort Christina, shall remain in the Governor's hands, to take away at his pleasure, without being searched or examined.

“4. None of the Crown's or Company's officers, soldiers, employes, or private persons shall be detained here against their wishes, but shall be allowed to go, without molestation, along with the Governor, if they so desire.

“5. That all the superior and inferior officers, soldiers, and employes of the Crown and of the South Company, and all private persons shall retain their goods unmolested.

“6. If some employes and freemen desire to depart, but are not able to go with the Governor and his party, they shall be allowed the time of one year and six weeks, in which to sell their land and goods, provided they do not take the oath of allegiance during the period they remain.

“7. If any of the Swedes or Finns are not disposed to go away, Governor Rising may take measures to induce them to do so; and, if they are so persuaded, they shall not be forcibly detained. Those who choose to remain shall have the liberty of adhering to their Augsburg Confession, as also to support a minister for their instruction.

"8. Governor Rising, Factor Elsvyck, and other superior and inferior officers, soldiers, and freemen, with all their property, if they wish to go away, shall be provided by the Governor-General with a complete ship, which shall receive them at Sandy Huck, and convey them to the Texel, and from thence immediately, by a coaster, galliot, or other suitable vessel, to Götheborg, without charge; with the proviso, that said coaster, galliot, or other vessel shall not be detained, for which the said Governor Rising shall be answerable.

"9. In case Governor Rising, Factor Elsvyck, or any other employé of the Swedish Crown or the South Company has incurred any debts on account of the Crown or of the Company, they shall not be detained therefor within the jurisdiction of the Governor-General.

"10. Governor Rising has full freedom to make himself acquainted with the conduct of Commandant Schute and that of his officers and soldiers in regard to the surrender of the fort at Sandhuk.

"11. Governor Rising promises that on September 15-25 he will withdraw his people from Fort Christina and deliver it up to the Governor-General.

"Done and signed September 15-25, 1655, on the parade between Fort Christina and the Governor-General's camp.

JOHAN RISING,

PETER STUYVESANT.

*Director of New Sweden.*

"Secret Article.

"It is further capitulated that the Captain, who is to convey Governor Johan Rising and Factor Henrik Elsvyck, shall be expressly commanded and ordered to put the aforesaid Governor Rising and Factor Elsvyck ashore, either in England or in France; and that the Director-General shall lend to Governor Rising, either in money or bills of exchange, a sum of three hundred pounds Flemish, which the said Governor Rising engages to repay to the Governor-General, or his order, in Amsterdam, within six months after the receipt of it. In the mean time he leaves as a pledge and equivalent the property of the Crown and South Company now given up. Hereof we give two copies signed by the contracting parties.

Concluded, and so forth, as above."

We have already drawn one parallel from a different theatre of war where the King of Sweden dictated terms; we

may institute another. The day of this surrender, after his triumphal march through Poland, Charles Gustavus stood before the gates of Warsaw, soon to open to him.

In accordance with the terms agreed to, the little Swedish garrison marched out "colours flying," and were met by Stuyvesant and his whole council and officers, who made them a most novel proposition. Rising was invited to reöccupy the fort with his companions, provided he would agree to a division of the country, the Swedes to possess the land north of Christina, and the Dutch that south of that place, in which case they assured him that he should never be molested in his property. The territory was large enough, it was said, for both nations, who ought to live on friendly terms and form a treaty with one another.

It is easy to see that this proposal was unexpected to Rising, and we do not certainly know whether it was a *bona fide* offer. Stuyvesant had express orders to drive away the Swedes, or bring them under the rule of the Dutch Company, and such were the relations between the mother countries at this time, that the old spectacles on the Delaware could not fail to have been renewed. Possibly the ground of Stuyvesant's sudden complaisance was the fact that, immediately after his departure from Manhattan, the Indians had made a hostile incursion into his province, and a letter had been received from the Council in New Amsterdam, which had been disregarded by him, urging him to return at once and use his forces against these foes.<sup>1</sup> Stuyvesant may have been induced to seek an amicable partition of the land with the Swedes, for fear the latter might rise, after his departure to oppose the savages, and re-establish their dominion in New Sweden.

The Swedish Governor desired a written statement of this offer, that he might consider it more carefully, and return a written answer. He held a consultation with his people,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Letter of the Council to Stuyvesant, in *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, vol. xii. pp. 98-99.

<sup>2</sup> The proceedings are recorded in a "Copy of our [the Swedes'] resolution concerning Stuyvesant's letter inviting us to reënter Fort Christina," among documents relating to New Sweden in the Archives of the Kingdom.



but singularly enough they discovered no inclination to embrace the proposition, out of regard for the honour of their sovereign; they said they would in any case be greatly dependent on the Hollanders, and the latter had so plundered the land that they had nothing now to live on. Peter Rambo thought Stuyvesant was seeking to deceive them again, "as one might easily entice a dog by showing him a piece of bread, which" he considered "shameful." Elsvyck was of the opinion that no compact should be entered into "which might prejudice the interests of His Majesty and the South Company," alluding to the obligation to live for the future on terms of friendship and alliance with the Dutch; by reason of their weakness "they would be both laughing-stocks for the Hollanders, and sheep for slaughter for the savages." The conclusion was, as Rising expressed it, to leave it to their "most worthy superiors to resent and redress their wrongs in their own time and in such way and with such force as might be requisite." This answer was delivered to Stuyvesant the following day.

In this tragi-comedy, which, like every other, must have its victim, there remained a little act, foreboded by § 10 of the articles of capitulation. The Commandant at Fort Trinity was regarded by Rising as having failed to perform his duty, and having been the cause of the ruin of the whole colony. On this account Schute was put on trial by Rising in the presence of the principal Swedes sitting as a court-martial, September 24, on Timber Island at Christina.<sup>1</sup> Witnesses accused him of having permitted the Dutch fleet to sail by without firing a shot, contrary both to the orders received and to their emphatically uttered wish. Besides, he had concluded the surrender on board the Dutch vessel. Finally, he was charged with having tried to persuade a couple of freemen to remain here, and not to return to their mother country, and with having used threatening expressions against the Governor, which imputations were denied by him. That

<sup>1</sup> See above. (Page 148, note 2.—TRANS.)

he suffered punishment for his alleged offence is not probable; at least all evidence of this is wanting.

At length, the Dutch were lords of the country, and, if we are to trust Campanius Holm and Acrelius, exercised "a tyranny which cannot be adequately portrayed." Rising, moreover, reproaches them<sup>1</sup> with having pillaged and ill-treated the inhabitants in many places, abused their wives, destroyed plantations, slaughtered cattle, and so forth; and a certificate of a certain freeman, named Nils Mattsson, cited by Acrelius, indicates that they were hardly merciful in their treatment of their captives.

Agreeably to the articles of capitulation, those who desired to remain in the land assembled to take the oath of allegiance to the Dutch, while the rest were suffered to go where they pleased, or to accompany Governor Rising to Sweden. Since this voyage was to be at the expense of Stuyvesant, Rising and his companions (among whom were Elsvyck, Lindström, and the clergymen Nertunius and Hjort) were taken to New Amsterdam, to be conveyed from thence to Europe. Many of Rising's people were induced to stay in that place, including Schute and Van Dyck. Rising left New Amsterdam, with the others, in the beginning of November. The travellers were distributed on three vessels, and landed first at Plymouth, from whence Rising went to London, December 22, to report the conquest of the colony to the Swedish ambassador Leyonberg,<sup>2</sup> and to draw some money on a bill of exchange of Stuyvesant's. The rest were taken to Holland, from whence, according to the stipulations, they were afterwards to be conveyed to Gottenburg. Concerning their voyage nothing is known except what Lindström relates about his own adventures, in his often-mentioned Journal. Through the carelessness of the sailors, his chest of instruments, charts, and professional papers, to his great chagrin, fell overboard and sank in the sea. From Holland he pursued his journey

<sup>1</sup> In a letter to Stuyvesant printed in *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, vol. xii. p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> Leyonberg's diary, among documents relating to Sweden and Holland in the Archives of the Kingdom.

on foot; he was plundered of all he possessed in Schwerin, and after other accidents of travel finally reached home.<sup>1</sup>

Let us now return to the *Mercurius*, which we left on her way to New Sweden, bearing the last hope of safety for the enterprise, that had already come to an ignominious end. She arrived in the Delaware March 24, 1656, the emigrants first learning the changes that had occurred when they were prevented<sup>1</sup> from landing, by the Dutch Vice-Governor Paul Jaquet, until the receipt of further orders from Manhattan, owing, doubtless, to the fear lest they might disturb the recently established *régime*. The instructions from New Amsterdam forbade them to land, and directed that they should be sent thither, to lay in provisions, and so forth, for the voyage home. The emigrants not being disposed to return immediately to Sweden, but preferring to remain in the colony, Huyghen went overland to New Amsterdam to obtain permission that they might do so, as well as to sell his cargo, while he awaited commands from abroad.

Stuyvesant and his council refused the request, and renewed the order that the ship should quit the river at once. The fears and precautions of the Dutch were not altogether baseless, for, during Huyghen's absence, some Swedish colonists and a body of Indians, under the leadership of Papegoja, went on board the vessel, and took her boldly past the cannon of Fort Casimir up the river to Mantaes Huck, where they landed the emigrants. This caused great anxiety in New Amsterdam, and two of the council were deputed to go to the Delaware with the man-of-war *De Waag*. Huyghen himself was to accompany them, after he had signed a written agreement in no way to meddle with or promote the *embrouillement*, the Hollanders expecting to trace plots concerted by Schute and another Swede with hostile Indians. On the other hand, he obtained leave to dispose of his cargo in New Amsterdam, when the ship came thither, paying a moderate

<sup>1</sup> Rising afterwards (in 1665) became Assessor in the Marine Court, and likewise (in 1668) Notary Public at Gottenburg. Elsvyck obtained a commission as Major-General in 1668. (Registry of the Kingdom.)

duty.<sup>1</sup> How many of the emigrants remained in New Sweden is not known. The name of only one of them is preserved, namely, Anders Bengtsson, who was still living in 1703, and became the ancestor of a large family of Banksons. Herr Matthias returned on the *Mercurius*, which arrived at Gottenburg in September, of the same year.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile the Swedes, who went home with Rising, had reached their native country in various ways; and on the 17th of April, 1656, a portion of them appeared before the College of Commerce, to render their accounts, and receive their wages and other demands. When the manner of the conquest of the colony had been inquired into, it was determined to present a detailed report to his Majesty, and the returned emigrants were instructed to carry their claims to the Directors of the West India Company. The latter was in a very embarrassed condition. From a "General Exhibit of the actual state and resources of the American Company, drawn up in April, 1656,"<sup>3</sup> it seems that its indebtedness amounted to 19,311 *riksdaler*. To this we may add the debt soon incurred by the Company through Rising's return home. The assets of the Company we have given before. These were certainly augmented by the *Mercurius*, on her safe arrival, as well as by claims against the Dutch West India Company for the seizure of *Gyllene Hajen*, and finally by a quantity of tobacco. Still the proceeds of this property were by no means adequate to content the numerous persons who now presented claims. In divers places and for many years we meet with papers containing demands made by Printz, Rising, Anckarhjelm, and others, but we greatly doubt whether all of these were finally satisfied.

<sup>1</sup> The numerous MSS. on this subject are to be found in *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, vol. xii. pp. 120-127.

<sup>2</sup> Acrelius, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

<sup>3</sup> In a letter from H. Kramer to E. Oxenstjerna, dated May 3, 1656, in the Archives of the Kingdom.

(To be continued.)

## FRIENDS IN BURLINGTON.

BY AMELIA MOTT GUMMERE.

(Concluded from page 16.)

## VII.

“You are come to a quiet land, and liberty and authority are in your hands.”—WILLIAM PENN.

“At a monthly meeting held at Burlington, the sixth day of the third month, 1775. An epistle from the meeting for sufferings at Philadelphia dated the 19th of 1 mo. last further recommending to friends a due care to adhere to their principles in these times of commotion and tenderly to admonish and deal with such who depart therefrom, etc., with a copy of the Yearly Meeting Minute of 1710 respecting persons in office, was read, and recommended to observation.”

This is the first evidence in the Monthly Meeting minutes—which are still our main dependence in giving a true history of the meeting—of the disturbance in which everything was soon to share. Those of the Quarterly meeting held 24 of 11 mo., 1777, state that twenty-six Representatives from the preceding Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders had been prevented from attending Yearly Meeting because “hindered from crossing the River by military men stopping the boats on this side, on account of the British Troops being in possession of the city of Philadelphia.” This was upon the occupation of Germantown by General Howe, Philadelphia being taken possession of 9 mo. 26. At the same time the Friends at Trenton, N. J., were obliged to meet in private houses, their meeting-house being in the hands of the soldiery.

Private journals and correspondence of the time show how the subject of national independence was moving friends in this section, although it was hard to see clearly the gravity of their position, which speedily became a very trying one. Many young men yielded to the impulse (which also drew out some of these older members) to enlist in the cause of

freedom. Sympathizing epistles came from London ; and during the struggle which followed, despite trials consequent on a position of neutrality among people alive with the spirit of warfare, they steadfastly maintained their principles and profession though at the expense of confiscations, in many instances, of goods and property. To all inquiries they replied, as their meeting stated in a special minute,—“ we, the people called Quakers, ever since we were distinguished as a Society, have declared to the world our belief in the peaceable tendency of the Gospel of Christ, and that consistent therewith we could not bear arms, nor be concerned in warlike preparations.”

Committees were also appointed for a number of years, to “ labor with those who still held Negroes in bondage.” In 8 mo. 1776, the minute states that they

“ have the satisfaction to report a considerable number of those who hold Negroes have manumitted them by deeds duly executed, to take effect immediately, or when they come to the proper age, signifying an intention to take care in the meantime of their education ; that several others show a good disposition to do the like, so that the number who hold back and neglect taking the advice of Friends are comparatively small, and that they have an encouraging hope that a continuance of labour as ability may be afforded will in time clear them of holding any of that Oppressed People as Slaves.”

Many meetings were held hereabouts for the Blacks.

Mount Holly meeting in 10 mo., 1776, was set off from Burlington, and established a monthly meeting of its own, remaining independent until 1827, when they were again consolidated. The numbers comprising Burlington Monthly meeting being computed, the record stood as below :—

Burlington Monthly Meeting, 1776.

	Over age.	Under age.	Total.
Burlington Particular Meeting . . . . .	109	84	193
Old Springfield . . . . .	42	64	106
Rancocas . . . . .	58	75	133
Upper Springfield . . . . .	1	4	5
Mansfield . . . . .	52	38	90
Mansfield Neck . . . . .	26	34	60
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	288	299	587

At the same time "an account of the sufferings of Friends as advised by our late Yearly Meeting" was ordered prepared by a Committee of eleven Friends. Minutes respecting War and Fighting were read, and a conference was held for "the information, caution, and strengthening of each other in these Times of Commotion, and for our preservation through the many Tryals and from the many difficulties which now abound and are likely to increase, tending to be led into a violation of our Peaceable testimony and Principles and wound the purity thereof by betraying us into a conduct inconsistent with our religious profession."

In 2 mo., 1776, we find: "The clerk of the Meeting for Sufferings having sent to this Meeting a Report from the Committee of Sufferings held in Portsmouth the 13th 1 mo. last with a copy of a Letter from our Friend Moses Brown, dated Providence the 2d of the 1 mo. giving a Relation of the Proceedings of a Committee Appointed to distribute the Donations of Friends lately collected in this Province & Pennsylvania for the Relief of the distressed Poor of all Denominations in the Province of Mass. etc. Both of them were read and afforded Satisfaction; it appearing that upwards of 400 Families in necessitous Circumstances had been already Relieved, and that a Prudent care had been taken to make the distribution among such as were not Engaged in carrying on the present war."

Upon one occasion, at the gathering of the Monthly Meeting, it was discovered that the soldiery had been quartered in the Meeting-house during the night, and steps were taken to have a similar inconvenience prevented in future. Fences and ground were much out of repair, and the regiments stationed near the town had not scrupled to use anything about the "Quaker Church" which would serve for shelter or firewood. In this instance repairs cost them twenty pounds.

One of the friends has left in her Journal of the Revolution our most lively account of affairs in Burlington at this date. This is Margaret Morris, and it will be no digression to quote slightly from her own words. There was a pleasant intercourse among the families living on Green Bank, fronting the Delaware. Among these was that of Governor William Franklin, who in 1763 came in his official capacity to Burlington. Upon the outbreak of the war, he was seized

as a Tory, and suffered an imprisonment of a little over two years, afterwards being exchanged. Margaret Morris, who knew him well, as she did nearly every other personage of any importance in the place, bought his town house on the Bank when it was to be disposed of; and here it was that the Episcopal clergyman, Jonathan Odell, obtained the shelter that saved his life. The clergy of England being obliged to swear allegiance to the crown, those of them who remained firm were hunted down as Royalists and Tories. Jonathan Odell, true to his oath, after being paroled and confined to a radius of eight miles from Burlington Court House, was finally forced to fly; and M. Morris gives a lively relation of the danger both of them incurred, he as pursued, and she as being party to his escape. Their friendship was probably the greater because Odell, previous to his taking orders in the church, had practised medicine; and the low salary he received in America as a clergyman made him resort to this also as a further means of support for his family. He consequently became the family physician of M. Morris, when her own practised knowledge of medicine failed her, which was seldom. In 12 mo. 1776 she writes:—

“Great many soldiers in town to-day; another company took possession of the next house when the first left it. The inhabitants are much straightened for bread to supply the soldiers, and firewood to keep them warm. This seems to be only one of the many calamities of war.”

On the 14th occurs this entry, which shows the consternation of the family on an inquiry by the soldiers for their concealed friend, at that very moment in her own house, but supposed by the Americans to be in that of Colonel Coxe, her next neighbor, whose family being absent had placed the keys in her charge:—

“The name of Tory so near my own door seriously alarmed me; for a poor ‘refugee,’ dignified by that name, had claimed the shelter of my roof, and was at that very moment concealed like a thief in an anger-hole. I rang the bell violently, the signal agreed on if they came to search, and when I thought he had crept into the hole, I put on a very simple look and cried out, ‘Bless me, I hope you are not Hessians?’



‘Do we look like Hessians?’ asked one of them rudely. ‘Indeed I don’t know.’ ‘Did you ever see a Hessian?’ ‘No, never in my life; but they are men, and you are men, and may be Hessians for anything I know. But I’ll go with you to Colonel Coxe’s house.’ I marched at the head of them, opened the door, and searched everywhere—strange where he could be! We returned, they greatly disappointed, I pleased to think my house not suspected.”

The “auger-hole” was a secret chamber, entered from a room at the end of a long entry, through a closet, whose shelves had to be removed and the back pried open with a knife. Admission was then given into a chamber having no light save what crept through the chinks in roof and walls. The bell was hung in the room outside near the closet, communicating, by means of wires through the winding hall, with a knob just inside the front door. This bell, therefore, might be rung “violently” before opening the door, without alarming outsiders, giving the “refugee” time to conceal himself before the long entries could be traversed. Jonathan Odell finally escaped to England, where he remained a number of years before he dared return to his family. He had good occasion to say, “of all people the Quakers are most friendly to us.” M. Morris says in the next year, “we have some hopes that our refugee will be presented with a pair of lawn sleeves when dignities become cheap, and suppose he will then think himself too big to creep into his old auger-hole; but I shall remind him of the place, if I live to see him created first B——p of B——n!”

Margaret Morris’s sister Sarah, who has previously been referred to as the wife of George Dillwyn, was nearly as lively a writer as her sister. While in London, during their extended residence in that place, in 1784, she finds that city, as many continue to do, a “most sad place for spending money.” They were intimate with the painter West, who was a diligent visitor and correspondent, and was always known among them as “Benny” West. S. Dillwyn’s description of a young lady in London at the time is capital:—

“She had a quilled round hat of gause, white shade, and I think a cream-colored dress, not so bedezined as I’ve seen

some, and a little round hoop. The girls did not look tawdry. . . They did not answer George Fox's description ; he paints high."<sup>1</sup>

In the confusion about them, undeterred by inconveniences which others might have thought excused them in a measure from such steps, the subject of schools, strongly urged by the Yearly Meeting, was renewed among Friends at the meeting in Burlington with great vigor, finally resulting, 1779, in the establishment of a Preparative Meeting School. The house in Broad Street was fitted up for that use, since it was not needed for purposes of worship after that on Main Street was rendered suitable for all seasons of the year by an addition capable of being comfortably heated in cold weather. We find in the Preparation Meeting records of 11 mo. 25, 1779:—

“In pursuance of a concern lately revived among Friends for the benefit of the rising generation with respect to their school education, as recommended down by the Yearly Meeting: This Meeting apply'd to the last Quarterly Meeting for the privilege of using the Meeting-house in Broad St. for a school under prudent teachers of our Society, and obtained liberty to fit up the said meeting-house for that purpose at our expense, and to occupy the same with the lot belonging to it accordingly, until that Meeting shall give further advice and direction therein. Whereupon a subscription was entered into by the members of this Meeting, and a school opened therein ; and it appearing necessary to this Meeting that the same should be under the care of a standing committee, the following Friends, vizt., John Hoskins, Daniel Smith, Geo. Dillwyn, Geo. Bowne, Saml. Allinson, James Verree, are appointed to that service under the name of 'Trustees of Friends' School in Burlington.' And it is unanimously concluded that the Said Trustees and their successors shall have the direction of said school or any other that may be set up under the care of this Meeting, that they keep the said House or any others which they may provide for schools & residence of the teachers in good repair, make provision for the comfortable support of said Teachers, order the necessary expenditures, when they have cash in hand for those purposes ; when otherwise they are to lay before this Meeting on account of the sum wanted and the

<sup>1</sup> *The Hill Family*, by John Jay Smith.

occasion, and receive our direction therein: to Employ Teachers, and for sufficient cause to them appearing, to dismiss them, admit scholars and discharge those who misbehave, and make such rules for these and other purposes tending to the good government of the schools as they may judge necessary, provided the same be not repugnant to the fundamental plan. They are to visit said schools once in every month; examine the progress made by the scholars in their learning and see that good order and decorum is preserved. Any 4 of the Trustees for the time being are to be sufficient to transact any business within their appointment. The Trustees for the time being shall appoint a Treasurer, to whom by his proper name donations and bequests may be made for the benefit of the school. . . . They, the Trustees, are to lay before the Preparative Meeting in 7 mo. yearly [their report] for approbation, and are desired to transcribe this minute as our foundation of their proceedings." . . .

(Signed) SAMUEL ALLINSON,  
*Clerk.*

Geo. Bowne was made clerk, and Daniel Smith Treasurer, by the six Friends of the Committee. Until 1792 the school was continued in the Broad St. building, with the addition, in 1780, of two lodging rooms for the accommodation of the school-master and the purchase of the lot of ground adjoining, for which the deed was executed 1 of 11 mo. 1784. In the year above named (1792) the Preparative Meeting Minutes of 7 mo. 2d state that their meeting,

"having agreed with a committee of the Quarterly Meeting for the purchase of the old meeting-house and lot on Broad Street, requests the Monthly Meeting to direct the Committee to whom a deed was made in 1784 for the adjoining lot, to take the deed for this house and lot also, in behalf of the said Preparative Meeting."

This was done. By another of the same day:—

"The Trustees of the school belonging to the Preparative Meeting of Burlington, having been directed by the said meeting to dispose of the lot and building on Broad Street, lately purchased of the Quarterly Meeting, together with a part or the whole of the adjoining lot, in order to enable us to erect a new school-house."

It seems that they desired to get rid of the unnecessary and inconvenient building on Broad Street, illy suited to their wants. Returning to the school minutes, we find (7 mo. 21, 1792):—

“A lot on York St. containing one acre three quarters and thirteen perches having been purchased of Ralph Smith and wife by deed dated the 14th instant for the sum of £. 80, it was now agreed to build a Brick School House thereon at the distance of forty feet from, and at right angles with the street; forty feet long and twenty ft. deep. One Door in front and one at each end. The story to be 10 ft. high. Two windows in front and back, twenty-four lights each 9 × 11; and two at each end 9 × 11, eighteen lights each. All the windows so framed and hung as to slide up and down. The cellar to be dug four feet deep from the surface of the ground; the stone wall six feet and a half, the brick wall to be 14 in. back and front and 9 in. at each end. Geo. Dillwyn, John Hoskins, Danl. Smith, & Jas. Verree, & Joseph Smith are appointed to stake out the ground, purchase the quantity of stones and brick, engage a Mason, & employ workmen to dig the cellar without delay; and they are authorized to draw upon the Treasurer for money as there may be occasion.”

It is not generally known that the building mentioned previously in these pages as the former office of Samuel Jennings, and afterward the printing office of Isaac Collins, was, during the period of building the school house on York Street, used by the Preparative Meeting for their school, the master residing there also.

It will be necessary, in order to understand the action of the school trustees, to go back a moment to the Monthly Meeting records, by which it appears that, before the building of a school-house was undertaken, subscriptions had been started for the erection of a larger meeting house, the Quarterly Meeting having out-grown its quarters in the little hexagonal one. In the year 1773 the meeting made an agreement with Chesterfield, by which, in consideration of aid in building their meeting house in that place, Chesterfield Friends were to respond in a similar service for Burlington, whenever the latter found it necessary to build, provided, further, that it be

done before the year 1787, as stipulated in a minute at Burlington. The work was not actively entered upon until ten years later, when the building was completed in 1784, having been begun the previous year. The clerk has in his hands the original document containing the signatures of subscribers and the sums donated. This building is the present substantial house on Main St., and it was often uncomfortably filled during its early years. It is somewhat farther south than its predecessor and nearer the street, standing, as we gather from the records, in front of the old house, which was not demolished until 1792. Thus, in a school minute dated 7 mo. 28 of that year, we learn:—

“Labourers are employed to take down the old Building back of the new meeting house, some time since purchased of the Quarterly Meetings committee.”

We understand that the present neat school-house on York St., still good for another century, contains part of the material from that quaint little structure of which we are very fortunate to possess any drawings. The school-house externally, with the exception of a porch over the door, has remained almost unchanged. The children were always brought to meeting on Fifth days, and the Women’s Meeting records state the appointment of three Friends quarterly to “sit among the children” and preserve order. 1802 has the first notice of this custom, in the handwriting of Susan Emlen, clerk.

In 9 mo., 1781, the clerk of the Quarterly Meeting presented to the Monthly Meeting a copy of a minute which runs as follows:—

“A remark in the reports from 2 of the monthly meetings of a prevailing custom of working on first days in the time of hay and harvest was taken under the weighty consideration of the meeting; and it appearing to deserve the notice of this meeting that it may be discouraged, friends in the several monthly meetings where this practice has prevailed, are desired to labor against it.”

In 1782 Friends lost £. 434 1 s. 4 d. in the Monthly Meeting, “principally on account of taxes to carry on war-

like measures ; some part on acc't of Court Fines, and a small part for repairing bridges" (destroyed by the militia).

1 mo. 2nd, 1786. "John Hoskins and Robert Smith, ex-ecur's of Martha Noble, state that she bequeaths the sum of £. 40 to be applied toward building a wall in front of the meeting-house lot, or in support of a fence round the yard as shall be found best."

"1st day of 12 mo. 1788. Friends are admonished to exercise care who are concerned in importing distilled spirituous liquors from the West India Islands or other places, either on their own accounts or as agents for others."

In 1795 there were twelve distilleries owned by members of the Quarterly Meeting, and four were retailers. These figures are now alarming.

25, 5 mo. 1789. "A number of Proposals for reprinting by subscription a Quarto Edition of the Old and New Testament with the Apochrypha and Marginal Notes were now produced and distributed in order that the Work may be encouraged by Friends within this Quarter, agreeable to the Recommendation of the Meeting for Sufferings expressed in their Minute annexed to the said Proposals."

This Bible, as the clerk states in a note, was the Quarto Edition printed by Isaac Collins in New York. The amount of subscription in 8 mo. was—

Burlington Mo. Mt'g . . . . .	£32
Upper Springfield (particular). . . . .	7
	£39

The next meeting reported a total of £83, exclusive of £10 from J. Bullock and £1 from Daniel Smith.

In 1790 the stables were found to be in an unsafe condition. These stood on the north side of the Friends' burying-ground. It was agreed to build new ones, on "the northerly side of our lot adjoining the burying ground, on the lot facing Broad St."; shed to be 200 ft. long, 13 deep, with stables at each end 20 ft. in front. In 1792 the committee on stables reported "there was no way of obtaining any ground from the adjacent lots in order to open a way from the meeting-house yard to the lot in which the stables are to be built," and advised opening a passage through the grave-yard, which was

done; upon which the building and grounds stood as they have ever since remained.

A committee was appointed, 1st mo. 1796, to collect subscriptions for the benefit of the native Indians. John Smith was made Treasurer of the Committee. In three months he had received £146 2. 9. which were given over for that use. 10 mo., 1796, a lot of ground in the county of Tryon, State of New York, was conveyed to six Friends as Grantees in Trust for the building of a meeting-house thereon, and a burying ground, whenever a meeting should be established in that county. This Monthly Meeting was to exercise care over the property until it should be required at their hands for the purpose designed. This was the case two or three years later. In that year (1796) the proposition of a boarding school under charge of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was made and widely united with. Wm. Allinson was appointed to receive and forward subscriptions, which amounted to \$76.83, the sum being paid into the hands of Thomas Stewardson, Treasurer of the Westtown school fund.

2 mo. 5, 1798, a committee was appointed to consider how, in future, disturbance caused at meetings for discipline might be avoided. They reported that it seemed best to name door-keepers who should prevent those from entering who were not members of our Society; and that the men and women went in separate apartments. Partitions with double shutters, when single ones were found insufficient to drown the sound of voices, were put up in 1800 (cost of erection £25 19 s. 10½ d.). About the same time the practice of reading acknowledgments in public meetings for worship was relinquished, as productive of ill results.

The Preparative Meeting records have in one or two instances been referred to, but it is proper to state here that such minutes as are given have been taken from those of the school, monthly meeting, etc., and were in such cases therein recorded in consequence of an order from the meeting in authority. Up to the year 1847, no regular record of the men's Preparative Meeting exists. In this year the records were copied and preserved. Many Friends deemed it best to de-

stroy the proceedings of a meeting which was only preparatory, and without any power in itself, all important actions of which would be duly mended by the Monthly Meeting. Hence, while the Monthly Meeting records fill eleven volumes, there are comparatively none belonging to Preparative Meeting, beyond the volume named, of 1847, and that now in use. The minutes of the Women's Meeting date back to 1800, Mary Allinson and Susan Emlen being the first clerks. There may be another volume of Minutes of this meeting either lost or mislaid, but they are of comparatively small value.

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## VIII.

“ Old friends to talk !  
Ay ! bring those chosen few,  
The wise, the courtly, and the true,  
So rarely found.”

MASSINGER.

From this point our history of the Burlington Friends will be brief. Not that it was in reality less important in events which are on record, or that inferior names appear in the Society of this town. But, were we to particularize, our account must be more of biography, and this has already made us familiar with the characters of Grellet, Griscom, etc. The condition of society at large was now much more settled; men had made great progress in the arts of civilization, and peace and prosperity bring in their train many comforts to which political strife is adverse. A history of prosperous times, if not dealing with the causes of such prosperity, naturally presents fewer scenes of stirring interest than when constant changes follow in rapid succession. Hence the last eighty-one years of this Monthly Meeting give us few incidents over which we care to linger long.

In the year 1800 Dr. John Griscom, then teacher in Friends' Preparative Meeting school on York Street, was a



young man just beginning his career, and starting a reading club for foreign journals, of which several eminent men were members. He assumed charge of the school in 1794, when, his biography states, he had but three pupils. On his departure in 1807 for new fields of labor in New York, the benches were overflowing. The public schools of the place owe their life to his experience and energy on returning thirty years after to end his days in Burlington. His great grandfather, Samuel Griscom, is said to have built the first meeting-house in Philadelphia. The eminence of Dr. Griscom, and the great men he numbered among his friends, among whom Dickens, Irving, De Witt, Francis, Clinton, etc., appear, need not be dwelt on here.

During the early years of the new century came the war of 1812, which Friends passed through with far less suffering than the previous great struggle. The "sufferings of Friends" on account of Military Fines were carefully looked into, and stated in a book where all the losses consequent upon such demands are tabulated. Property of almost every description, from 6 teaspoons to several tons of hay, fell into the hands of the military, who claimed all they could get from the "Quakers." The record is quite bulky, and shows the name of each sufferer and the amount of loss incurred each year. In 6 mo., 1807, a wall was built in front of the meeting-house, costing £129, to meet which the £40 bequeathed by Martha Noble were taken, and the balance raised by subscription. 1816 saw the Wood St. wall erected, being set back six feet in order to straighten the line with the buildings thereon. In 1827 the "lobby" on the west was built. The building lots at the corner of Broad and Wood Streets, in 1838, were sold on perpetual ground-rent.

In 1827 came the great shock of the separation in the Society of Friends in America, and, although Burlington suffered much less diminution of numbers by the secession than many meetings, yet the minutes give evidence of the grief and anxiety of Friends in contemplating the alienation in feeling and belief that followed.

In this community of Friends some interesting and re-

markable characters were prominent. Many of the last generation finally recalled the family names of Barker, Smith, Allinson, Gaskill, Gummere, Coleman, Ridgway, Woolman, Pitfield, Hoskins, Cox, and others; and connected with each name some shining character has brightened the social atmosphere of the place, where years ago, a much higher order of society than the average was wont to mingle and enjoy pleasant intercourse. Stephen Grellet in 1823 had removed hither from Philadelphia. He was one whom all denominations made equally welcome and almost equally appreciated, over whom, on his death, Courtlandt Van Rensselaer preached a sermon, warm in loving and generous encomium. The stately form of Abigail Barker was familiar to the meanest urchin in the street; and John Hoskins was succeeded by John Cox at the head of the meeting.

William Allinson, though not a minister, was a member of the well-known family of that name, among whom Margaret Allinson (afterward Parker) was the only recorded minister. To William the Friends turned for advice and counsel on all topics. David Allinson, editor of the *Rural Visitor* (started in 1810), the printer, was one of those chosen to issue the first continental money of West New Jersey. Their brother James, as before stated, married Bernice Chatton, and his son William J. Allinson is one whose memory will be long esteemed. Susan R. Smith and Richard Mott are names which recall consecrated lives; and to the talented brothers, John and Samuel R. Gummere, Burlington owes yet a debt of gratitude for their able teaching and scholarship. Harrison Alderson, whose society was for so many years singularly acceptable, although not a native, belongs among the memories of the place; and who that has known Burlington during the last quarter-century, can separate from his recollections of the meeting the name of Eliza P. Gurney? We might indeed linger long and affectionately where we trace the steps of pleasant and instructive associations; but, with the mention of these names of comparatively recent members, we must close our account of Friends in Burlington.

## THE WELSH SETTLEMENT AT GWYNEDD.

BY HOWARD M. JENKINS.

Among the townships that were settled after the time of Penn's first arrival, and which therefore did not share in the prominence of the original settlements, none probably has been more marked in the historical accounts of southeastern Pennsylvania than Gwynedd. It is a township eighteen miles from Philadelphia, on a line a little west of north, containing about seventeen square miles of area, and occupied now by about 3500 people. The surface lies from 300 to 400 feet above the sea level; and the Wissahickon, receiving here several affluents that rise within the township, is itself near its sources. It is therefore an upland region; and, entirely agricultural in its native resources, moderately fertile but requiring careful tillage, it has, except in its breezy hills, pretty intervals, and picturesque streams, no features of special attractiveness, or any strong occasion of fame.

From the beginning, however, it has had a certain prominence. This was the consequence, chiefly, of the manner of its settlement. Unlike any other township of this region in Pennsylvania, it was "taken up" in one purchase, and at once divided amongst the colonists for whom it had been bought. Its population was therefore more considerable within a few months after the first settler arrived than that of adjoining townships which had been in part occupied for years; and its importance was correspondingly established. So early as 1705, Samuel Carpenter, writing to Jonathan Dickinson of his desire to sell a tract of land in Bucks County,<sup>1</sup> describes it as "about four miles from North Wales," this name being then the commonly used alternative of Gwynedd.<sup>2</sup>

The settlement at Gwynedd was the child of that in Merion,

<sup>1</sup> *Penn and Logan Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> See "The Name Gwynedd in Welsh History," *PENNA. MAG.*, Vol. VII.

Towamencin Twp

[Griffith Jones] [James Peters]

Worcester Twp

[Whitpain Township]

Wm. John. 2866.a.			
Evan. Ap. Hugh. 1068.a.			
Robt. John. 720.a.		Robt. Ap. Hugh. 232.a.	
Thos. Ap. Evan. 1049.a.			
Robt. Ap. Evan. 1034.a.		Cadur Ap. Evan. 609.a.	
Owen. Ap. Evan. 538.a.			
	B. Ap. Hugh. 118.a.	Edw. Faulke 712.a.	John. Humphrey 574.a.
Wm. John. 322.a.		Ellis David. 231.a.	Robt. Evan. 399.a.
E. Roden 110.a.			Hugh. & Ev. Griffith 576.a.
John Hugh 648.a 1324			

[Line of marked trees]

[Richard Whitpain & Co]

Whitpain Twp.

[Joseph Fisher]

[Thos Siddon]

Upper Dublin Twp.



Haverford, and Radnor, the great "Welsh Tract" west of the Schuylkill. Hugh Roberts, the preacher, of Merion,<sup>1</sup> had returned to Wales on a religious visit in 1697, and remaining for a year gathered a new company of colonists from among the yeomen and husbandmen of Merionethshire and the shires adjoining. In April, 1698, most of them sailed from Liverpool, and, after touching at Dublin, they landed at Philadelphia on the 17th of July.

In advance of their coming, however, a home had been secured for them. The common Welsh custom, Proud says, was "to send persons over to take up land for them, and to prepare it against their coming afterward." Two of the most trusted of the company had therefore reached Philadelphia at least as early as March. These were Thomas ap Evan, and William ap John, both "yeomen." They were probably first cousins, and appear to have been men of considerable means. By the 10th of March, 1698, they had negotiated with Robert Turner, of Philadelphia, for the purchase of a tract which he owned, estimated to contain 7820 acres, lying in Philadelphia County, adjoining lands of William Harman, Tryall Kolme, Joseph Fisher and William Stanley, John West and John Day, James Peters, and "ye township laid out for Richard Whitpaine, Charles Marshall, Thomas Cox, John Bassley, and others," these lands being now in the townships of Upper Dublin, Horsham, Montgomery, Towamencin, Worcester, and Whitpain.

Robert Turner, of whom, considering his prominence as the early business associate and friend of Penn,<sup>2</sup> and as an official and citizen in Philadelphia, it is odd that so little biographical detail has been collected, had been the owner of this Gwynedd land for several years. Upon the Holmes map the tract is shown partly in the name of Turner and partly

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Levick's notes concerning him in *PENNA. MAG.*, Vol. IV.

<sup>2</sup> It was to Robert Turner, then a merchant in Dublin, that Penn wrote his interesting letter of March, 1681, announcing that "after many waitings, watchings, solicitings, and disputes in Council, this day my country was confirmed unto me . . . by the name of Pennsylvania." See *Memoirs Hist. Soc. of Penna.*, Vol. I.

in that of John Gee & Co.,<sup>1</sup> but the latter had sold their interest to Turner between the time of making this part of the map and the sale to the Welsh settlers. An actual survey of the tract had probably not been made for the purpose of Holmes, or his successors, in making up this portion of the map; as in other cases, they very likely made a simple assignment to Turner and Gee & Co., in this place, of about such space as was expected to make up the area they were entitled to have. The deed of Turner to the Welsh purchasers recites that in the 12th month (February), 1794, Thomas Fairman had completed a survey of the tract, the returns of which he made to the Surveyor-General's office, March 10th, 1698, the day the deed was executed. But this survey, if actually made, must have been very carelessly done; it assigns to the tract sides 1604 perches long, whereas their actual length was over 2000 perches; and it calls the contents 7820 acres, instead of its real area, about 11,500 acres.

If, however, Fairman's survey was inaccurate, or if he never actually went upon the ground, Turner had no advantage from the fact. He sold the land as 7820 acres, the amount he was entitled to. Nor, indeed, did any one profit by it in the long run, for, under the Colonial Assembly's general act of 1701, resurveys of the lands were made,<sup>2</sup> and, the overplus being shown, the settlers separately paid Penn's Commissioners of Property for their shares of it, and received confirmatory patents for the whole of their holdings.

The price agreed upon between the two Welshmen and Turner was 508 pounds "current money of Pensilvania," for the tract, this being at the rate of £6 10 shillings for each one hundred acres, and this was the rate charged all the colonists, when, in the month of June following (1699), deeds were made to them by William John and Thomas Evan.

<sup>1</sup> This partnership embraced three Irish business men, John Gee, Jacob Fuller, and Joseph Fuller. They received warrants for land from Penn at the same time Turner got his first warrant, in March, 1681. They were doubtless friends and associates of Turner.

<sup>2</sup> Letters between Penn and Logan, referring to these general resurveys, will be found in the *Correspondence*, vol. i.

Meanwhile the company of intending settlers were leaving their homes in Wales and gathering at Liverpool ready to embark. Edward Foulke, who was one of them, left Coed-y-foel,<sup>1</sup> a farm on the little river Treweryn, not far from Bala, on the 3d of April, and, accompanied by his wife and nine children, "came in two days to Liverpool." There they met "divers others who intended to go the voyage," and, having gone on board their ship on the 17th, they sailed next day for Ireland. The vessel was the *Robert and Elizabeth*, owned by Robert Haydock of Liverpool, and commanded by Ralph Williams. Touching at Dublin, it was not until the 1st day of May that they finally heaved up their anchor and set out for the ocean voyage.

The names of those on board are not very definitely known. Edward Foulke and his half-score of family are made the most certain by his own definite record of the removal. The accounts are also distinct that Hugh Roberts was with the company. All beyond this is more or less assumption; it is presumed that all of the original settlers in Gwynedd, except William John and Thomas Evan, who had come in advance, were in this ship; but I am not aware that the fact is fixed as to any of them by contemporary records. There is a tradition in the Evans family that two of the children of Cadwalader Evans, accompanying their parents, died on the voyage. Taking all the evidence, however, it may be assumed that at least fifty of the settlers, old and young, of both sexes, were on board, and these would include the families of William John and Thomas Evan; Robert Evan and his family, Owen Evan and family, Cadwalader Evan<sup>2</sup> (just mentioned), his

<sup>1</sup> This belonged then to Roger Price, Esq., of Rhiwlas, in Merionethshire. He was high sheriff of the shire in 1710. The farm is now the property of his descendant, Richard J. Lloyd-Price, Esq., of Rhiwlas.

<sup>2</sup> With regard to the apparent inconsistency of calling the same person, in one article, by three different surnames—ap Evan, Evan, Evans—the explanation simply is that this is according to the historical fact. The Welsh surnames for these four brothers were ap Evan, and this changed when they had arrived here, first to Evan and then to Evans. It depends upon the period in which they are mentioned which one seems most fit historically.



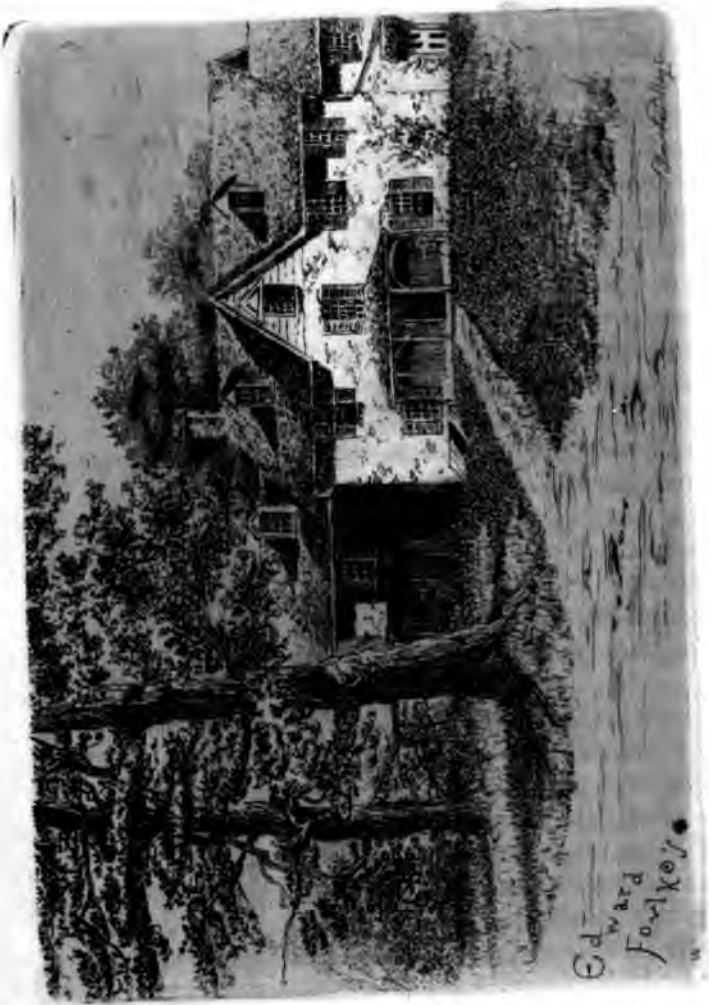
wife and two children who survived the voyage; Hugh Griffith and family, John Humphrey and family, and John Hugh and family.

The voyage was a long one. The ship was crowded. As on the *Welcome*, when Penn came, a fatal illness broke out—not the smallpox, however, but the dysentery. Many died, mostly children. “The distemper was so mortal that two or three corpses were cast overboard every day while it lasted,” says Edward Foulke’s graphic chronicle. He, however, with all his family escaped, and he ascribes it to “the favor and mercy of Divine Providence.” Altogether, he says, forty-five of the passengers died, and Samuel Smith, in his *Pennsylvania* history, speaks of three of the crew as among the victims.

It was not until the 17th of July that they landed at Philadelphia. They had been eleven weeks on the way from Dublin. But, fatigued as they were, and lamenting their losses, they must have been refreshed by the welcome that awaited them. “We were kindly received and hospitably entertained by our friends and old acquaintance,” says Edward Foulke; and Samuel Smith says that “when arrived they met with a kind reception, not only from their relations and acquaintance that were in the country before, but from others who were the more strangers to them in that they understood not their language; so that it then appeared to them that Christian love presided even among those of different speech and profession, for they were not now many of them of those called Quakers.”

It is most probable that the wives and children were taken to the hospitality of the Welsh homes in Merion and the townships adjoining. The men repaired to the new purchase to prepare cabins, or some sufficient shelter, before winter. What may have been done by William John and Thomas Evan in the interval after the purchase we have no account of. Perhaps they had planted corn; at the least, they may be presumed to have attacked the woods and made clearings in preparation for planting. Buckwheat could have been sowed after the main company came, and wheat sowing would have been in season in the autumn. There was some pasture for





Edward  
Foulkroy

Northampton



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stock in the little meadows along the creeks, and the berries, grapes, and nuts, growing wild, would go some way toward the supply of food.

About the beginning of November, Edward Foulke's narrative says, they took possession of their new homes. The places where they resided are not all known, but a number can be definitely fixed. The dimensions of the several tracts which they purchased, and their locations, are all ascertainable from the descriptions in the deeds, and the draft given herewith will present the whole of these details at a glance. William John, who had by far the largest holding, had the upper end of the township, and John Hugh's tract lay across the lower end, adjoining Upper Dublin. The tracts of the four Evans brothers made a square across the middle of the township, and near the centre of this square, on land that belonged to Robert Evan, the first meeting-house of the Friends was built, in 1700. Near it stood the three homes of Thomas, Robert, and Cadwalader Evans, and that of Owen Evans was less than a mile distant. Edward Foulke's house was on the site of the one by Penllyn Station, on the North Pennsylvania Railroad, belonging in recent time to Mr. D. C. Wharton, and now occupied by representatives of his estate.<sup>1</sup> John Humphrey's house stood, according to tradition, in the south corner of his land, close by the present hamlet of Spring House. Robert John, a man of culture, who had apparently more than average means, lived where is the present borough of North Wales, grown up around the railway station of that name.

As is stated in the quotation above from Samuel Smith's *History*, most of the settlers were not Friends when they came. It is the uniform statement that two of them, John Hugh and John Humphrey, were. These latter held meetings at their own houses for some months, while the other

<sup>1</sup> The house that stands on the site of Edward Foulke's original house is shown in the accompanying etching. This, however, has been built in later times at different dates. It is interesting as occupying the old site, and is itself of interest as one of the homesteads of a family of the original settlement.

settlers, gathering at Robert Evan's, there had such part of the Church of England service read to them as could be done by one not in orders. Robert Evan's house, then a plain cabin, no doubt, built of logs with the bark unremoved, stood where in later times a stone dwelling was placed by some of the Roberts family, who for many years occupied the place. The site is on the southern slope of the hill, a short half mile west of the meeting-house. Here the meadow side slopes down to a little rivulet whose head is in a spring hard by, and it is the fancy of the writer that on this meadow bank, when spring came after the first winter, the settlers may have gathered in the Sabbath sunshine to hear the reading of the church service. This was performed, as the common account goes, by Cadwalader Evans, who appears to have been the youngest of the four brothers, and very probably the one with most education. He read, doubtless, from a Welsh Bible; an edition published in London, in 1678, "gan John Bill, Christopher Barker, Thomas Newcomb, a Henry Hills, printer," contains, in front of the Scriptural text, a number of pages of the services of the Established Church; and such a one was probably in his hand.

Of this reading of the Bible at Robert Evan's, and of the circumstances under which all the settlers subsequently joined the Friends' body, Watson has handed down an account,<sup>1</sup> copied by numerous other writers, from information which he derived from Jesse Foulke, of Penllyn.<sup>2</sup> I do not undervalue this old and interesting statement, which very probably has in it important elements of correctness, but there is evidence that besides John Hugh and John Humphrey, who were avowedly Friends, others of the settlers were well disposed toward the same religious body. The memorial of Robert Evans, by Gwynedd monthly meeting, prepared probably in 1738, early in which year he died, says, that "some

<sup>1</sup> *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Jesse was the son of William, the son of Thomas, who was the eldest son of Edward, the immigrant. Jesse lived through the revolutionary time, at Penllyn, and is repeatedly mentioned in the *Diary* of Miss Sally Wister, extracts from which are given by Watson in his *Annals*.









No. 21  
Robert  
Evans.



time before he left his native country he forsook the national worship and went to Friends' meetings." This definite statement as to him, since it was at his house that the company of non-Friends assembled, gives force to what is for numerous reasons altogether probable: that the whole company of immigrants, though not all had actually declared themselves, were warmly disposed towards the Quakers, and were inclined to join them when they left Wales. Their intimate relationships with the settlers in Merion, who were mostly Friends, the fact that it was Hugh Roberts, a preacher of the Society, who had gathered them for the removal, the respect they entertained for Penn, and other circumstances, all tended to produce the unity which actually followed.

That all the settlers joined in building the first meeting-house is well settled. It was a small structure, of logs, and stood where the present building is situated, near the geographical centre of the township, on high ground that overlooks to the south, for many miles, the fertile farm lands along the lower Wissahickon, and up the slopes of Chestnut Hill. A second and larger house was built in 1712, and it gave way in 1823 to that now standing.

Of the character of the settlers, and of the community which they formed, a study of the facts inspires one with a high opinion. The earnestness of their piety, the simplicity of their habits, the cordiality of their intercourse, their cheerfully granted aid to each other, all impress us. Of great hardships they experienced few, if any. The struggle to establish themselves needed courage, patience, and strength, but of these qualities they had a large share. Famine or disease did not waste them, the Indians did not molest them. All the details of their history are those of peace.

Few direct descendants of the first company of settlers are now in Gwynedd. Several of the Welsh names are still represented, but by only a family or two in each, while some have altogether disappeared. But a genealogical study shows to what other fields of action those who have left Gwynedd have transferred themselves, and in a great range of instances the record is one of credit. To speak of some of the earlier

names only, two sons of Thomas Evan—Hugh, who removed to Merion,<sup>1</sup> and Owen, who remained in Gwynedd, served for many years in the Provincial Assembly. Hugh sat in 1722, and from 1746 to 1754 continuously. He lived to a very old age, dying in Philadelphia in 1772, “aged 90 years and 2 months.” It was he who, as a lad at Gwynedd, peeped through the logs of his father’s house at William Penn, and saw the great man on his knees giving thanks for the refuge he had found in the wilderness, as related by his granddaughter, Susan Nancarro, to Watson;<sup>2</sup> but it is worth while, perhaps, to note that the statement that he was then “a boy of twelve years” is obviously an error. He was born in 1682, and, as Penn’s visit to Gwynedd was in 1700 or 1701, he must then have been near manhood.

Owen Evans died in 1757, aged 70, which would fix his birth in 1683. He was for many years a Justice of the Peace at Gwynedd, as well as a store-keeper, and he sat in the Provincial Assembly from 1739 to 1750 inclusive.

The fourth son of Thomas Evans, Evan Evans, a preacher, died at Gwynedd in 1747. The year of his birth is given as 1684. From him are descended a numerous family, including Jonathan, Thomas, William, and Dr. Charles Evans, all of Philadelphia, in their lifetime—well known among the Society of Friends as preachers, or writers, or both.

From Cadwalader Evans, the original settler, descended Dr. Cadwalader Evans, a grandson, who was an eminent physician in Philadelphia, dying in 1773; and his brother Rowland Evans, who was County Judge, a member of the Provincial Assembly, and Trustee of the General Loan Office of the State from 1785 to 1789, when he died. Another prominent member of this branch of the family was Cadwalader Evans, of Gwynedd, who served in the General Assembly from Montgomery County from 1790 to 1800 inclusive, being

<sup>1</sup> Robert, the eldest son, also went to Merion in a few years after his father’s settlement in Gwynedd. He owned much property there, but appears to have held no public place.

<sup>2</sup> *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 79. Mrs. Nancarro was the daughter of Owen Jones, whose wife was Susanna Evans, Hugh’s daughter.

unanimously chosen Speaker of the House of Representatives at the last session; and who, removing to Philadelphia in 1812, became an active promoter of the Schuylkill Navigation Company and the first President of that corporation.

INAUGURATION OF THE NEW HALL OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The new hall of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is situated at the southwest corner of Thirteenth and Locust Streets, Philadelphia.

The main portion of the building was erected by the late John Hare Powel, in 1832, for a residence. It was purchased in 1836 by Gen. Robert Patterson, who resided there until his death in 1881. The house stands twenty feet back from the building line on Locust Street. It is sixty feet front and forty deep, and, as originally planned, had wings of twenty feet each on the east and west, giving it a frontage of one hundred feet, extending westward from Thirteenth Street. The grounds of the mansion were bounded on the west by Juniper Street, and on the south by Wynkoop Street. In November, 1882, a portion of this lot (95 feet on Locust Street, by 120 on Thirteenth), including nearly all of that occupied by the building and its wings, was offered to the Society for \$50,000. An examination of the property showed that it was admirably suited to the wants of the Society. It was substantially built; its proportions were grand; and its close proximity to the Philadelphia Library and the Library of the College of Physicians rendered its situation (central in all respects) a most desirable one for the objects of the Society. The refusal of the property until the first of February was obtained, and an appeal was at once made to the friends of the Society to enable it to make the purchase. So favorably was this proposal received that the Council felt justified in obtaining the refusal of thirty additional feet. These, with the lot first offered, making one hundred and



THE NEW HALL OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,  
S. W. corner of Thirteenth and Locust Streets, Philadelphia.

*From Scharf and Westcott's History of Philadelphia.*





twenty-five feet on Locust Street, were finally secured. An account of the subscriptions for the purchase of the property and of the expenditure for alterations will be found in the opening address of the President.

The general features of the mansion have been but little changed. The western wing has been removed, and where it stood, and on the adjoining ground, a spacious hall, 45 by 70 feet, has been erected for the meetings of the Society. The wing on the east has been rendered thoroughly fireproof. Its internal measurement is 16 by 37 feet. It is surrounded with a gallery, and affords ample space for the most valuable portions of the Society's collections. The doorways between the parlors on the first floor of the main building have been enlarged, so as to make the rooms, which are used as reading rooms, virtually one. The handsome marble mantel pieces have been retained. The upper portion of the building will be used for the storage of books and other articles of interest.

The first general meeting of the Society in the new hall occurred on the evening of the 18th of March, 1884, a large assemblage being present.

The President, Brinton Coxe, Esq., occupied the chair, and made the following address:—

FELLOW MEMBERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA:—

I congratulate you upon this most auspicious occasion. You have been invited here to-night to take possession of your new home, and to inaugurate it as the Hall of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. After fifty-nine years of existence, you now meet under a roof which is your own. You are now no longer tenants of another, but proprietors, in your own right, of your own house, on your own soil. The moral and material anxieties connected with a precari-

ous tenure, which were always matters of permanent solicitude, are now at an end.

The magnitude and excellence of these buildings speak for themselves. It is superfluous for me to praise them. Your own inspection suffices of itself to show how well our new home is adapted to the growing needs of the Society and its now enlarged mission. The laborious and able services of your Building Committee have organized a building, or, rather, system of buildings, worthy of an Academy of History. The old mansion has been rearranged as a library and adapted to the wants of students and readers. On the one side is this spacious assembly-room for your meetings and for public lectures; on the other is a fire-proof building for our manuscripts and other historic treasures and for archives which have been confided to our custody by public authority. The hall of the Historical Society is now worthy of a representative public institution.

The funds at the disposition of the Society for the purchase of this property, for new buildings and alterations, and for fixtures and furnishing have amounted to \$88,466. Of that amount \$8381 have been derived from the first building fund, and \$14,115 from the second building fund. The remainder, amounting to the large sum of \$65,970, has been derived from the generous subscriptions made during the last sixteen months by the members and the friends of the Society, who have thus secured the spacious edifice which we now inaugurate. The expenditures already made and still necessary to be made amount to \$96,318. These expenditures have thus exceeded the receipts by the sum of \$7852. There is, therefore, a deficit for that amount.

I will not do more than call your attention to this deficit. A great historian of antiquity teaches us that he who begins an historic task should at the outset avoid complaints concerning past evils, and should dwell only on the good things which fortune has granted, for it would be ill-omened to do otherwise. Such a beginning, he seems to think, is the proper time to recall past blessings and benefactions only. I, therefore, pass from our deficit to more appropriate topics.

Nearly sixty years since, this Society was planted like an infant colony in a new continent. At first it grew feebly, precariously, at times threatened with extinction. Years elapsed before a slow steady growth was secured. Then followed a healthy and more rapid growth. Here, on this occasion of assured success and established prosperity, there are present with us a very few survivors of the active few in the restricted numbers of our ancient membership. They have watched the society through the vicissitudes of a lifetime. When it was helpless, they supported it by every service and every sacrifice. When threatened with extinction, they alone saved it. Through long years, they summered it and wintered it. The delicate plant has now become the strong healthy tree, under whose shade we are gathered together. It is to-night, therefore, the first of our duties to remember, with heartfelt gratitude, benefactors, whose care, wisdom, and devotion have guided an association depending upon a small number of supporters to the independent condition of a representative public institution.

Few, very few, of that devoted band are with us to-night to survey with mingled feelings this scene amid the gratitude of their fellow-members. But I cannot trust myself to dwell upon this subject, lest I be guilty of indiscretion; for one of these survivors is that venerable member whose paternal care of this Society, during long years, commands the filial obedience of us all. That obedience compels me to refrain from an expression of gratitude, which his delicacy of feeling has ever shrunk from receiving. I must therefore say no more.

As has been stated, the generous subscriptions of our members and friends, during the last sixteen months, have amounted in round numbers to \$66,000. This great sum not merely constitutes an immense means of usefulness to the Historical Society, but also is a proof of the respect which it has earned in this community by years of tried service. It is also a recognition of our position as a valued institution necessary to the public welfare. We now know that our Society has general recognition as a cherished guardian of

the history of the Commonwealth and the history of the country. Here, in this our permanent home, by the common consent, it will be our duty to afford the rising generations the means of knowing the inheritance which has descended upon them from the past, and of learning what lessons that past teaches them for their future. Here all, young and old, will find the means of investigating history, perpetuating historic evidence, and preserving records of the past. In some shape or other, all cities of men, both in modern as well as ancient civilization, erect temples to history and to memory. This edifice is such a monument in this community. The Society dwelling therein is now regarded by their fellow citizens as an institution, through which the community discharges imperative duties, which neither government nor individuals can perform.

Thus it is, that the mission of the Society has become enlarged and its duties have become greater. Centennial and Bicentennial anniversaries have stimulated the public attention to historic interests and the preservation of historic evidence and records. The vigilance of historical societies is felt with truth to be more than ever necessary. Manuscripts and printed pieces are every day to be rescued from fire, damp, negligence, and accident. The opportunities of acquiring for public use such as are in safety demand a constantly increasing expenditure. Our task is one in which past success involves an increase instead of a diminution of future duties. The rich collections of manuscripts and books, which our Society has accumulated in many years, brings cares which increase as the collections themselves increase. Their possession imposes the difficult task of making them used and useful. The publication and editing of texts and abstracts and of historical materials in every shape is now an exacting duty. Students and investigators must not only be made welcome under our roof, but every aid must also be afforded them, which may increase the efficiency of individual exertion. In every way the duties imposed upon such institutions as ours are increasing in number and in magnitude.

Our country has, indeed, a history and they must help to narrate it.

What a story the narrators have to tell! But two centuries ago, but six or seven generations ago, this Commonwealth was planted in a wilderness on the tide-waters of the Atlantic, and now our country stretches from ocean to ocean. The plough has ploughed its way from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The founders of Pennsylvania thought that it might make its progress without its dread historic companion. It has been otherwise. The sword and the plough have marched together. Corn has been sown and the harvest of food has been reaped in every year. Dragon's teeth, too, have been sown and every generation has seen the harvest of armed men. The tragic tale of human nature at first seems in America to be the old, old story; but the history of the New World is, nevertheless, a new history. Though that history has been in part a tragedy, in the New World the years of peace have been much greater in number than in the Old World. The years of war have been fewer, much fewer, here than there. How to reduce war to a *minimum* is the greatest lesson which history can teach. The founders of Pennsylvania thought that war could be abolished. They erred, but their influence has been a weighty historical factor in producing the grand result by which more peace and less war has been secured in America than in Europe. The warning of the Old World must have been studied in the New. Such studies are those which it is the duty of every Historical Society in the whole land to foster, to sustain, and to guide.

Fellow-members, there remains but one thing for me to say to you. I should be untrue to the place which I hold, if I did not recall our lost hopes and frustrated expectations that another voice would welcome you to this house. It would be ingratitude, most inauspicious ingratitude, to forget the name of John William Wallace at this inauguration. His long devoted career of service and sacrifice to this Society, in its adversity and its prosperity, as member, as official, and

as president, we all hoped, would have been crowned by his presiding here to-night. But it was decreed otherwise! Nevertheless, we know how he would have felt, had he been here. His last visit to this house was one of inspection, when everything was on the verge of completion. The buildings and their capacities of usefulness gave him entire satisfaction. The fact that the Society had now a permanent domicile relieved his mind of the anxieties, which he had felt for years, upon the complicated dangers of an inopportune change of location. The extent and value of the Society's property as increased by our recent subscriptions, the prestige and confidence which recent events had demonstrated that it enjoyed in the community, and the value of our library and collections made him feel confident that the basis upon which the Society now rested was thoroughly solid. There was, above all, the elder's confiding trust that his younger colleagues would perform their duty and continue the good work, and that therefore the future of the Society was secure.

Such were his last thoughts within these walls. I repeat them to you now, for they are, indeed, good augury for the new future, which we begin to-night!

President Coxe then introduced Professor John B. McMaster, of the University of Pennsylvania, who spoke, in substance, as follows:—

There is an old saying that a good thing needs no praising. Admitting this to be true, my duty this evening is clearly not to praise; and this is most fortunate, for, were praising once begun, it would be hard to determine where most should be bestowed, on the building or on the liberality of the gentlemen who have so generously provided it. This much, however, may at least be said: no Historical Society in the land has yet come into a fairer estate. This too is a subject of congratulation. It is a sign of life and progress. Not many years since an Historical Society was commonly believed to differ but little from a dime museum. People believed its

quarters to be a dingy room in an attic, and its treasures bullets from Bunker Hill and guns from Yorktown, arrowheads from Tippecanoe, books nobody ever read, and portraits, as like as two peas, of gentlemen in small clothes with red curtains tastefully draped behind them, and cannons and flags beyond. That there was anything lively and human about such societies was doubted. But this, most happily, is so no longer. They can and they do perform a work which every one of us is concerned in having done well. Nothing is more certain than the fact, that the times in which we live will have for those who are to come after us an interest surpassing anything which we feel for those who have gone before. To know something of the daily life of a great people who, in one generation, overspread a vast continent, drew to their shores millions of foreigners, fought a civil war and paid for it, produced the most marvellous inventions and discoveries, carried on business ventures upon a gigantic scale, and made enormous fortunes the order of the day, will, by our descendants, be thought matters worthy of note. How correct a judgment they form of us will depend solely on the material we transmit to them. Sources of history good a century ago no longer exist or are of little use. The age of the political pamphlet is gone. Whoever in 1984 derives his notions of our morality from a newspaper, of our manners from a novel, of our politics from the pages of the *Congressional Record*, and, with such material, reconstructs the world of to-day will produce something more atrocious than the patched up statues of Cesnola. To gather material for an honest history of the present, such as will show up fairly both sides of every controversy in politics, every discussion in morals, every great movement in social science, the condition of the laborer, the state of the arts, the life and manners of the time, is a proper labor for every Historical Society in the land. Each one should be a storehouse for that carefully-sifted material by which alone posterity can see us as we are. A century hence this will be precisely the most difficult kind of knowledge to acquire. Newspapers will not furnish it, for they are not reliable. Letters will



not contain it, for they are too hastily written to be of much value, and too numerous to be preserved.

But there is yet another work peculiarly fitting for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania to do. The close of the next presidential term will be the one-hundredth anniversary of the beginning of Federal Constitutional Government in America. The event will no doubt be fittingly celebrated in a public way. There will surely be, in every city in the land, parades and fireworks in the streets, and, in Philadelphia, perhaps, speeches in Independence Hall. All this is good in its way, but something better may be done. The importance of the Constitution is scarcely appreciated. It became the supreme law of the land on March 4, 1789. On July 14, 1789, the Bastile fell. The Federal Government was hardly established before the influence of the French Revolution began to be felt in the United States, and that influence was tremendous. It changed the dress, it modified the speech, it powerfully affected the prosperity and political future of the nation. Men became so intensely republican that they could not shape their mouths to say Sir or Mr., but called their friends citizen and their wives citess. They left off wigs, wore the "Brutus crop," put on the Liberty cap, sang *Ça ira*, danced the Carmagnole, ate Civic Feasts, formed Democratic Clubs, gave the fraternal hug, and sought admission to the Society of the Jacobins at Paris. The great shame of the Federal Republicans of that day is not that they maligned Washington as no other man ever has been maligned since. The Federalists would have done the same had Washington opposed them. It is to their shame, however, that at a time when the Revolutionary Tribunal was turning Paris into a pen of slaughter, when the gutters ran blood into the Seine, when Lyons was made a waste place, when kites feasted on the corpses that whitened the banks of the Loire, when drowning boats, and "Republican marriages," and "national baths" had become the pastime of the French people, the Republicans of America could see nothing infamous in all these things. The party which then sprang up held high an extreme doctrine of republicanism. Liberty was to them

license. A strong national government was to them but another name for monarchy. Now, to put forth a correct showing of each side of the controversy, which during these years of French influence was waged over the Constitution, would be a great contribution to that history of the Constitution which is yet to be written. It belongs peculiarly to this Society. In this city the document was framed. In this city the first contest over it began, and here for ten years the Federal Government sat. To reprint the debates in the State Convention called to consider the ratification of the Constitution, to reprint the squibs, the essays, the pamphlets, the comments that filled the journals and gazettes, in a word, to show what the people thought of the Constitution from 1787 to 1800, would be a most wise and useful work.

The Society has done much for the past. At length some justice has been rendered William Penn. Could Mr. Macaulay come back and read the books on these shelves, he would be compelled to rewrite his estimate of Penn. Let something also be done for the present.

Mr. Charles G. Leland moved that the thanks of the Society be tendered to Professor McMaster for his able and instructive address, with a request for a copy of the same for the use of the Society.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Hampton L. Carson in the following words:—

Mr. President: It gives me much pleasure to second the Resolutions just offered. We are indebted to Professor McMaster not only for the matter and manner of his address of this evening, containing many thoughtful suggestions, but particularly for the value of his example as an author in directing attention to the most important event in our political history as a people. I mean the formation of our National Government.

It is true that there are other epochs more stirring in incident, or more captivating to the fancy, but none more rich in

results which have blessed and benefited mankind. All that preceded the building of our Constitution would have been lost or squandered, and all that has followed it would have been materially different in character, had not the fruits of our Revolutionary struggles been preserved for all time in the Constitution of the United States. It was upon this great structure that the political architects of the day lavished their intellectual wealth, and hence to the philosophic student of our institutions, both here and elsewhere, there can be no period more curious, or which will better repay his investigations. It is the contribution of America to the Science of Politics. It is her attempt to solve that vexed problem, which, from times long before the days of Plato, has agitated man.

It is not the blind partiality of national prejudice to speak of our heroes in terms of admiration, nor is it mere enthusiasm to speak of their work in words of praise. The men of our Revolution will compare favorably with those of any race or age whom history has recognized as great. Their characters were noble, their temper was tried by the severest tests, and their experience covered every field of human activity. As soldiers, they were distinguished; no generals ever surpassed Washington and Greene in sagacity or in the power of wresting victory from defeat. As orators, they were illustrious; few men ever equalled the fire of Henry or the classic elegance of Lee. As writers, they were pre-eminent; in nineteen hundred years but one Thomas Jefferson has arisen to pen such a document as the Declaration of Independence. Not Swift and Addison produced such profound results as pamphleteers as Paine and Franklin. As statesmen, they rank among the foremost of the world; Hamilton and Madison and Jay, in the power of constructive intellect, will yield to none in either ancient or modern Europe.

The Constitution of the United States was the masterpiece of master minds. It is, fitly speaking, their crown and glory. It contains the best thoughts of statesmen trained in the best schools; it embodies the political experience of the English

race, and ranks with Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights as a bulwark of Human Freedom. The great work of framing its provisions was done in this city, and the time is now close at hand when the Centennial Jubilee of the Constitution will be celebrated. Surely there can be no higher patriotic duty for any of us to perform than to study with reverence the deeds of that day. The appropriate work of this Society will be to illustrate the labors of the Federal Convention, to point out the part played by Pennsylvania in the great drama, to throw light upon all doubtful questions, to awaken individual interest, to stimulate individual inquiry, to assist individual effort and aid public exertion, to enter into correspondence with similar associations in sister States, and enforce upon the attention of the National Government the importance and necessity of collecting, preserving, and publishing all that relates to the origin of our Republic. We are not only to be congratulated, but we can fairly congratulate ourselves that, owing to the energy and prudent management of our officers and the zeal of their co-operators, we enter, to-night, under the happiest auspices, upon a new career of usefulness and honor.

“To form and uphold a state, it is not enough that our judgments believe it to be useful, the better part of our affections must feel it to be lovely. It is not enough that our arithmetic should be able to compute its value and find it high; our hearts must hold it priceless, above all things rich or rare, dearer than health or beauty, brighter than all the order of the stars.”

In the spirit of these words of Rufus Choate let us dedicate ourselves to the work before us.

The motion was then adopted.

After this Mr. Lloyd P. Smith spoke as follows:—

Mr. President: Thirty years ago I read a book entitled, “The Blackwater Chronicle; a narrative of an expedition into the land of Canaan in Randolph County, Va., a country

flowing with wild animals, by five adventurous gentlemen, *without any aid of government.*" I am somehow reminded of that curious title-page when I think of this goodly building, this priceless collection of the records of our State and of the United States—it has been made without any aid of government. Not so with the newer and (shall I say) more enlightened States of the West, whose Historical Societies—and admirable some of them are—have ever been supported wholly or in part by government. The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, for example, buys whatever its Library Committee thinks proper, and the State foots the bill. Of course it has a good library. Pennsylvania, as a State, does not recognize its Historical Society, and Philadelphia as a corporation has never taxed its citizens one dollar to build it up. What we are as a Society we owe to the unselfish enthusiasm, the unpaid toil of the late Mr. Watson the annalist, the late Mr. Hazard the historian, the late Mr. Armstrong the antiquarian, the late Mr. Wallace the man of letters—too soon taken from us—and others whose names I need not now recall; we owe it to the unostentatious devotion of Mr. Jordan, the conscientious zeal and learning of Mr. Stone, the tact and perseverance of Mr. Ward, the unparalleled industry of Mr. Hildeburn, the liberal gifts of money or time and thought of many others. "A poor thing, your worship, but mine own." No, not a poor thing, Mr. President, but a thing to be justly proud of; and, as a Philadelphian, I, for one, am proud of it, exceeding proud. It is, in the treasures it has got together, in the learning and courtesy of its officers, a real embodiment of sweetness and light, and unborn generations shall honor the memory of every man who had a hand in building up here in Philadelphia one of the really great historical collections of the country.

In this building, admirably adapted to its purpose, the Society turns over a new leaf, it enters on a career of expanded usefulness. The edifice is not only larger and better adapted to the needs of the Society than the old one, but the situation is better, and I congratulate the Library Company whom I have the honor to serve, I congratulate the students of

*Inauguration of the New Hall of the Historical Society.* 197

Philadelphia and elsewhere on the fact that the Philadelphia Library, the Historical Society, and the College of Physicians—the best medical library, with one exception, in the country—are now all within a stone's throw of each other. The Law Library will doubtless soon move to Broad Street, and then four of the most important libraries of Philadelphia, each one supplementing the others, will be close together. These institutions, Mr. President, are not rivals, and still less enemies; they are allies. They fight together against the kingdom of darkness and ignorance and obscurantism; they form square against the modern Goths and Vandals; their quadrilateral constitutes one mighty citadel of thought.

Fellow members of the Historical Society! I congratulate you also on the admirable choice you have made of a President for the Society. A student and a collector all his life, he has not only the necessary scholarship, but he has the leisure and the inclination to serve your interests and the interests of historical science. Books, gentlemen, do not grow upon the shelves of a library; they must be got together as Opie mixed his paints—"with brains, sir"—the truth being that the bibliographical knowledge needed for a wise selection of books is one of the rarest accomplishments in the world. Your President has it and so has your Librarian. Long may they live to shed honor on our Society and to make Philadelphia illustrious among the cities of the world.

The President then stated that when the Society was about to move into its new home a hope was expressed that the collection of portraits of its former presiding officers might be made complete, and that, when this came to the knowledge of the family of the late George W. Norris, M.D., his surviving son and daughter with great liberality and consideration at once offered to have a portrait painted of their late father. This was accordingly done by a well-known artist, Mr. Matthew Wilson, of Lake George, New York, and the portrait, which was displayed upon an easel by the side of the

198 *Inauguration of the New Hall of the Historical Society.*

President, was then tendered as a gift to the Society in a letter from William F. Norris, M.D., which was read by the Secretary.

Henry Flanders, Esq., expressed the gratification which the members of the Society and the friends of Doctor Norris must feel that the Society had come into possession of the portrait, and offered the following resolution:—

*Resolved,* That the thanks of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania be and they are hereby tendered to Dr. William F. Norris and Mrs. Mary F. Parsons for the excellent portrait of their late father, Dr. George W. Norris, formerly President of the Society, and for the kindness which prompted them in adding it to the Society's collection of portraits of its former presiding officers.

The resolution was seconded by Dr. William Hunt, who said that the Historical Society would most gratefully accept the gift. No portrait is more fitting to be in its possession. It is that of a man who took a deep interest in all things pertaining to the welfare of the Society. It is that of one whose family had taken a most prominent part in the history of Pennsylvania and Philadelphia from the earliest colonial days to the present time. More than all, it is that of a man of truth, of one who was an honor alike to his city, his profession, and his name.

The resolution was then adopted.

The meeting then adjourned.







THE SCHUYLKILL GUN.

After the following article was in type there was exhibited to one of its authors the original seal of the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania; which bears a motto similar to that on the gun, "This is my right I will defend it." In 1775 the Colonial Assembly appointed the "Committee of Safety." This body was succeeded in 1776 by the "Council of Safety," which was appointed by the Constitutional Convention. The same seal was used by both bodies, the word "Committee" being filled up, and "Council" engraved in its stead. The use of this motto by two such important bodies shows in what esteem it was held.

**RESTORATION OF THE SCHUYLKILL GUN TO "THE STATE IN SCHUYLKILL," APRIL 23d, 1884.**

A piece of artillery of considerable size, bearing upon it an inscription of historical interest, lay for a long time on the grounds at Fort Mifflin. By order of the Department of War it was removed thence to the grounds of "The State in Schuylkill," known as "The Fish House Company," situated on the Schuylkill below Gray's Ferry. The ceremonies that accompanied the formal delivery of the gun by the United States to "The State in Schuylkill," were as follows.

On the 23d of April, 1884, the citizens of "The State in Schuylkill," together with a number of invited guests, met at the Castle of the "State," on Rambo's Rock, on the left bank of the Schuylkill, about a third of a mile below Gray's Ferry Bridge. The citizens were: Robert Adams, Alexander E. Harvey, George Cuthbert, A. Loudon Snowden, John Hockley, Jr., William Redwood Wright, Ellicott Fisher, Robert Adams, Jr., H. Carlton Adams, Members; James M. Whelen and Rodman Wister, Apprentices; and James C. Fisher, Honorary Member. Guests: Lt. Col. M. S. Ludington; Capt. W. H. Gill, Capt. O. E. Michaelis, and Thomas Valentine, of the United States Army; James R. Gates, President of Select Council; Charles Lawrence, President of Common Council; Samuel C. Perkins, Samuel L. Smedley, William S. Stokley, Frederick G. Wolbert, and Edward C. Knight, of the Fairmount Park Commission; Thompson Westcott, William Brooke Rawle, J. Edward Carpenter, Frederick D. Stone, and Townsend Ward, of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Captain Michaelis, on behalf of the War Department, addressed Ex-Governor Adams in a few eloquent remarks, and delivered to him, for the "State," the antique piece of artillery formerly known as "The Schuylkill Gun."

200 *Restoration of the Schuylkill Gun to the State in Schuylkill.*

The Ex-Governor detailed citizen Col. A. Loudon Snowden to reply to Capt. Michaelis, which he did in a felicitous manner.

Mr. Townsend Ward, one of the guests, was then called upon, and read the following statement:—

On the 15th day of May, 1880, the Council of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, having accepted the courteous invitation of Col. William Ludlow, U. S. A., now the Superintendent of the Water Department of Philadelphia, to visit Fort Mifflin, took passage in his steam-yacht, for at that time he had in charge the improvement of the waters of the Delaware under the Federal Government. Soon after passing the mouth of the river Schuylkill, we landed at the fort, and viewed with interest the relics of the olden time that were strewn about its grounds. One of these relics, as will be shortly seen, greatly interested us. A thorough survey of the fortifications was made, and then, on the ramparts of the fort, a meeting of the Council was held, and Col. Ludlow was elected a member of the Historical Society.

The relic of the past that had so particularly arrested our attention was a thirty-two-pounder gun that lay idly on the ground, its trunnions broken, its cascabel gone, and upon the swell of the muzzle the dent of a well-directed British solid shot. The gun is not of English, French, or Spanish inception, but was the result of our colonial thought of an early day, for it bears upon its face, cast in its enduring iron, words of a language foreign to that of these then dominant nations. The inscription is "Kawania che keeteru Schuylkil." A royal crown surmounts this, and underneath it, in a monogram, are the letters "W.P." Delaware Indian words on the cannon appear quite naturally in connection with the "Colony in Schuylkill." In their earliest days, as tradition tells us, a council of the colonists was held in the forest, and some chieftains of the Lenni Lenape attended it. In the name of their tribe and by its authority these chieftains granted to the colonists and to their successors forever "the right and privilege to hunt in the woods and to fish in the waters of the

Schuylkill." While the idea of the gun, with its remarkable inscription, was undoubtedly conceived here, it is most probable the cannon was cast in England, or possibly at Oxford Furnace, New Jersey.

Mr. Thompson Westcott writes: "Among the items of intelligence connected with the history of 1747 is one which states that the Schuylkill Fishing Company made a present to the Association Battery of a new thirty-two-pounder." The battery was on the Delaware at the site of the late Navy Yard. It is in evidence that the gun remained there many years, for, on an alarm in the early days of the Revolution that a British vessel of war was coming up the river, Capt. John Cadwalader's Green Light Infantry, or the "Silk Stocking Company," as it was called, was ordered there for defence. One of that company writes in his reminiscences of "having stood sentinel two hours at the Schuylkill Gun." When the American forces withdrew from Philadelphia, the gun, no doubt, was transported to Fort Mifflin, to bear its part in the memorable siege which terminated by the Americans evacuating the fort at midnight on the 15th of November, 1777. The trunnions of the gun may have then been broken, and the gun may have lain there useless and little noticed until our day.

The late John William Wallace, in his valuable memoir of *An Old Philadelphian, Colonel William Bradford, the Patriot Printer of 1776*, gives, on pp. 213, 214, an account of the gun, and an excellent engraving of it, together with its measurement. These latter were made for him by Ordnance Sergeant Bromley, then in charge of the fort. "It is a thirty-two pounder, ten feet long, four feet eight inches in circumference at the muzzle, and five feet seven and three-quarter inches at the breech." Its bore is six and a half inches, length from muzzle to trunnions five feet five inches, thickness through the re-enforce twenty inches, and at the muzzle fourteen inches. Four inches from the vent is the figure "32." Its weight is between two and three tons.

Mr. Swank, of the American Iron and Steel Association, writes as follows: "Cast iron cannon were first made in Eng-

land in the 16th century, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In this country they were made at Bridgewater, Massachusetts, by Hugh Orr, about 1750; and in Cumberland Township, in the northeastern part of Rhode Island, cast iron cannon were made during the French war of 1755. It is probable that cast iron cannon were made at Oxford Furnace, Warren County, New Jersey, during the French war, as I find that cannon balls were cast at this furnace at that time. I find no statement of the casting of either cannon or cannon balls in Pennsylvania before the Revolution, but there could have been no difficulty in casting them here at the date you mention, 1747, if they had been needed, as we had many furnaces in Pennsylvania at that time. Unless, however, required for the French war, there would probably have been no demand for them at that time. I think it improbable that Pennsylvania cast any cannon before the Revolution."

"This is my right; I will defend it" is given as the translation of the Delaware Indian motto *Kawanio che keeteru*. Fortunately I am able to add somewhat to this. In the library of the Historical Society is a pamphlet of sixteen pages, in verse. Its full title-page is "Kawanio Che Keeteru. | A TRUE | RELATION | OF A | BLOODY BATTLE FOUGHT | BETWEEN | GEORGE AND LEWIS | IN THE YEAR | 1755 | Printed in the year MDCCLVI." Underneath the 1755 there has been written by some one, long ago, "By Nicholas Scull." The second page is as follows:—

"The words I have chosen at the head of my Title Page, I am told by a Gentleman skilled in the Indian languages, is very expressive of a HERO relying on God to bless his Endeavours, in protecting what he has put under his care.

"To form some Idea of its Signification, he says, you may imagine a Man, with his Wife and Children about him, and, with an Air of Resolution calling out to his Enemy, ALL THESE GOD HAS GIVEN ME, AND I WILL DEFEND THEM."

On page 15 the following lines mark the dreadful era when one-half of the territory of Pennsylvania was overrun by a ruthless foe.

“Had this been done, our Elders then,  
Would have appeared like honest men;  
Nor should we at this day have seen,  
AN INDIAN Foe, or Fort Du Quesne;  
Nor would great Braddock, once so brave,  
Have at the Meadows filled a Grave.”

The history of this piece of artillery having been satisfactorily established, the gun became an object of much interest to the Fishing Company, the oldest social club, as it is claimed, in the world, having been established in 1732, which antedates by some years the famous Beef-Steak Club of London, recently extinct.<sup>1</sup> In consequence of this interest Dr.

<sup>1</sup> After reading the above, Mr. Ward received the following interesting letter:—

ROX DOWN, May 8, 1884.

*Dear Sir:* In reply to yours of the 3d inst., I would say that I regret that Dr. Cheston is right in supposing that we have no positive data as to the time of the organization of the South River Club, but there can be little or no doubt that it existed quite a number of years prior to 1740. The record-book is in my possession, and the first entry, which appears to be simply a continuation of the records or minutes of proceedings of each meeting, is dated February 11, 1742. At this meeting a committee was appointed “to collect the names of the members that have ever belonged to this society, to the best of their memories, inasmuch as the present list appears very defective.”

I have an extract from the *Maryland Gazette*, of July 15, 1746, in which it is spoken of as the *Ancient South River Club*. The occasion was a dinner given by the members of the club to commemorate the victory of the Duke of Cumberland over the Pretender. The club was organized solely for social and convivial meetings, each member in turn serving a dinner at the club-house on the first Thursday of every month. The dinner was plain and inexpensive, no side dishes, only three meats, no wine of any sort; whiskey and brandy, one gallon of each, and the rum to flavor the punch, *clean pipes and tobacco*; no gambling of any sort; no religious or political discussions ever permitted; and no mixed liquors after six o'clock in summer or four in winter. There are but four members now, and they are so scattered that we never meet. The house and the half acre of land surrounding it are yet in the possession of the club, and the dining-table and the chairs, some of them at least, are the same that were first used. I have endeavored once or twice to revive the club, but so far to no purpose, and fear that it has nearly ceased to exist.

Yours truly,

TOWNSEND WARD, Esq.

H. H. BROGDEN.

204 *Restoration of the Schuylkill Gun to the State in Schuylkill.*

William Camac, Ex-Governor of the "State in Schuylkill," requested Mr. Samuel J. Randall to ask the War Department to authorize the restoration of the gun to the "State," that it might be preserved by them at their Castle, where it would be held in the high honour it so well deserves. The order was at once issued, and the prompt action on the part of the War Department shows its appreciation of the historical value of the antique gun. This should never be forgotten by the "State in Schuylkill."

It is but natural in advancing civilization, with its multitudinous objects of absorbing interest, that much must necessarily be swept into oblivion. Lest this should result in irreparable loss, it is well that we should meet together at stated times, as our predecessors the Indians did, and bring out our books, which in some faint degree answer the purpose of their belts of wampum, and, like them, have our Elders discourse to us of the great men and great events of former days. Do this with the written records of the "State in Schuylkill," and behold what we learn, something the memory of which rested with no one now living until this examination of the history of the Schuylkill gun—the fact that the celebrated Tamany, the great king of the Delaware Indians, is the illustrious Saint and Patron of the "State in Schuylkill."

While yet in the cruel war of the Revolution hosts of men were held in armed array, there came, towards its close, a belief that peace was near at hand. It was thus that on the 11th day of October, 1782, the "Colony in Schuylkill," which then by the Declaration of Independence had become a "State," met to revise the old code of laws in order "to adapt them to the altered circumstances of Government." In the 10th section of these revised laws of the new "State" are the following words with regard to meetings: "One on the first day of May, to commemorate the day of our illustrious Saint and Patron, St. Tamany."

A few words may be devoted to an Indian who achieved so honourable a distinction in the calendar of saints. His name is variously spelled—Tamanen, Tamanend, Tamanand, and,

finally, Tamany. The earliest record of Tamanen is the affix of his mark to a deed dated the 23d day of the 4th mo., 1683, by which he and Metamequan conveyed to the Proprietary, Penn, a tract of land lying between the creeks Pennypack and Neshaminy, in Bucks County. In 1683 "William Penn visits King Tamany at Perkasio." Long after this the good chief passed away, at a ripe old age, but the memory of his exalted character remained as a priceless treasure among his people, and also, as it appears, equally among the Whites. "When Col. George Morgan, of Princeton, New Jersey, was, about the year 1776, sent by Congress as an agent to the western Indians, the Delawares conferred on him the name of Tamenand in honour and remembrance of their ancient chief, and as the greatest mark of respect which they could show to that gentleman, who, they said, had the same address, affability, and meekness as their honoured chief, and therefore ought to be named after him." "In the Revolutionary War his enthusiastic admirers dubbed him a saint, and he was established under the name of St. Tamany, the Patron Saint of America." His name, as a saint, appeared in almanacs, and his festival was celebrated in many cities with considerable pomp on the first day of May in every year.

Heckewelder, who lived so many years among the Indians, says, with delicate and appreciative justice: "The misfortunes, which have befallen some of the most beloved and esteemed personages among them, prevent the survivors from indulging in the pleasure of recalling to mind the memory of their virtues. No white man who regards their feelings will introduce such subjects in conversation with them. All we know, therefore, of Tamanend is, that he was an ancient Delaware Chief, who never had his equal. He was in the highest degree endowed with wisdom, virtue, prudence, charity, affability, meekness, hospitality, in short, with every good and noble qualification that a human being may possess. He was supposed to have had an intercourse with the great and good Spirit; for he was a stranger to everything that is bad."

A people who could so well appreciate such a character must have possessed in some degree the attributes that went



to form it. The character delineated cannot be supposed to have been an ideal creation of Heckewelder, for, as we have seen, it was just such as was held by the Whites at the time of the Revolution, and this was long after Tamany's death; and just such it was when, long after that time, Heckewelder gave to us what he learned of Tamany from the Delawares themselves, to whom it had been handed down from their fathers.

Mr. Thompson Westcott, another of the guests, had prepared the following, which, at his request, was read by citizen William Redwood Wright:—

The condition of the city of Philadelphia and of the province of Pennsylvania, in the year 1740, is hard to describe. Great dangers were menacing the prosperity of the city, crippling its trade, and keeping the community in a continuous state of apprehension and alarm. The difficulties which presented themselves were not such as would have embarrassed a people patriotic and free, ready to join in all measures necessary for the public good, and imbued with the courage and bravery necessary for the public defence. But the affairs of Pennsylvania were under peculiar control. The Assembly was composed in large proportion of members of the Society of Friends, who were conscientiously opposed "to wars and fighting." These were their religious opinions, perfectly honest and sincere, for the maintenance of which, in the affairs of private life, they were entitled to every privilege and commendation. The error of the Quaker party in the politics of Pennsylvania was that, without the capacity, by reason of their religious opinions, to deal with great questions of State and government, they undertook to manage public affairs by the same methods which they used in conducting a quarterly or yearly meeting. For these reasons their government in time of peace was discreet, thoughtful, and conducive to the best interests of the people. But when the shrill clarion of war was blown, they were utterly incompetent to meet responsibilities necessary to be assumed in aggressive or defensive war. There had been several occa-

sions in the history of the province during which the non-combatant principles of the Quaker party had placed the city and colony in great danger, and had thwarted the measures of the British government intended as well for the maintenance of the interest of the American Colonies as for those of the kingdom. But under no circumstances, from the landing of William Penn down to the period between 1740 and 1750, had public affairs been in such a menacing condition as they were during the time spoken of. In January, 1740, in anticipation of a war between England and Continental nations, a petition was presented to the Assembly from citizens of Philadelphia, setting forth the defenceless state of the province in case of war, and asking that measures should be taken for the general security. This was supplemented by a message from Lieut.-Gov. George Thomas to the same effect. The Assembly replied that "the law allowing Liberty of conscience" granted by William Penn permitted them to refuse. They said "the circumstances of this province, it is true, are now much altered; for, although great numbers remain of those thus conscientiously persuaded, many others have since come among us, under no such restraints, some of whom have been disciplined in the art of war, and may, for ought we know, think it their duty to fight in defence of their country, their wives, their families, and estates—*such have an equal right to liberty of conscience with others.* But as very many of the inhabitants of this province are of the people called Quakers, who do not (as the world now is circumstanced) condemn the use of arms in others, yet are principled against it themselves, and to make any law to compel them against their consciences to bear arms would not only be to violate a fundamental in our constitution, and be a direct breach of our charter of privileges, but would also in effect be to commence prosecutions against all that part of the inhabitants of the province . . . and should a law be made which might compel others to bear arms, and exempt that part of the inhabitants, as the greater number in this assembly are of like principles, would be an

inconsistency with themselves and partial with respect to others."

These declarations were the key to the Quaker position in all succeeding controversies. The principle was this: "We are opposed to wars and fighting. We will do nothing to support or assist others, who are inclined to engage in wars and fighting. We will vote no money for the support of war. On the other hand, we concede to every one, who may think it to be his duty to fight, full privilege to engage in military operations, if the same are authorized by the King and his Government." As usual, the reply of the Assembly provoked the Governor to severe expressions. They were replied to with equal force and sarcasm by the Assembly. And it is a remarkable development throughout the ante-revolutionary period in Pennsylvania, that the Quakers, although they would not use carnal weapons, were always ready for vigorous disputation, and fought acrimoniously with their tongues.

It was not long after this, on the 14th of April, that proclamation of war between England and Spain was made at the court-house by the Governor, the Mayor and commonalty being present. It was followed by a proclamation authorizing levies of troops for an expedition against Cuba. The enlistments drew into the ranks many servants, a practice countenanced by the Governor, but complained of by the Assembly as an infringement on the rights of the people. These disputes continued from year to year, and were constantly renewed whenever new military operations were projected. Seven companies of volunteers in Pennsylvania and the lower counties were raised in 1740 and were sent off in transports in September. In the succeeding year privateers were fitted out in Philadelphia, and most of them made profitable voyages, by the capture of Spanish vessels and cargoes. The Assembly so far modified its hostile position as to make some grants of money to the king, but not a penny was expressed to be given for military purposes. On the 11th of June, 1744, war was declared at the court-house against France. The Governor exercised his authority in attempting

to raise a militia with very little effect. In the mean time a French privateer had landed a crew at the capes of the Delaware, who announced that the captain intended to cruise in that vicinity for two weeks longer, adding that "he was too well acquainted with Philadelphia, to apprehend their sending out anything to attack him." In 1745, after news of the reduction of the strong French forts at Louisburg, the Assembly was stimulated to the passage of a resolution appropriating £4000 to trustees to be laid out "in the purchase of Bread, Beef, Pork, Flour, Wheat, and *other grain*; and to be used for the Kings Service as the Governor shall think best." Apparently this was not a grant for purposes of war, although the provisions could only be intended to have been used for the support of the king's fleets and armies. Dr. Franklin says that Governor Thomas put a liberal construction on the words, and when advised by some of his council not to accept the gift, because he had asked for assistance in men, ammunition, and clothing, replied, "I shall take the money, for I understand very well their meaning: *Other grain is gunpowder.*" Which was accordingly bought, and they never objected to it. In the succeeding year, 1746, the Assembly appropriated £5000 "for the King's use," without specification or exception as to the purposes for which the money should be spent. Matters drifted along in this way until October, 1747, when the Assembly, having made no provisions for defence, adjourned to meet in the middle of May, 1748. The Governor called them in special session in November, but they again adjourned without doing anything.

This was the period, when great apprehension prevailed, that Dr. Franklin chose for the publication of his pamphlet *Plain Truth; or, Serious Considerations of the Present State of the City of Philadelphia and Province of Pennsylvania, by a Tradesman of Philadelphia.* This publication made its appearance about the middle of November, 1747. It was impartial in this, that whilst it censured the Quakers, who declared "that they would do nothing to defend themselves, and averred that their trust was in God, he was equally severe upon the opposite party, who had wealth and

no scruples against warfare, to prevent them uniting in defence of themselves, and of the province." Between the Quakers, who pleaded conscience, and "Our greatest men," who would do nothing because they might benefit the Quakers, Franklin said, "The middling people, the Farmers, Shopkeepers, and Tradesmen of this city and country" were exposed to risk of losing their all. He addressed himself directly to the middling classes. He said that there were in the province exclusive of Quakers "Sixty thousand fighting men, acquainted with fire arms: many of them hunters and Marksmen, hardy and bold. All we want is order, discipline, and a few Cannon. At present we are like the separate filaments of Flax before the thread is formed, without strength, without connection; But UNION will make us strong, and even formidable, although the *great* should neither help us or join us; though they should even oppose our uniting, from some mean views of their own. Yet if we resolve upon it, and it pleases God to inspire us with the necessary prudence and vigor it may be affected." The publication of this pamphlet excited remarkable interest. It was read by large numbers of persons, and speedily passed to a second edition. The formation of a military Association for defence was the object of Franklin. A meeting was held at Walton's school-room on the 21st of November, and it was resolved to form an Association for military purposes. Other meetings were held immediately afterward. In three days five hundred signatures were obtained to the Association. On the 26th of November Common Council adopted an address to the Hon. Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, proprietaries, who were then in London, requesting them to send over a number of large cannon, in order to erect a battery or batteries "that may command the passes of the River, together with arms and ammunition." To raise funds, a lottery was projected, which was expected to yield £3000. The Common Council of the city bought two thousand tickets and having drawn some prizes handed over those amounts to the managers of the lottery. Assistance was asked from other sources. Several of the fire companies of the city

voted to purchase tickets. Sermons were preached on the lawfulness of defensive war, by the Rev. Mr. Jenny, of Christ Church, and Gilbert Tennent, a Presbyterian minister. Judge Chew, then in commission in the Lower Counties on the Delaware, delivered a charge to the grand jury of New Castle County on the subject of defence, "which gave much concern to Friends." A flood of pamphlets against defence and in its favor followed. On the 7th of December six hundred Associators met at the State House and marched to the court-house, where Anthony Palmer, then acting as president of the Provincial Council, assured them that their doings were approved of by the government. In January, 1748, the city regiment of eleven companies and the county regiment of nine companies elected officers. Of the former Abraham Taylor was elected colonel, Thomas Lawrence, lieutenant-colonel, and Samuel McCall, major. Of the latter, Edward Jones was colonel, Thomas York, lieutenant-colonel, and Samuel Shaw, major.<sup>1</sup>

The lottery proved to be successful, and must have yielded the three thousand pounds expected. Another was set up shortly afterward for public use, but not for war purposes. Indeed, it was not necessary, since about the 24th of August news was received of the preliminary treaty of peace between England, France, and Spain, at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the 19th of April. There was an immediate cessation of arms, and the privateers went out of service. In the mean time two batteries had been finished. The first, upon Anthony Atwood's wharf under Society Hill, between Pine and Cedar Streets, probably about Lombard Street, was finished in April. The Grand Battery was called "the Association Battery," and was built upon ground on the Delaware below the Swedes' church, on the site afterwards occupied by the United States Navy Yard. The Society Hill Battery mounted thir-

<sup>1</sup> The following members of the Fishing Company of the Colony in Schuylkill were officers of Association companies: Captain James Coultas, Lieut. George Gray, Jr., and Lieut. Joseph Redman. Lieut. William Bingham, who was elected a member of the company in 1754, was also in commission in 1748.

teen guns. The Association Battery was furnished with twenty-seven, which were afterwards increased in number. The Penns sent over fourteen new pieces in November, 1750, which were mounted on the Association Battery. At that time Franklin's *Gazette* said: "That Battery has now upward of fifty cannon. One of them, a new 32 pounder, was presented by the Schuylkill Company." That piece is the one which has been formally restored to the Schuylkill Fishing Company to-day. After one hundred and thirty-four years it comes back to the same association which gave it, having outlived its time of usefulness, and yet a relic of the greatest interest, one which, by reason of associations connected with it, will be cherished with the utmost care by every citizen of the State.

If this old gun could write its autobiography, the details would be of the greatest interest. It is not known exactly when it was presented to the Battery. The time was either about the date of the reception of the Penn cannon in November, 1750, or some time previously. Where the piece was made can only be a matter of inference. There is no reason to believe that there was any foundry in Pennsylvania capable of casting a thirty-two pounder in 1750. Whether such work could have been done anywhere in America is doubtful. So far as is known, the earliest cannon founder in the American colonies was Hugh Orr, a young Scotchman, who settled in Bridgewater, Massachusetts, in 1738. He was a gunsmith and locksmith and maker of edge tools and other iron work. In 1748 he made five hundred stands of arms for the province of Massachusetts Bay. Orr was certainly casting cannon about or before the commencement of the Revolutionary War. It is scarcely probable that he commenced so extensive a work before 1750. Considered in all aspects, we are forced to the conclusion that this is an English gun, which was probably sent for by the Fishing Company and procured in London. Mounted at the Association Battery, it was probably never in use there for any other purpose than firing a salute. In 1755, a militia law having been passed, an Association Battery Company was constituted, with

Samuel Mifflin, captain, Oswald Eve, lieutenant, and William Moore, ensign. This company belonged to a new association.<sup>1</sup> War was again declared between England and France in 1756, and continued until the preliminary treaty of Fontainebleau between France, Spain, and England, on the 3d of November, 1762. The proclamation of cessation of arms reached Philadelphia on the 25th of January, 1763, and from that time until the beginning of the revolution there was no necessity of a hostile employment of the Association Battery. It fell into disuse. In Faden's map of the city and environs, published in London in 1777, the outline of the Association Battery is marked with the words "Battery demolished." The guns were removed to some other position. During the period of preparation for war with Great Britain some fortifications were directed to be built under authority of Pennsylvania. Mud Fort, afterward called Fort Mifflin, was commenced under an Act of the Assembly of Pennsylvania passed in 1773. General Gage, well known afterward as commander of the British troops at Boston, planned those works, and some part of them were finished before the beginning of 1774. A fort at Billingsport was authorized to be built in 1776, and a fort at Liberty Island in the Delaware River in the same year, as also Fort Mercer at Red Bank. Where the gun presented by the Fishing Company was placed during this time cannot be accurately conjectured. It might have been in use in the defeat of General Count Donop by Lieutenant-Colonel Christopher Greene, at Red Bank. It might have protected the *Chevaux de frise* at Billingsport, or it might have thundered defiance to British ships

<sup>1</sup> As a matter of interest to the Fishing Company, in connection with affairs at this period, it is proper to state that the following of their members were officers in the Militia and Association at this time: Captain Samuel Mifflin, of the Battery Company; John Lawrence, captain of the North Ward Company; William Vanderspiegel, captain of the Independent Volunteers, an association company, was for many years an active member of the Fishing Company of Fort St. David's, which was afterwards united with this Company. Thomas Lawrence, who had been colonel of the City Association Regiment in 1748, was a member of the Fishing Company at this time.



and British batteries in the dreadful twelve days' attack upon Mud Fort, and have sent back the gallant defiance of the successive commanders of that work, Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Smith, Lieutenant-Colonel Russell, Colonel D'Arandt, and Major Simeon Thayer, all of whom were assisted by Major Lewis De Fleury. When Mud Fort was evacuated, on the 16th of October, Major Thayer set fire to the works, which were intended to have been totally destroyed. It is not known that he spiked the guns. If this piece was mounted at that place, it fell into the hands of the British, and was abandoned when they evacuated the city, and again came into possession of the Americans. If it remained at Mud Island it was of course re-mounted when that work, under the name of Fort Mifflin, was rebuilt, after the end of the Revolutionary war.

The motto "Kawania Che Keeteru," which was placed upon this gun, connects the piece with a good old Pennsylvania custom. These words are represented to be of the Indian dialect, probably of the language of the Lenni Lenape, or Delawares. They are declared to mean, "This is my right, and I will defend it." No motto could be more appropriate for a piece of artillery. There is another interesting matter that should be spoken of in this connection. This motto was in use by citizens of Pennsylvania who celebrated St. Tammany's day, before the Revolution. Tamanend, commonly called Tammany, was a chief of the Lenape, a leader of his people, in the early periods of Pennsylvania history. About the time when citizens of foreign birth had begun to celebrate in Philadelphia the days of their titular saints, St. David of Wales, St. Andrew of Scotland, St. George of England, and St. Patrick of Ireland, the native Pennsylvanians began to celebrate St. Tammany's day. He was the Pennsylvania Saint, and a thorough-bred native American. It is a coincidence worthy of the investigation of some member of this Company, hereafter, that St. Tammany's day was the 1st of May, and from the earliest records of the Fishing Company of the "Colony in Schuylkill," as I understand them, the opening day of the fishing season was the 1st

*Restoration of the Schuylkill Gun to the State in Schuylkill.* 215

of May. There is a coincidence here which is strengthened by St. Tammany's motto on the gun. It was fitly chosen, exceedingly appropriate, and came, it might be said, almost naturally, from an association which had, for eighteen years before the gun was cast, commenced their festivals upon the patron saint day of the province and of the "Colony."

After this followed a dinner, served according to the well-known ancient customs of the club, and the ceremony of restoring the Schuylkill gun to the "State in Schuylkill" was happily concluded.

**SAMUEL HUMPHREYS,****CHIEF NAVAL CONSTRUCTOR OF THE UNITED STATES.****CONTRIBUTED BY HAMPTON L. CARSON.<sup>1</sup>**

In the year 1824 I received a note from my guardian requiring me to repair to Philadelphia, and report myself to Richard Peters, Esq., Sixth and George Streets, an eminent and successful practitioner of law at that day. If I were to detail the manners and habits of the Bar at that period, and contrast them with those of the present, it could not but inspire the present members of the profession with chagrin and disgust at the immeasurable deterioration which has marked the lapse of half a century of professional life. In manners, learning, and probity the declension has been rapid and fatal. At the period alluded to, no man could succeed in passing himself for a lawyer, unless his manners were moulded upon the best model, his learning fully equal to the exigencies of office life, and his integrity beyond question. What is the case now? In due course of time I was examined by my preceptor in Latin, Greek, and mathematics, the lower branches, and at the termination of this process had Blackstone's Commentaries placed in my hand, and, being the last comer, was placed at the foot of a class of four students, and thus became the hack for all professional and official duty. The court business, notices to clients and adverse parties were confided to my hands; appearances, judgments, arbitrations, etc. etc., were mine. The task was neither irksome nor laborious, and had it been, the high breeding and delicacy of feeling manifested by my companions would have rendered the duties imposed upon me a labor of love. I believe

<sup>1</sup> The following reminiscence of Naval Constructor Humphreys appeared in a daily paper some time ago, and is reprinted here on account of the interesting statements it contains. We regret we are not able to give the name of the author.—ED.

I have mentioned that the delivery of notices became a part of my task. Out of this branch of industry arose a circumstance which has always been regarded by me as one of the most remarkable scenes of my life, a life by no means barren of incident. I must now extend the view of my reader beyond the limits of professional life, and introduce other actors on the scene. At the period alluded to, the social system of Philadelphia was distinctly marked by subdivisions which have been obliterated by the amalgamating progress of democratic advancement. Men of revolutionary fame stood, by general consent, ahead of all others, and constituted a kind of aristocracy, indeed a real aristocracy, the supremacy of which was built upon services rendered to the country in war, or merit developed in peace. This body of men prided themselves upon their liberality, kindness, courtesy, and courage. They were habitually attentive to strangers of rank and learning. There had been organized a little social reunion at the house of some member for social intercourse and conversation. These meetings were called "Wistar Parties," and were open to men of merit by special invitation only. It was the habit of members to drop into place the day after these meetings when the pleasures of the previous evening were renewed by a further exchange of opinions. The English and Russian Consuls were frequent visitors at Peters's office, where they were met by Judge Hopkinson, Mr. Strickland the architect, Mr. Kneass, then in the mint, Aaron Burr, J. Q. Adams, Daniel Webster, and others. So much by way of prologue.

One morning, after one of these soirées or matinées, Mr. Izakoff, the Russian Ambassador, dropped in, and, after the usual review of the sayings and doings of the previous evening, he quietly drifted off to other topics, among which stood conspicuous naval architecture, on which he dwelt at large, his remarks applying to England, France, Russia, and the United States, and at the close of some remarks he asked how it was that the ships of this country only could rival those of England in swiftness, staunchness, and durability? The answer came promptly: "Better builders and better designers. Most of the ships, which have been built and

launched at this port, were designed, drafted, and constructed by a client of mine." I shall never forget the eager yet anxious expression of Izakoff's face. He was silent for a minute, and that is a long space of interruption in the current conversation of two fluent conversationalists. With held breath he asked, if he could see that man? "Certainly, sir, certainly." A note was written, thrown upon my table, with a request that I would deliver it. Izakoff, thus reassured, went on to tell Peters that the Emperor Alexander had determined to build a navy; he was impressed with the superiority of the American ships and ordered instructions to be forwarded to Izakoff to engage the best talent in America. He was authorized to offer \$60,000 per annum salary, a town house and country residence to be maintained by the Czar, etc. etc. Thus stood the matter when it occurred to Peters that no time had been named for the interview. The note, after consultation with Mr. Izakoff, was altered, and tomorrow at ten o'clock was fixed for the interview. The note was handed me, and was addressed to "Sam Humphreys, Esq." I went in search of "Sam Humphreys." I found him a stout man, with a face in which every lineament denoted intelligence, kindness, firmness, and patience, over all which predominated inflexible resolution. I left the note at his house in Front Street, a few squares above the Navy Yard. The next day found me at my seat in the office, from which, I must say, to do myself justice, I was never absent during business hours. At the hour of ten o'clock Mr. Humphreys entered, and after the morning salutations, blandly and courteously rendered, opened the ball by a simple remark, "I am here at your request, Mr. Peters." "I sent for you," replied Peters, "to meet Mr. Izakoff, the Russian Ambassador; he has something to say to you." To "Sam" (as Mr. Peters, with friendly familiarity, called him) Mr. Izakoff was a stranger, but no surprise or curiosity was manifested, and he quietly subsided into his chair. At the same moment Mr. Izakoff entered; and after a courtly and graceful salutation to Mr. Peters, as graceful as Chesterfield ever practised, he turned an inquiring look to Mr. Peters. Peters responded

by introducing Humphreys with the remark: "This is the gentleman you desire to meet. He is the constructor at the Navy Yard at this port; and to his skill are due the swiftness and staunchness of most of the mercantile and naval marine, which has been built here." Izakoff then informed Humphreys that he had solicited the interview with the view of engaging him in the service of his master the Emperor of Russia, to organize and found a navy for Russian defence. He said, his instructions were to procure the best talent regardless of cost. He had thought over the matter, and was prepared to offer a compensation proportioned to the services expected. There was no dickering. He proposed to give a salary of \$60,000 per annum, with such perquisites as the dignity of the station demanded. As perquisites he named a town residence with coach and servants, a country place with similar appendages, all to be paid for and maintained out of the imperial treasury, etc., and frankly added that, if the terms proposed were not satisfactory, he had *carte blanche* to extend them indefinitely. During the delivery of this proposal Humphreys was perfectly silent, I may say abstracted. His mind appeared to be far away. When the offer was fully made, he for the first time spoke, saying he had received no intimation of the business in hand, Mr. Peters's note having been silent upon the subject. It was all new to him; he would think it over, and give Mr. Izakoff his answer at the same time and place to-morrow. He then thanked Mr. Peters for the compliment made him in naming him to Mr. Izakoff as suited for a position of such importance, thanked Mr. Izakoff for his politeness, and, saying he would see them at ten to-morrow, left the office. The impression left on Izakoff's mind was favorable to the success of his effort, and he so said, Peters simply replying, "he hoped it might be so." Promptly at ten the next morning, Mr. Izakoff being present and waiting, Mr. Humphreys appeared. After the usual preliminary conversation on indifferent subjects, Peters asked for Humphreys's view by the inquiry, "Well, Humphreys, what do you think of Mr. Izakoff's proposition?" Slowly and with an emphasis which left

nothing to doubt, he replied, "The salary is greater than I could earn; more than I need; more than I want; more than I could use. As to the town house and country house, I need but one, and that should be near my business. As to the coaches and servants, I always walk and wait upon myself, and should find myself unable to govern a multitude of servants. I do not know that I possess the talents my friend Mr. Peters ascribes to me; but I do know and feel that, whether my merit be great or small, I owe it all to the flag of my country, and that is a debt I must pay." A dead silence ensued on the announcement of this conclusion. By the time Peters and Izakoff had recovered from their surprise, Humphreys had risen from his chair, taken his hat, and stood in the attitude of taking his departure. The answer had been so complete and conclusive that no effort was made by Mr. Izakoff to renew or modify his proposition. He only asked Humphreys to name some one qualified for the position. Humphreys replied courteously that he knew of no one, unless it was Mr. Van—— (something) of New York, but the name has escaped my memory. When I commenced this narrative, I had but one object in view, to rescue from oblivion one of the most signal instances of love of country within my knowledge. Although the history of the late war for the Union is resplendent with deeds of courage and daring, of patience and endurance on both sides, I recollect no instance which excels Humphreys's devout love of his country, as manifested in his refusal of an offer which might have dazzled any man. Some days after the interview between Izakoff, Peters, and Humphreys, Joseph Hopkinson, afterwards Judge of the United States District Court, entered the office, and inquired what was meant by a story he had heard of a meeting between Izakoff and Humphreys. Peters was an excellent *raconteur*, and whilst the story was being told, Hopkinson stood with his hands clasped before him, the very embodiment of silence and attention. When the climax had been reached, he waved his right hand around his head, and exclaimed in a voice thick with suppressed emotion, "Had he done otherwise, he would not have been his father's child."

(His father, Joshua Humphreys, appointed to office by General Washington, was the designer, draftsman, and architect of the famous ship "Constitution.") "Dick, let Mr. Adams hear this." Mr. John Q. Adams was then President of the United States. The day after I mailed a letter to the President; of its contents I was uninformed. Some weeks after this letter was forwarded, Mr. Adams, unheralded, entered the office. Shortly after this visit, the Secretary of the Navy, Samuel L. Southard, suggested a change in the government of the Navy. It had been managed by five gentlemen called "Commissioners of the Navy." It was proposed to abolish that Board and to substitute for it a "Bureau of Construction and Repairs." This was the subject of a message from the President to Congress. A bill was introduced and passed to that effect; and, if my memory fails not, the duties of that Bureau were confided to Samuel Humphreys, and so continued, I do not know how many years, as I became engaged in other pursuits, which debarred me from a knowledge of such subjects. (It may not be amiss to add by a member of Mr. Humphreys's family, that the office of Chief Naval Constructor was held by him until the time of his death in 1846.) I close my narrative by making a single remark in reference to the state of Europe at the time I write of. The wars of Napoleon had been brought to a close by the disastrous defeat of Waterloo. The relations of the powers which constituted the Holy Alliance had been adjusted upon a new basis by the Treaty of Paris. During the struggle then overpast the powers had been strained to the utmost, and each one of them had learned and felt the want of strength peculiar to itself, and all had learned that out of the volcanic eruption of France there was developed a new principle of human action, which was to govern the affairs of men and nations, called popular opinion, before which they must bow or break. Mutual jealousies and rivalries were hushed into silence. A salutary dread had taken possession of every department of society. Human thought, with elevated crest and bared front, was marching boldly through Europe, and threatened to change by a slower process, and undermine by a more subtle



and resistless power, thrones, dynasties, and even established forms of religion. Each State was taking such measures as were deemed most compatible with its future safety. Russia had felt its impotency on the ocean. Aboukir and Trafalgar were not without their lesson. Alexander desired to remedy the defeat. Thence the determination to organize and found a navy. Thence the application to Samuel Humphreys.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## Notes.

LETTERS OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL WILLIAM HARCOURT IN 1777.—The following interesting letters are reprinted from Mr. G. D. Scull's *Evelyns in America*, pp. 244-9:—

To Earl Harcourt.

"CAMP NEAR PHILADELPHIA,  
"7th October, 1777.

"Dear Sir,—The public papers will give you the detail of our operations from the time of our landing at the head of Chesapeake Bay, till we took possession of Philadelphia. The manœvre in order to turn the right flank of Mr. Washington's Army, strongly posted upon the Heights of the River Brandy Wine, would have done credit to any General, and the action which followed must have been decisive had we been fortunate enough to have had a few Hours more of daylight. The immediate consequences of this victory were the capture of Eleven pieces of artillery, with between 4 and 500 Prisoners. Our Army was weakened by two very considerable detachments, but presuming upon their superiority, had taken a position perhaps too extensive for their numbers, upon the heights of Germantown, and within six miles of Philadelphia, which it covered. Mr. Washington, exactly apprized of our numbers and situation, made a forced march on the night of the 3rd, and at break of the day the next morning, under cover of a remarkable thick fog, made three attacks upon the right, centre, and left of our army. The Yagers upon the left, and the 1st Battalion of Light Infantry advanced in front of the right, not only maintained their Posts, but soon drove the Rebels, though, as I have already said, the weather was so thick that a body of them got into, and plundered, the camp of the Light Infantry, while another corps attacked them in front. A moment of the day was critical; the 2nd Bat<sup>a</sup> of Light Infantry posted upon a Road a mile and a half in front of Germantown, found itself attacked, and in fact opposed to two very heavy columns.

"Under these disadvantages it stood a considerable time, but at length overpowered by numbers it gave way, and was driven within a mile of Head Quarters. The 40th Regiment which supported it was also forced to retire, but to the honor of Colonel Musgrave, who commands it, six companies with him threw themselves into a stonehouse, where they gave the first check to the progress of the rebels, and maintained their Post till supported from the Line.

"The day ended with glory, and we continued the pursuit at least nine miles beyond the field of Battle. Our loss of men was not considerable, but it fell heavy upon the officers; General Agnew and Colonel Baird are amongst the killed, Colonel Walcott badly wounded. That part of the Regiment with which I happen to be cantoned near Philadelphia, did not get up till the action was nearly over.

"I have only to repeat the assurance of my affection to Lady Nuneham, my sister, Brother, &c., &c., and

"I am, Dear Sir,  
"Ever your most Dutiful and most affectionate."  
(Not signed.)

To Earl Harcourt.

“ Philadelphia, 26th Oct. 1777.

“ Dear Sir,—Lord Cathcart having altered his plans of service in consequence of his being appointed Aide-de-Camp to Sir Thomas Wilson, I have not as yet had an opportunity of paying the attention which is due to any young man who is fortunate enough to deserve your good opinion.

“ I endeavoured in a former letter, to give you an account of our operations as far as the action of German Town. It is with some concern I am to acquaint you that our affairs have not since that time worn the same flourishing appearance. It was absolutely necessary we should open a communication with our Fleet, and it was accordingly determined to begin with making ourselves master of the Fort upon Mud-Island, which, with that of Red Bank on the Jersey Coast, and the Cheveaux de Frize between these two points, effectually command the navigation of the De Lawar. After several fruitless attempts to dislodge the Enemy from this post, it was at length resolved to land a corp in the Jerseys, and if possible to take the Batteries on that side by a *Coup de main*; unfortunately, our intelligence was bad, and what was represented as a Battery erected entirely against the ships and open behind, proved a very strong Fort with a deep-ditch. Colonel Dunop who commanded the Hessian Grenadiers, y<sup>e</sup> Regiment of Mirebach and the Yagers destined for this service, made his attack on the evening of the 22nd, but after sustaining a very heavy fire from the Fort, the ships, and the floating Batteries, was at length obliged to retreat with the loss of 26 officers killed and wounded, 127 men killed, and above 200 wounded. Dunop himself, very justly the pride of the Hessians, and undoubtedly an excellent officer, received two wounds, which it is feared will prove mortal, and was left a prisoner in the hands of the Enemy. The day after this affair a disposition was made to storm the Fort upon Mud-Island under cover of the Fire of our Ships, but by some accident the ‘Augusta’ of 64 Guns was burnt, and the Merlin sloop having run on shore was also destroyed, so that the operation was obliged to be deferred.

“ All these checks, following so close upon the back of each other, together with the account (which we are still very unwilling to give credit to) of General Burgoyne’s Army having been obliged to lay down their arms for want of Provisions, must necessarily reduce us to the defensive for the rest of the Campaign, and will probably oblige us to evacuate a conquest which I have ever been of the opinion should not have been thought of till a junction with the Northern Army was effected, but which, circumstanced as we are at present, cannot be maintained. Having gone through this description of the present state of our affairs, I shall only add that, desirous as I may have been to return to you during the Winter months, I do not expect that such a favour will at this time be granted, and I shall therefore endeavour to remain satisfied till some better opportunity presents itself. I shall beg my most affectionate remembrances may be made to Lady Nuneham, my sister and Brother, &c., &c., and I am,

“ Dear Sir, Ever your most Dutiful  
and most affectionate.

(Not signed.)

“ P. S. Your letter of the 5th of June by Lord Cathcart, and that of my brother of the 1st of May by Captain Vaughan, are the last I have received. I doubt whether you have received all my letters.”

To Lord Nuneham.

“ Philadelphia, 29th Nov., 1777.

“ My dear Brother,—The reduction of the Forts upon Mud-Island and Red Bank having at last given us possession of the navigation of the De

Lawarr, our campaign draws near to a conclusion: and though we may still affect to hold the language of driving the Rebel Army over the River Susquehannah, I am inclined to think our Operations will be confined to little more than the procuring such supplies of Provisions and Forage, as will enable us to pass our time somewhat more at ease than during the last Winter.

"You have before this time heard of the misfortune of our Northern Army. Whether this event will produce an alteration in the Administration, or that L. G. will have strength enough to opiniatre this business for another year, must soon be determined; but be assured, that if the Canada Army had penetrated, America would not even then have been conquered. With respect to my friend, General Burgoyne, though I expect he will be blamed by the people and sacrificed by the Minister, I take comfort in the persuasion that whenever his Conduct can be enquired into, it will appear that no exertion on his part has been left untried, and that the loss of his Army was unavoidable from the moment we sailed from New York.

"Having received no letter from you of a later date than that of the 1st of May, you may be sure I wait with impatience the arrival of the September Packet, not without hopes that it may bring me His Majesty's leave to return to England for the remainder of the Winter.

"I hope it is unnecessary for me to repeat the assurance of my duty to S. H., or my affection to Lady Nuneham and my sister.

"Yours ever, &c."

(Not signed.)

JOHN VINING.—Kent, on Delaware, November 21, 1770. On the 13th Day of this Month, died near Salem, in West Jersey, the Honourable JOHN VINING Esq., of Dover, Speaker of the House of Assembly of the Lower Counties on Delaware, Chief Judge of the Supreme Court, and Prothonotary of Kent, in which he resided; a Gentleman greatly beloved both for his private and public Virtues.

—Although the characterizing deceased Persons, may have become generally suspected of Partiality, by Reason of the accumulated shining Epithets too often indiscriminately, and with fond Profusion applied on such Occasions; yet, in the present Instance, we are certain of keeping clear of this Disgrace, being resolved to draw rather with a sparing Hand, even where much higher Colouring would be no more than barely doing Justice. We shall only mark down the plain Language of all who were acquainted with Mr. VINING.—Endued with intellectual Talents very respectable, he possessed a Disposition which gave them still an advantageous safe Direction. Having a full commanding Sense of moral and religious Obligation, he was careful to observe each himself, and desirous of promoting their Influence and Operation in others. He was temperate, modest, prudent, just, sincere, patient, and benevolent. His Friendships were formed deliberately, and with Discretion. They were maintained with Firmness and a generous Warmth; for no Man could have a kinder Heart. In his Family, he was really a Pattern of those good Qualities which never fail to render the domestic State reputable and happy. His Temper, which at all Times was calm and equal, expressed itself there in peculiar Mildness and Benignity. A tenderer, or more faithful Husband there could not be; nor a Father who loved his Children with a sweeter Affection, and watched over them with a more rational manly Solitude; nor a Master who used his Servants with greater Gentleness and Humanity. In the several Offices he bore in the Government, his Conduct was fair, irreproachable and uniform. His Opinions, in Matters relative to Freedom, Property, or Life, were plain, solid and decisive. He entertained a very high Regard for all the well determined Claims and Rights of Mankind. And while he paid a due

Deference, even to the *critical* and *strictest* Adjudications of *Law*, still his greatest Pleasure was in the more obvious Dictates of *common Sense*, and the milder Admonitions of Equity. Let it just be observed farther, that what gave him so *distinguished* a Place in the Esteem of the People, and for which his Memory will long be *dear* to them, was his constant Readiness to oblige and comfort those who needed his Assistance; so that he was often stiled among them, '*The poor Man's FRIEND*.' Such was the *woorthy* Person whose *Death* is *much* lamented by all who knew him,—but *inexpressibly* lamented by *those* who knew him *best*.—*Pennsylvania Chronicle*, Nov. 26—Dec. 3, 1770.

THE FOLLOWING LETTER is from Theophilus Bradbury, member of Congress from Essex County, Massachusetts, to his daughter Harriet, wife of Major Thomas Hooper. It describes a dinner at President Washington's, and gives an account of the interior of the old Congress Hall still standing at the southeast corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 26, 1795.

DEAR HARRIET: In compliance with my promise I now sit down to write, and, though I have nothing material to communicate, I am influenced by the pleasure it gives me, at this distance, of conversing with my children in the only way which I can. Last Thursday I had the honor of dining with the President, in company with the Vice-President, the Senators and Delegates of Massachusetts, and some other members of Congress, about 20 in all. In the middle of the table was placed a piece of table furniture about six feet long and two feet wide, rounded at the ends. It was either of wood gilded, or polished metal, raised only about an inch, with a silver rim round it like that round a tea board; in the centre was a pedestal of plaster of Paris with images upon it, and on each end figures, male and female, of the same. It was very elegant and used for ornament only. The dishes were placed all around, and there was an elegant variety of roast beef, veal, turkeys, ducks, fowls, hams, &c.; puddings, jellies, oranges, apples, nuts, almonds, figs, raisins, and a variety of wines and punch. We took our leave at six, more than an hour after the candles were introduced. No lady but Mrs. Washington dined with us. We were waited on by four or five men servants dressed in livery.

Perhaps you have a curiosity to have a description of Congress Hall; it is a large, elegant brick building, the north end on Chestnut street. The Representative's room is on the lower floor. The Speaker sits in a large arm chair with a table before him like a toilette, covered with green cloth, fringed. The Speaker's seat is elevated about 2 feet and is on the west side of the hall. The members' seats are 3 rows of desks, rising one above another in the form of a semi-circle, opposite the Speaker; these are writing-desks with large armed chairs with leather bottoms. There is a lock and key to each desk and places on the desks for ink, pens, sand and a plentiful supply of paper. There are two fireplaces, on each side of the hall with stoves.

There is a good deal of room outside the semi-circle, or, as we speak, "without the bar," to which we introduce strangers to hear the debates, and where considerable numbers are always in attendance, as well as in the gallery which is at the north end. At the south end, without the bar, there is an area or half circle with three large windows looking into a large square or walk, the only mall in the city, and two doors from the hall open into it. There are holes for the Southern and Eastern mails into which we deposit our letters to be carried to the Post Office by the doorkeeper.

The Senate chamber is over the south end of the hall; the Vice President's chair is in an area (like the altar in a church) at the south end. The Sena-

tors' seats, two rows of desks and chairs, in a semi-circle, but not raised from the floor. The floors of both halls are covered with woolen carpets. The lower room is elegant, but the chamber much more so. You ascend the stairs leading to the chamber at the north end and pass through an entry having committee rooms on each side; in that on the east side of the Senate chamber is a full length picture of the King of France, and in the opposite room is one of his Queen; the frames are elegantly carved and gilt. They are superbly dressed, with the insignia of royalty; hers, I think, is the finest picture I ever saw. She is tall and a fine form; her eyes are blue and her countenance expressive; she approaches near to a beauty. Alas! how little did they dream of the dreadful catastrophe awaiting them when they sat for these pictures. They were presented by the king.

There is a building on the east side of the hall on Chestnut street for offices, connecting the hall with Pennsylvania state house, in which their general court is now sitting; this is as large a building as Congress Hall, and these buildings form the north side of the square or mall.

But I suppose you are tired with my description. In my present want of a social domestic circle, the pleasure of it would in some measure be supplied by letters from my children and friends, and I doubt not you will consider this a motive for writing. You will give my sincere regards to Maj. Hooper and tell him that by employing a leisure hour in writing to me he would give me great pleasure.

I am your affectionate parent,

MRS. HOOPER.

THEOPH BRADBURY.

THE EDWARDS PAPERS, Being a Portion of the Collection of the Letters, Papers, and Manuscripts of Ninian Edwards: Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals of Kentucky: first and only Governor of Illinois Territory: one of the first two United States Senators from the State of Illinois: third Governor of the State of Illinois. Edited by E. B. Washburne. (*Chicago Historical Society's Collection*, vol. iii.) 8vo., 633 pp. Chicago: Ferguson Printing Company, 1884.

While this volume is not as readable as the first of the series (*History of the English Settlement in Edwards County*, by George Flower), we believe its historical importance to be as great. As a collection of letters, it possesses neither the continuity requisite to form a complete biography of Governor Edwards nor the general interest in every case to warrant its publication. Nevertheless, it contains so much of local interest, and contributes so largely to the political history of the West and the country in general, that its importance will increase as the interest in such subjects is developed.

The letters of General Joseph M. Street are lively and entertaining, and his description of Peoria in 1827 can hardly fail to remind the reader of the "Eden" of *Martin Chuzzlewit*. There is also a good account of Prairie du Chien in 1811. But the best touches of personal experience are given in the letters of poor Hooper Warren, depicting his efforts to establish a paper in Galena in 1829. He arrived there on the 17th of May, and found but a portion of his printing materials had been received. Business was then greatly depressed, lead commanding only from \$1.75 to \$2.00 per 100. Merchants were endeavoring to collect their debts, and were closing up their business. In about thirty days the first number was ready for the press, and then it was discovered that the keg of ink had been left behind. Over three weeks were lost in obtaining a supply from St. Louis. His partners, two physicians whom he had instructed in the art of type-setting, would work only a few hours at a time, and would then succumb to the allurements of the card or billiard-table. The finances of the establishment were in a poor way from the start, a bill of \$152 for papering proving an almost

insurmountable obstacle. Besides this, Warren found that his partners were in the habit of settling the firm's accounts with the merchants for advertising by obtaining articles for their private use. He was obliged to resort to the same methods to secure the necessaries of life, and there seems to have been something like a rivalry between the partners, when an advertisement was obtained, who should be benefited by it. The credit of the whole town was at a low ebb, but it did not interfere with the citizens' enjoying themselves. "Thank God," wrote Warren, "the winter is almost over; and I hope it is the last I shall ever spend in Galena, unless I am better prepared. Since the commencement of cold weather there has been nothing here but balls, parties, gambling, and frolicking. Men who cannot pay a cent of their just debts find no difficulty in spending \$20 or \$30 a week in these amusements. These parties are general in this place, the exceptions but very few. I am sorry to say that my partners come in for a large share of this description." The politics of the paper was another stumbling block. The doctors could not agree. At last it was decided by the majority that the State Government should be supported, and that the columns of the paper should be open to communication from the opposing party. It was found necessary, however, to confine the criticisms of the editor in the minority to articles which had been submitted to the public, as it gave the paper rather a piebald appearance to have a leader printed on one page adversely reviewed on another. It is needless to say that the *Galena Advertiser* did not succeed.

A matter, however, of broader interest than these local incidents will be found in the correspondence of Gov. Edwards while a U. S. Senator. The letters of that period show how early the custom of Senators recommending candidates for Federal appointment in their respective States tended towards the establishment of what is now considered a right. F. D. S.

**CAPTURE OF THE GILBERT FAMILY.**—In *The Pennsylvania Gazette* for May 3, 1780, we find the following contemporaneous account of the capture of the Gilbert Family, the narrative of whose sufferings is well known to bibliographers on account of its rarity:—

"Philadelphia, May 3d. By a gentleman who arrived yesterday afternoon from Northampton county, we have the following disagreeable intelligence, viz.: On Tuesday morning, the 25 ult., Mr. Benjamin Gilbert's house and mill, on the Mahony, about 4 miles above Gnaden Hutten, 28 miles from Bethlehem, were burnt, and the whole family, viz., Benjamin Gilbert and his wife, with two daughters and a boy, Jesse Gilbert and his wife, lately married, Andrew Huger, a day-labourer, and two or three persons going to the mill are either killed or carried off. Another son of Mr. Gilbert, with his wife and a child, who lived half a mile higher up on the creek, are also missing, and his house burnt. Samuel Dodson's daughter, going that morning to fetch some meal, has not returned, and it is supposed that she fell into the hands of the murderers likewise. The families around them were ignorant of the whole until all was over; they saw the smoke, but as they knew Mr. Gilbert was clearing some land, they supposed the fire was from that; the barn was left, the horses gone, one bull and one cow stab'd and half burnt, the other cattle running in the fields. The report of but one gun was heard, which was in the house, and discharged itself in the fire. Daily reports of mischief done by the Indians."

**PHILADELPHIA IN 1758.**—Extract of a letter from a young officer to his brother, dated at Philadelphia May 28, 1758: "This country is not so various and romantick as it has been figured to me; but when I reflect on the history which I have read of it, it is altogether astonishing. This is not

the part of the world for the curiosity of a man fond of splendor, or of the liberal arts, but in the frequency and greatness of its rivers, the variety and extent of its woods, the neatness and regularity of its cities, towns, and villages, and even its farm-houses, it is equal to any country I have ever yet seen, and the cultivated parts are by far more extensive than you can imagine. The changes from heat to cold, and *vice versa*, are very sudden, and the extremes of both very intense. This city is large, rich, and populous, and though it is perfectly regular, yet it is not so well built, nor so well situated as New York, which is delightful indeed. The Delawar, on which it stands, is the noblest river I ever beheld. Except such unmanly amusements as burletta's and masquerades, you have every rational pleasure that is to be found in Europe. The inhabitants are hospitable and very social, and are continually making parties in the neighbouring towns and villages, which they emphatically call frolicks; on such a party am I engaged in to-morrow, and I hope it will turn out nothing more than a frolick, though several Indians, infatuated by French treachery, have been attempting mischief in this neighbourhood very lately. It is supposed we shall march on our respective destinations in less than a month."

—*London Chronicle*, July 6-8, 1758.

EVAN MORGAN.—The person of that name mentioned in the sketch of Duché was not the father of George and Dr. John Morgan. He does not appear from his will to have left any sons.

Evan Morgan, the father of Dr. John and George Morgan, was, I think, the person whose will was proved December 2, 1748, and who died that year. He left six sons and three daughters. There names were: Evan, John, Thomas, George, Morris, Benjamin, Martha, Mary, and Hannah. His will is dated July 2, 1743. He had a brother Thomas, of Chester, and seems to have been a Baptist, as Jenkin Jones, the Baptist minister, was one of his executors. His wife's name is not mentioned in the will, and she may have died before him.

The will of Evan Morgan, brother of Dr. John and George, was probably the one proved June 15, 1775, and dated July 1, 1774. It makes his brothers John and George his executors. It mentions John Morgan, son of his brother George, and a sister Hannah Stillman. F. D. S.

COLONEL ARMAND.—The following is translated from an article in the *Gartenlaube*, Heft II., 1882, page 671, entitled "Little France in New York," by Dr. Max. Lortzing. After a brief mention of Colonel Armand, he continues:—

"On a dangerous assault at night, which he conducted on the British Camp, near Youkers, on the Hudson, he stumbled on the tall form of the hostile Major, who had rushed in such haste from his bed that he had still on his head the green silk tasselled night-cap. Col. Armand bore closely on him, but with the quickness of lightning, with a loud cry of surprise, he changed the direction of his sword raised for the death stroke, and carried away on its point the pierced night-cap in triumph behind the wild hunt of his bold riders. This Major was the Austrian Baron believed by him to have been killed in the duel, and the Marquis in consequence of this meeting lost his gloomy, taciturn character."

He says the quarrel was on account of the famous comédian, Mademoiselle Barré.

VON DONOP.—The following is extracted from Elking's *German Auxiliaries*, Hannover, 1863, vol. i. p. 224:—

Karl Emil Curt von Donop (not "Count," as Washington Irving calls him) was Adjutant of the Landgrave (Hesse Cassel), and stood high in his



favour. He left a widow and children. His death caused a very great sensation at home, and it, as well as his deeds, were celebrated in many songs.

**ABORIGINAL AMERICAN AUTHORS AND THEIR PRODUCTIONS; ESPECIALLY THOSE IN THE NATIVE LANGUAGES.** A Chapter in the History of Literature. By Daniel G. Brinton, A.M., M.D. 8vo. pp. 70. Philadelphia: D. G. Brinton, 1883.—The brief preface to this attractive and interesting volume informs us that it is the expansion of a memoir which the author laid before the International Congress of Americanists at its session held in Copenhagen in August, 1883. Dr. Brinton was a delegate to that Association, and had the well-merited honor of being elected to the position of its Vice-President for America. The memoir, which is here enlarged into a book, formed a very appropriate contribution to the transactions of the Congress. It comprises a full and exact account of the many works, in various departments of literature, which have been produced in America by aboriginal authors. The number and variety of these productions will doubtless be a surprise to most readers of Dr. Brinton's volume. A respectable library, comprising several hundred works of Indian authors, could be formed by any book-collector whose fancy should happen to lead him in that direction. History, theology, and language are the subjects to which these works are chiefly devoted; but productions of lighter literature, including poetry and the drama, are not wanting.

As might be expected, we find that most of these compositions were produced by members of the great civilized Indian communities of Mexico, Peru, and Central America. It may be noted, as a significant and somewhat pathetic circumstance, that the greater part of the works date from the time of the conquest or within one or two generations after it. At that period many Indian nobles, priests, and statesmen, who possessed the high cultivation proper to their rank and class, retained the respect not only of their own people, but also of their conquerors. The evil influences of bigotry and despotism had not yet crushed the intelligence and spirit of their race.

The Indians of the United States and of the Canadian Provinces, so far as their opportunities have allowed, have displayed a fair endowment of the literary faculty. Several valuable works composed by them in English and in their own languages are enumerated in this volume. One of the most interesting of these is the "*Walum Olum*," the traditionary history of the Lenni Lenape, or Delaware nation, composed in their idiom, and preserved in memory by means of mnemonic symbols. It was reduced to writing, in the missionary alphabet, early in the present century, and was partly published by Mr. E. G. Squier. The original manuscript was supposed to be lost. It is gratifying to know that this important work, which throws a vivid light on the early history of the American tribes for a period long anterior to Columbus—going back, indeed, in an authentic manner, to a date preceding the overthrow of the Alligewi or Moundbuilders—has been lately recovered by Dr. Brinton, and will soon appear, with his translation and annotations, in his "*Library of Aboriginal American Literature*." Pennsylvanians will be particularly interested in these traditions of a people whose history is closely interwoven with the early annals of their own State.

It is hardly necessary to add that the volume under review is written in the graceful and idiomatic style, and with the wealth of facts and illustrations, which make all the author's works eminently readable and instructive. The passages in which he vindicates the aboriginal intellect and languages from the depreciatory estimates of ill-informed or prejudiced critics are especially forcible and convincing.

H. H.

**THE DEARBORNS.** By Daniel Goodwin, Jr. (Chicago Historical Society's Proceedings). Chicago, 1884. 8vo. pp. 56.—This consists of a discourse

commemorative of the eightieth anniversary of the occupation of Fort Dearborn and the first settlement at Chicago, read by the author before the Chicago Historical Society, Tuesday, Dec. 18, 1883, also comprising remarks on the same subject by the President and other members of the same Society. It gives biographical sketches of General Henry Dearborn, who was "United States Marshal for the District of Maine under President Washington, Secretary of War under President Jefferson, Collector of the Port of Boston under President Madison, and General-in-Chief of the United States Army under President Monroe," and General H. A. S. Dearborn, Member of Congress and Adjutant-General of Massachusetts, and first President of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. Portraits of both of these persons ornament the pamphlet.

**MARYLAND IN THE BEGINNING:** A Brief submitted to the Historical and Political Science Association of Johns Hopkins University, by Edward D. Neill. Baltimore, 1884. 8vo. pp. 54.—This little pamphlet comprises an account of the Maryland Charter and the early colonists, followed by detailed sketches of Thomas Cornwallis and Jerome Hawley, the first Commissioners, Justinian Snow, Henry Fleet, and George Evelyn, and concluding with a presentation of the author's views (expressed in a preceding volume of this *MAGAZINE*) as to the religious character of the colony.

**BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF ENOCH LONG,** an Illinois Pioneer. By Harvey Reid. Chicago, 1884. 8vo. pp. 134.—This book constitutes Volume II. of the Chicago Historical Society's Collection, and is adorned with a portrait of the subject, who was born in Hopkinton, N. H., in 1790, and removed to Illinois, residing at Upper Alton and Galena, and died at Sabula, Iowa, in 1881. He was brother to Colonel Stephen Harriman Long and Major George Washington Long, of the United States Army.

**EARLY INDIAN HISTORY ON THE SUSQUEHANNA.** By Abraham L. Guss, A. M. Harrisburg, 1883. 8vo. pp. 32. This little pamphlet is a reprint of articles which appeared in the *Historical Register*, vol. i., Nos. 3 and 4. It opens with an account of writings referring to Susquehanna, particularly Captain John Smith's *Generall Historie* and *True Relation*, and proceeds to speak of Captain Smith's visit to the Susquehannocks, giving interesting descriptions of the Susquehanna towns and their inhabitants. The latter are declared to be not of Algonquin but of Iroquois stock, an opinion sanctioned by the superior judgment of Dr. John Gilmary Shea, and other modern writers. The pamphlet concludes with a long analysis of the meaning of the name "Susquehannocks," which the writer would translate "Brook-stream-land-ers," or "Spring-water-stream-region-people," identifying them with the Minquas of the Dutch and Swedes, a name which signifies "Springs people."

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### Queries.

**McKEAN.**—Information is desired by the undersigned relative to the children of Thomas McKean (Governor of Pennsylvania), and his wife, Sarah Armitage. Also of the parents of Sarah Armitage, with names of their children. V. M. S.

**DEBUC.**—Information is desired as to the religion of Peter Debuc, who died in Philadelphia in October, 1693. M. I. J. G.

**PALMER.**—George Palmer, Sen., of London, purchased of the Proprietary, "on or before the year 1683," 5000 acres of land in the Province of Pennsylvania. He came to America that year, "his family consisting of a wife and five children, viz., four sons and a daughter." On the 4th of September, 1693, he made his will, leaving his estate to his wife and children. The daughter and a son Thomas died before the father, and their shares were vested in the eldest son, George Palmer, Jr. What were the names of the remaining sons? E.

**CHORLEY'S HOUSE.**—May I ask for information concerning an old house that used to stand out on Ridge Avenue, between the city and Girard College, known as "Chorley's House" (pronounced as if spelt *Shorley*)? It was the summer residence of Mr. Louis Bomeisler for a few years anterior, we think, to 1820. It was considered a handsome place, and was built upon sloping ground, so that the basement opened out upon the ground, while the parlor floor likewise opened out upon the hillside in the rear. I desire information concerning the house, its locality, its history. B.

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### Reply.

**CHORLEY'S HOUSE** (above).—In reply to the query indicated, I would say that the place was known as *Green Hill*. It belonged to a Mr. Stiles, and was situated opposite Francisville fronting on Ridge Road, and extending from Broad Street (or near there) to say the present Seventeenth Street, and running north to Thompson or Master Street as at present located. The house, a rather stately mansion, stood back from Ridge Road on the top of a small hill, with a piazza fronting the Road, and windows or casements in the parlor and other rooms running to the floor. A short distance off was the farm house, occupied by a Mr. Chorley and wife, who rented the farm, and kept a dairy. Mrs. Chorley was a very large, fat woman, and had a market stand beneath the old arches of the old Court House at Second and Market Streets, where she sold her milk, cream, curds and whey, and also *cream cheeses*, for which she was very celebrated. My father was a regular customer of hers for these cheeses, and I for curds and whey. When Mr. Swan, our relative from England, first arrived, he rented the Mansion House, and lived there some time, and often on a Sunday afternoon, we would walk out there and spend the day. I enjoyed the visits very much.

The property was afterwards sold to a party of speculators, one of whom I think was Andrew D. Cash, who purposed to open streets through the farm, and sell the lots off in large plots, that an attractive spot might be presented to those who wished to build suburban villas, and I understood at the time that a part of the conditions of the purchase was that Mr. Stiles should build a handsome house close by, to induce others to follow his footsteps. This he did, and the marble house on Broad Street, close by, now owned and enlarged lately by Mr. Harrah, is the house he built. The principal street run through the farm was Girard Avenue, and the handsome lots, etc., now there are part of the *Green Hill* estate. If the place was called "Chorley Farm," it was simply owing to the tenant occupying it of that name. The real name, as you can perceive by looking at any old map, was *Green Hill*. There is also a street, running east and west, now cut through, called Stiles Street. J. N. S.

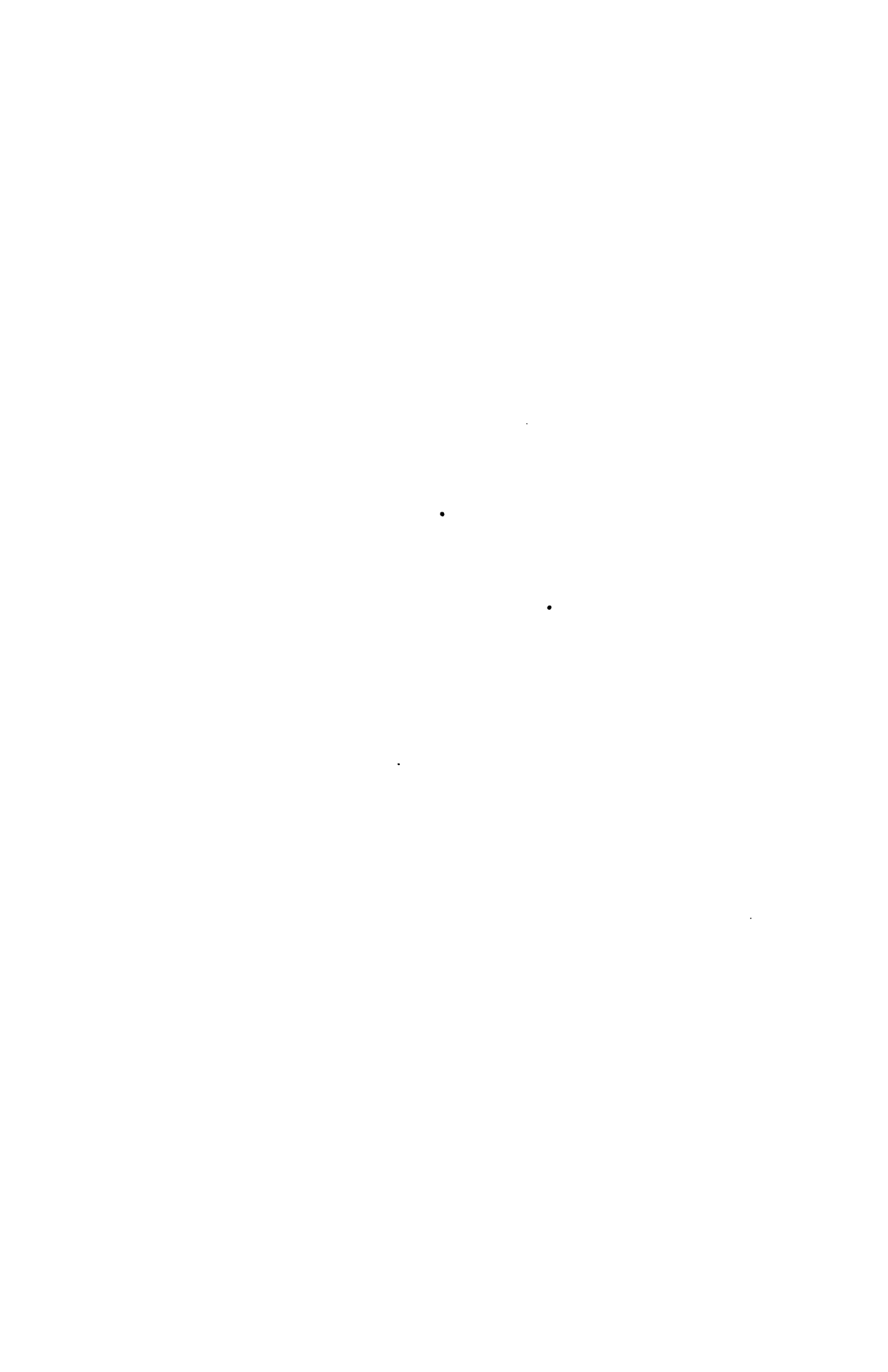




ANNE, WIFE OF JOHN BENTLEY, ESQ.

1750. 1/2





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BISHOP AUGUSTUS GOTTLIEB SPANGENBERG.

CONTRIBUTED BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg was born July 15, 1704, in Klettenberg, Saxony, and was the youngest son of the Rev. George Spangenberg, the resident Lutheran pastor. In 1714 he entered the Grammar School at Ilfeld, where he completed his preliminary studies, and in 1722 was admitted at the University of Jena, graduating in 1726. Six years later we find him a Professor in the University at Halle. Uniting with the Moravian Church in 1733, he soon rose to eminent position. Early in the year 1735, he was despatched with a small colony to settle on a tract of 500 acres on the Ogeechee River, granted to Zinzendorf by the Trustees of Georgia. In the spring of 1736, he sailed for Pennsylvania to labor among the Schwenkfelders, whom Zinzendorf had received on his estate on their banishment from Silesia, and who in 1734 had emigrated and settled within the present limits of Montgomery County. While here he was deputed to hold a visitation on St. Thomas, and sailed for the West Indies in August, returning in November following. After making a visit of four months in 1737 to



the colony in Georgia (which was subsequently abandoned after the breaking out of war between England and Spain), he closed his labors among the Schwenkfelders, and was in August of 1739 recalled to Europe. After Zinzendorf's return from his visit to America in 1743, Spangenberg was consecrated a bishop, June 15, 1744, and sent to Pennsylvania for the second time. In October he visited the mission stations in New York and Connecticut, the first established by his church, among the aborigines of America. During the summer of 1745 he also visited the Council at Onondaga to obtain their consent to the contemplated removal of the Indian Mission to the Wyoming Valley.<sup>1</sup> It was while on this journey that his guides Shikellmy and his son Andrew, and Andrew Montour, gave him the name of T'gerhitontie, signifying "a row of standing trees." In this connection it may be also stated that he was familiarly called by his brethren, "Brother Joseph." While a deputation of chiefs of the Six Nations were in Philadelphia, in July of 1749, he held an interview with them in the parsonage of the Moravian church, when the compact made with Zinzendorf in 1742 was renewed, that Moravian missionaries be allowed to reside in Onondaga to perfect themselves in the study of the Indian language. Shortly after he sailed again for Europe, returning to America for the third time in 1751, the shortest of all his visits. In addition to his other duties, in 1752 he visited western North Carolina to inspect the tract of over 90,000 acres which the church had purchased from Earl Granville, on which to build settlements. Spangenberg's fourth and last sojourn in America fell between 1754 and 1762, during a portion of which time Pennsylvania became the scene of contest between the English and the French with their Indian allies, for territorial aggrandizement.

The Indian Mission which had always been an object of special regard by Spangenberg was now placed in a peculiarly trying position. The Indians in the French interests sum-

<sup>1</sup> For "Spangenberg's Notes of Travel to Onondaga in 1745," refer to *PENNA. MAGAZINE*, Vol. II. p. 425.

moned the Moravian converts to desert their settlements and withdraw within the Indian country, under the penalty of being treated as enemies. But few comparatively obeyed the summons, so firmly were they attached to their teachers and to the Church which had cared for them faithfully, both in temporal and spiritual things. A strong feeling was also aroused against the mission by a class of whites who were interested in the degradation of the Indian and opposed to the enlightening influences of the missionaries. The Indian converts were accused of being in league with the French, and deserving of being treated as common enemies. The massacre at the mission on the Mahoning in a measure counteracted this unjust charge. These troubles entailed upon the Moravians serious pecuniary loss, and for several years paralyzed their domestic as well as missionary enterprises.

Much of the correspondence which took place between Bishop Spangenberg and the Colonial Government relating to Indian affairs has been published, but we give the substance of his remarks to the Bethlehem congregation on December 19th, 1755, immediately after the massacre at Gnadenhütten, and a copy of a letter addressed a few days later to friends in New York who had sent a wagon loaded with arms and ammunition to Bethlehem, bidding the congregation "go forth and fight the Indians."<sup>1</sup> These, and two letters addressed to the Rev. Jacob Rogers, pastor of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia, will furnish the reader with prominent points in the character of the man who occupies so conspicuous a position in the history of the American Province of the Moravian Church.

<sup>1</sup> It is well known that the Moravians were averse to bearing arms, and that they regarded offensive warfare as incompatible with the teachings of the religion of Jesus Christ. During the Indian wars they acted on the defensive, stockaded exposed parts of their settlements, and kept constant watch day and night to prevent surprise and avoid repelling an attack.

*Substance of remarks by Bishop Spangenberg, December 19, 1755.*

1. "I have observed to my sorrow that some of you have somewhat of repugnance to the Indians. Cast out this leaven!

2. "The Indian Brethren and Sisters, whom the Lord has brought us from Gnadenhütten, we must regard as a brand snatched from the fire. They are the remnant of the many tears, prayers, & toil that has been spent on this people. They are come to us from fidelity.

3. "I know that some of the Brethren say—Yes! had we but more guns! Had we but more people! But *I say*—Not so, my Brethren, it may displease the Lord! On this very account he might allow the enemy to attack, where we think we are most efficiently secured.

"As long as God guarded round about Job, his house, his all, neither Satan, nor man, nor beast, nor the elements could do him harm. As soon, however, as the Lord gave Satan liberty concerning all he had, the enemy from Arabia came & killed the men & drove off the cattle; a fire from Heaven came & devoured the flocks & shepherds. Then came the Chaldeans in three squads, & slew and plundered; then came a wind & prostrated the houses & killed all his children. This was written for our comfort. As long as the Lord watches round about us and ours, no Devil, no mortal, no fire, no wind, no beast, no water—in short, nothing can do ought to us.

"If the Lord only be right satisfied with us, I fear nothing in the world! Were the Indians this minute a million, and were their cruelties a thousand fold atrocious, I would not fear them and they would be unable to do us ought!"

*Letter to friends in New York.*

"My dear Brethren & Sisters,—

"I think it necessary to be plain with you, for I observe that some of you do not know what to make of the Brethren. I have received letters in one day, all written in love, & out of tender concern for us, but in substance opposite to one another. Some of them advised us to make no resistance to the barbarous enemy, but rather to come away from our settlements. Others write us to stand upon our defence, & to oppose such wicked and abominable creatures who are doing the work of their father, who was a murderer from the beginning.

"We know, God be thanked, what we are doing, & are not in doubt about the course we should pursue. Our

Saviour is with us & we feel both in private and in public His Gracious Presence. His Spirit is not less to us than a tender mother guiding us into all truth according to our Saviour's gracious promise. We have his word, which certainly is truth, & we can depend upon it that we shall not be misled if acting according to his dictates, & we need not now first inquire what his designs are in regard to us, but he made us sensible of his purposes before these troubles broke in upon us.

"We are of opinion that governments ought to protect their subjects. Rulers are servants of God, & the sword is given them by a Superior Power, who is King of Kings & Lord of Lords. This sword given them they hold not in vain, but they are to protect the weaker ones & save the innocent. It is not only permitted unto them to oppose and punish all such as will hurt, kill, steal, &c., but it is their duty to do so, & if they neglect this their office they will be answerable for it to their Master.

"A minister of the Gospel is a sheep sent among wolves, who is to be prudent like a serpent & harmless like a dove. His arms are not carnal but spiritual. & he conquers by no other weapons than by the blood of the Lamb, by the sword of the Gospel, by faith in Christ, by prayers, & by tears. If one smites him on the right cheek he is to turn him the other also. If one takes away his coat he is to give him also his cloak. Confer *Matthew*, v, 38, 39. Such an one, if he would handle weapons becoming a soldier, would show his ignorance of his commission.

"A common man such as they call a layman, if he hath wife or children, is to provide for his family & to protect them against mischief. It would not be right in him to see his wife ravished by a wicked fellow and to sit still at it. It would be very wrong in him if wicked wretches should fall upon his children & he be indolent & patient at the murdering of them. If it is right in a pastor to kill rather a wolf than to see the lambs killed, it is certainly right for a father to stand up for the life of his children.

"Now I will tell you what we have been doing hitherto since our Brethren were killed and burned at the Mahoning. We have received those that escaped the cruel hands of the savages with great thankfulness to the Lord. We have praised the Lord for taking so many of our Brethren & Sisters all at once like a sacrifice to himself. We have mourned for those poor creatures who were Satan's instruments in doing evil; & oh how we wish they may once repent & be pardoned!

“When we were told how the enemy had boasted that they certainly would have done with all the Forks, especially with Bethlehem & Nazareth, before the *Great Day* (they mean Christmas), we committed our life & all into the hands of our good Saviour believing that there is no one to save us from the wicked one but He alone. Then we agreed to be on our guard & to keep good watch, thinking *that* to be a means of deterring the enemy. And we hope that the Lord hath blessed our endeavors, poor as they are, for that purpose.

“The watchmen then proposed whether it would not be good to have some guns, partly to give a signal to the rest of the guard, partly to hinder the cruel enemy from falling upon the Sisters & children, & using them after his abominable manner. They said ‘what shall we do? If the savages would be satisfied with taking our lives it might be so; but shall we leave our Sisters & our children a prey to their devilish designs?’ I could not say, Let the savages do what they please with our Sisters & our children. No indeed! For how could a father or a husband do so & not think himself guilty of neglecting his duty? But this I have told my Brethren. Pray rather to God that he may send fear & trembling upon the enemy & thereby keep him a great way from us, for I should neither like to see an Indian, nor one of my Brethren nor their wives and children, killed at Bethlehem, at Nazareth, or at any of our places!

“We do not trust in weapons nor in arms. For we know for certain that if the Lord will have us suffer, no arms will keep us free. If He will have us safe, not all the devils will be able to hurt us in the least. What could Satan do to Job, to his children, & to his cattle, & his horses, before he was permitted by God? But after he was told that they had been given into his hands he soon made away with all that Job had in the world.

“We cannot remove from Bethlehem and Nazareth with such a body of men, women, & children. Where should we go to be safer? Here we know Providence has placed us. Should we think ourselves more secure in the towns, & should we expose our children to the temptations & wicked practices so common there & finally should we throw ourselves into the hands of men to live dependent upon their goodness & their mercy? No! *We would rather fall into the hands of the Lord.* Who knows but He will preserve us alive for the good of this whole Province, & how many thanks will be given to Him if He does!

“Now, my dear Brethren & Sisters, as I have told you my heart & the heart of my Brethren & Sisters, I thank

you for sympathizing so much with us in our present situation. The tokens of your compassion were welcome & I wish you many blessings for them. Continue in your love, & let your prayers & our prayers be offered for one common object, viz.: that the Lord may rebuke the wicked Prince of Darkness who is the great leader of these idolaters that are now crying against Christ's people; and that He may fill these poor ignorant wicked creatures with fear & trembling, and thus cause them to return to their hills & mountains as the proper companions of wolves & bears, & other wild beasts, till the Lord please to open their eyes and to call them from the power of Satan into his glorious Kingdom.

"BETHLEHEM, Dec. 23, 1755.

SPANGENBERG."

*To the Reverend Jacob Rodgers.*

"My dear Bro. Rodgers

"The use of the pulpit in the English Church would be very acceptable, if the Commissary of the Bishop of London had offered it unto you. But if Mr. Robinson hath differences with his minister, and will bring in some body to grieve him, I think we cannot be his Tool. For what should we think of it if Sam'l Powell would bring in a man to preach in our Pulpit? Would we like it? We ought to take care, that we do not appear, as if we would make advantage of the Divisions now subsisting in the English Church at Philadelphia. This is in answer to what I read both in your journal & in your letter to me about this affair.

"July 19th, 1760.

JOSEPH."

"BETHLEHEM, January 25, 1761.

"My dear Bro. Rodgers,

"The last news I had from Carolina came by a letter of Bro. Ettweins d.d., Nov. 20, a. c. \* \* \* My poor brethren and sisters at Jamaica, I pity them very much on account of the loss they had lately with the vessel taken by a French privateer. It would be better for the French privateers to take something else than the letters & other writings of the Brethren, however, such is the case of our Times, till the Lord pleases to restore peace again.

"As for our endeavors in Philadelphia to acquaint many poor things with their Lord and Saviour, I know very well that this is a hard Task. The Genius of the People is as Horace says: *O cives! cives! quærenda pecunia primum, virtus post nummos.* And when they set their minds upon religion they will prefer the way of works, before the way of faith.

For the way of works makes a show, & People can say: What can we do? We are poor sinful creatures!

“However, I think a Pulpit in Philadelphia is worth a great deal. There comes now one & then another to hear, & the Gospel being the power of God can't be without Blessings. But my dear Brother, think of Corinth! Think of Rome! Were the people better there than they are now at Philadelphia, and yet, by the Gospel, a fine flock was gathered there for our Lord. Think of London! Think of Berlin! Think of Copenhagen! What sort of people live there? The same as in Philadelphia: and yet fine congregations are actually there now. Let your tears & prayers go before your preaching. Let the words which you speak, be sprinkled by the blood of the Lamb. \* \* \* If it be so as you think, that the English will soon be prevailed upon by the Gospel, whenever a fresh awakening by his grace shall begin, than the Germans, it will make me very glad. For I am extremely sorry, that so little has been done amongst the English, since the time the Brethren came to America. One young man, John Levering, who is now in Jamaica, was gained from the English, & that is all. Old England hath given more fellow-labourers in one year than America in twenty years from the English Nation.

“I think, however, the fault is not altogether in the English people residing in America. Not so much care hath been taken of them, as might have been done. Many would have made good Brethren, had they come in Time out of the circumstances which kept them entangled. For what can become of them, when they continue in the Towns, where everything is apt to ruin them, even their nearest relations?

“I must conclude my letter, being

“My dear brother

“Your affectionate brother

“JOSEPH.”

In 1763, Bishop Spangenberg was recalled to Germany to take his seat in the Supreme Executive Board of the church to which he had been elected, and in which he served until his death, 18th September, 1792. Endowed with rare and manifold talents; a ripe scholar; possessed of sound judgment and great decision of character; throughout his pure and self-sacrificing career, Spangenberg exhibited untiring zeal and unflinching devotion to both the temporal and spiritual welfare of his church.

THE HISTORY OF THE COLONY OF NEW SWEDEN.

BY CARL K. S. SPRINCHORN.

TRANSLATED BY PROFESSOR GREGORY E. KEEN.

(Concluded from page 159.)

Thus ceased to exist as Swedish the colony of New Sweden. We proceed very briefly to indicate the fate of the settlers during the immediately subsequent period, to explain the bonds which, long afterwards, still united them to Old Sweden, and finally to mention some circumstances which establish a vain attempt on the part of the mother country to resuscitate this enterprise, or at least obtain compensation for the failure of it.

We have related the external history of the colony, in part from known, in part from unknown or unused, documents. One important factor is wanting, however, to complete the story, namely, fuller knowledge of the private life of the settlers in that far-off savage region. We desire to be able to follow them in their agricultural pursuits, their hunting expeditions, and their commercial journeys; we wish to see them at their firesides in that foreign land, which contrasted so greatly with their homes in their native country, as well as to observe them in their peaceful intercourse with the Indians, Dutch, and English. Unfortunately no source of information such as this has reached us. The Governor's reports and the contemporaneous testimony of neighbouring nations afford only a partial insight into the life and conduct of individuals. It merely appears from the evidence of all witnesses that, in comparison with other races, our countrymen lived a more peaceful life with the natives. Both before and after the founding of this colony bloody scenes are described as occurring between the savages and the rest of the Europeans in the vicinity. Not so here. We have given an account of Rising's friendly meeting with the



Indians, their entrance into the ship *Mercurius*, and so forth; and even Dutch and English authors testify to the kindness of their relations with the Swedes.

Although we have concluded the history of New Sweden, and it does not enter into the plan of this treatise to relate the subsequent fate of the Swedish colony, it may not be improper to mention a few particulars of it. The country hereafter was considered a part of New Netherland, and was under the immediate direction of two Vice-Governors,<sup>1</sup> who had their residences, the one at Fort Casimir, around which a little town speedily grew up called New Amstel, the other at Christina, which took the name of Altena. The Swedish colonists constituted at first the preponderant element in the population, numbering about one hundred and thirty families or from five to six hundred souls. They, it seems, were regarded with suspicion, and various precautions were taken to prevent the possibility of their uprising. Nevertheless, they seemed to have formed, so to speak, a separate colony under their own magistrates, and soon received numerous concessions, while they publicly professed allegiance to the Hollanders (1658).<sup>2</sup> Their liberties, however, were curtailed, and certain restraints were laid upon them, when, after the death of Cromwell, the Dutch feared the English might attack them, and in union with the Swedish settlers conquer the land. The Dutch likewise dreaded a warlike enterprise against the colony from Sweden, and in 1663 the Directors of the West India Company in Holland conceived they had discovered a Swedish expedition was about to sail to the Delaware, and admonished Governor Stuyvesant to prepare to meet it.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, the latter, continually suffer-

<sup>1</sup> The land was divided into two parts, of which the southern belonged to the City of Amsterdam, in Holland, and the northern to the West India Company of the same place.

<sup>2</sup> Their government consisted of a sheriff, van Dyck, and four commissaries, Peter Rambo, Oloff Stille, Mats Hansson, and Peter Kock. (*Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, vol. xii. p. 211.)

<sup>3</sup> On the above see *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, vol. xii. pp. 233, 445, 455. We have, however, found no trace of any plan to recover the colony at that time by force of arms.

ing encroachments from the neighbouring English colonists, earnestly urged the Directors to seek a settlement of their boundaries with England through the States-General.<sup>1</sup> Negotiations with a view to this were begun, but in March, 1664, King Charles II. of England donated the Dutch territory to his brother, the Duke of York, and it was not long before an English fleet appeared in front of New Amsterdam, which was surrendered by Stuyvesant, without opposition, August 27, 1664 (N. S.). In consequence of this the whole subject Province fell under the dominion of the British, and the Swedes on the Delaware once more had a new government. The colonists at the same time received assurances of the favour of the English king. New Amsterdam was called New York, New Amstel New Castle, and the English territory now comprised what were afterwards known as the first thirteen States of the Union. The conquest was subsequently confirmed by the Peace of Breda in 1667.

We do not consider it necessary to describe the administrative measures now taken by the English Government or the Duke. After the Swedish and Dutch inhabitants had sworn allegiance to England, they were placed immediately under the direction of the Governor in New York. No important changes occurred in their situation; only more precise regulations were established about the tenure of property.<sup>2</sup> We cannot certainly say whether it was on account of some despotic proceedings on the part of the authorities that in 1669 a sedition was discovered among the otherwise forbearing Swedes and Finns. For there appeared an adventurer, who gave himself out to be a son of the Swedish General Königsmarck, and succeeded in exciting a portion of the people by making rebellious speeches. The affair was ended, however, by his speedy seizure, and he was branded and sold as a slave in Barbadoes. His adherents suffered lighter pun-

<sup>1</sup> Trotzig's Letter to His Majesty, Amsterdam, Jan. 26, and to the Chancellor of the Kingdom, Feb. 16, 1664, in the Archives of the Kingdom of Sweden.

<sup>2</sup> The above follows Acrelius.

ishments.<sup>1</sup> In 1673 the land was reconquered by the Hollanders, and remained for some months under Dutch rule, until the Peace of Westminster restored it to the English.

As regards the personal life of the colonists during this period, we ought certainly to be able to gather pertinent information from the various sources within our reach. These documents, however, consisting of official papers, merely comprise judicial proceedings about purchases of property, pecuniary claims, and so forth, few of real interest; and the more important of the settlers concerned in them before long disappear from the scene of action. Nevertheless, among the oft-times very distorted names of the early Swedish colonists some occur too frequently to be passed over in silence. Sven Schute, Henrik Huyghen, Elias Gyllengren are old acquaintances still to be met with; while mention is even oftener made of a noteworthy personage not spoken of before, to wit, the brave spouse of Johan Papegoja, "Fru Armgard Printz," who, after her husband's return to Sweden (probably on the *Mercurius*), lived many years at Tennakong, and seems to have been well supplied with worldly goods, and to have had frequent relations with the authorities in settling her affairs. It is likely she went back to Sweden about 1673.<sup>2</sup>

Our Swedes continued meanwhile to regard themselves as a separate nation, preserving their native language and their old forms of religious worship. To some account of this side of their life we shall devote a few words before we leave them, that we may follow the last efforts of the mother country

<sup>1</sup> *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, vol. xii. pp. 463-472. His proper name seems to have been Markus Jacobsson, but he was commonly called "Long Fiun." See Acrelius, *op. cit.*, Reynolds's Translation, p. 116, where, however, the affair is transferred to a much later period. (Incorrectly so. For some details as to the matter see "An Account of the Seditious False Königa-mark in New Sweden" in the PENNA. MAGAZINE, Vol. VII., p. 219.—TRANS.)

<sup>2</sup> So it is stated by Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 97, note 1. Nevertheless, "Ufroe Popagay" still appears as owner of "Printesdorp" in 1680. (*Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, vol. xii. p. 648; cf. pp. 618, 412.) Concerning the later life of her husband, we only know that he "was in 1663 and 1676 captain of a ship, and afterwards *skeppsmajor*." (Anrep's *Attartafior*.)

to exercise her rights over the daughter colony, which, like a stray child fallen into the hands of strangers, long afterwards remained a subject of thought and solicitude for old Sweden, notwithstanding the many difficulties of her own situation. That these should have been the bonds of union between them, which the interests of commerce, statecraft, and the force of war were not able to maintain, is honourable alike to both. The ecclesiastical relations of the colony, which within fifty years after its severance from Sweden had grown to about a thousand souls, have been treated of in detail by Acrelius and other writers; we confine ourselves to making a few corrections and additions to the meagre accounts we meet with regarding the earliest period of the settlement. With the second expedition, in 1640, arrived a clergyman named Reorus Torkillus, from Östergötland, who laboured in his vocation until his death in 1643. With Printz came Johan Campanius from Stockholm (Holm.—Holmensis), who returned in 1648, and was appointed pastor of a congregation in Upsala. The church, the building of which at Tennakong we have related, was probably the centre of his, as well as of the subsequent ministers' work, and Campanius has left some durable evidence of his activity. He made a translation of Luther's catechism into the Indian language for missionary use, afterwards printed by order of King Charles XI., and sent out to America. The notes he left behind him<sup>1</sup> form the ground of our first description of the colony, edited by his grandson Thomas Campanius Holm. On the ship *Svanen* followed, in 1647, two clergymen, Lars Carlsson Looek and Israel Holgh or Fluviander.<sup>2</sup> The former remained in the colony and laboured until his death in 1688, being for many years the sole pastor of the Swedes. The

<sup>1</sup> Among these special interest attaches to his "*språkliga*," tending to show the derivation of the Indian language from the Hebrew.

<sup>2</sup> The latter name appears in *rikshufvudboken* in 1649. See above, p. 29, note 1. (Above, p. 22.—TRANS.) We very often find mention of Looek, but nearly always under circumstances of discredit. See *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y., in pluribus locis.* (For some account of him see this MAGAZINE, Vol. III. pp. 448-9.—TRANS.)

latter must have gone back soon, since he is never mentioned afterwards. With Rising, in 1654, came Petrus Laurentii Hjort and Mathias Nicolai Nertunius, mentioned by us before. Both left the colony at the same time as Rising. The former became associate-minister in Wimmerby and Pelarne, and died in 1704; the latter was made pastor of a parish in Helsingland. For several years after the death of Loock the colonists were without a Swedish preacher, until at last, at their request, in 1696 King Charles XI. and Jesper Svedberg sent out two ministers with a quantity of Swedish books. That the Swedes on the Delaware considered it important to preserve their nationality is shown, among other things, by the fact that the whole population still spoke and read their mother tongue, and that not until a hundred years later did they become so confounded with their English neighbours that a Swedish pastor could no longer make himself understood.<sup>1</sup> From that time dates an honourable co-operation between the Swedish government and church, by means of which for this long period of almost a century the religious life of the settlers in America was fostered in Sweden both by spiritual and temporal aid. No fewer than twenty-four clergymen were sent forth between the years 1696 and 1786, their travelling expenses often being paid. Religious services were celebrated in three churches: at Wicacoa (now a part of Philadelphia), at Christina, and at Raccoon, on the eastern side of the Delaware (now Swedesborough on Raccoon Creek). Ecclesiastically speaking, it may be said, the people were entirely subject to Sweden, since their ministers derived all their authority from thence. This was due chiefly to the administration of Svedberg, who during his long career never forgot the remote colony. He was in continual communication with the pastors sent out, and a special treatise by him, called *America Illuminata*, of which only a few copies were issued, still attests his zeal and interest in this work. It is a good proof of his services, that many royal orders touching the spiritual welfare of the

<sup>1</sup> Letters from the preacher Björck in 1697, and Collin in 1823, in Arfvedson's treatise.

colonists were directed to Sweden from the camps of King Charles XII. in Poland, Russia, and even Turkey. The last Swedish clergyman sent out was Nicholas Collin, who arrived in the colony in 1778, and died there in 1832.<sup>1</sup>

In conclusion, it remains for us to trace the measures taken by the Swedish Government for the recovery of the colony, or for obtaining compensation for the loss of it—a chapter of its history never before considered, on which we are able to throw some light from documents in the Archives of our Kingdom. As early as March, 1656, the Swedish Minister Appelbom presented a memorial to the States-General,<sup>2</sup> in which he demanded the re-establishment of the old situation in New Sweden, or else the payment of indemnity to the Company for the loss it had sustained. The former Governor Rising (probably in connection with his Report of the seizure of the country) laid before his Majesty a plan to reconquer the territory,<sup>3</sup> supported by what he regarded as the strongest argument in favour of the rights of Sweden, but the intervention of Appelbom was not backed by the Government. The important enterprise undertaken by the King in Poland probably did not allow him to give attention to this matter.<sup>4</sup> At his earliest leisure, after the Peace of Roeskilde, we find him again meditating on the affairs of New Sweden. It is stated in the Minutes of Council for April 15, 1658, that, after reading Appelbom's letter, "His Majesty decided *en passant* it was well worth endeavouring to recover New Sweden," although certainly no mention is made of any settled purpose to attempt the reconquest of the colony.<sup>5</sup>

On the contrary, a clearer indication of this is to be found in the "Decree as to the importation of and trade in tobacco,"

<sup>1</sup> For the rest we refer to Acrelius, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Printed in Hazard, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

<sup>3</sup> Dated Elbingen, June 3, 1656.

<sup>4</sup> What is related by Companius Holm, citing Loccenius, that a ship was sent out to recover the colony, which was captured by the Spaniards, is without the slightest foundation. Possibly this report originated from some knowledge of the ill-fated voyage of *Kattan*.

<sup>5</sup> Thus, however, this expression is understood in Carlson's *Hist.*, i. p. 260.

issued by the king a little later, May 22, where the monopoly of the West India Company was further defined, "by which chiefly the important colony of New Sweden may be preserved both now and for the future, to the great advantage of Us, Our Kingdom, and subjects, in respect of navigation, trade, and commerce, as well as that the settlements of Our subjects in that region may not be altogether abandoned."<sup>1</sup> It almost seems as if nothing was known of the loss of the territory on the Delaware. Every enterprise in the interest of the colony appears to have been prevented by the new war with Denmark.

It was not until 1663, when other negotiations between Sweden and the States-General were on foot, that the Swedish Regency presented a demand for damages for the loss sustained both by the Swedish Company and by private individuals.<sup>2</sup> The Government devoted itself to these hopeless reclamations, manifestly chiefly out of its concern for the partners of the Company, for their affairs were entirely ruined, and many had suffered loss from the dissolution of the organization, and the enfranchisement of the tobacco trade in October, 1662.<sup>3</sup>

In 1664, when difficulties arose between England and Holland, as before stated, the question of the rights of Sweden acquired new life in consequence of a letter of Trotzig's, which we have already cited.<sup>4</sup> The Government issued orders to Appelbom to give heed to the negotiations between the disputing nations, "that the Dutch might not secure any advantage which might afterwards tend to the damage of their pretensions," and to protest against the formal abandonment of the colony to any one before the

<sup>1</sup> Stjernman, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 875.

<sup>2</sup> His Majesty's Instructions for Lagerfeldt, Coyet, and Appelbom in the conference with the resident Heinsius (Register of the Kingdom, July, 1663).

<sup>3</sup> Of. *Kom.-Kollegii Förslag, Betänkande, etc.*, 1660-72, and a paper dated Oct. 16, 1663, signed by Knut Kurck, among documents concerning the Companies in the Archives of Sweden.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 77, note 3.

payment of indemnification to Sweden.<sup>1</sup> Another circumstance likewise conduced to direct attention to the colony. During the spring of this year there came on a Dutch ship, from Christiania to Amsterdam, a company of emigrants from Sweden, numbering not less than a hundred and forty person, Finns, who left their homes in the region of Sundsvall, and passed through Dalarne to that Swedish seaport, where they took ship. They were provided with passports and testimonials from their pastors and fellow parishioners, and had been induced to emigrate through letters from their relatives on the Delaware. They appealed to the burgomaster and council of Amsterdam, in whose service they enlisted, for conveyance to what was formerly New Sweden.<sup>2</sup> The Swedish Government, believing they had been enticed to emigrate by secret emissaries from Holland, instructed both Trotzic and Appelbom to make representations at Amsterdam and the Hague against this enterprise, and demand that the Finns should be sent back at the cost of those "who had cheated and allured them."<sup>3</sup> And, to prevent further emigrations of the kind, letters were dispatched to several Governors of Provinces in Finland, to hinder all similar attempts by a strict *surveillance*.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, the Finns having sailed in June, the Swedish authorities did not consider it worth while to introduce this subject into their claim for compensation. Appelbom, therefore, now presented merely an earnest protest against the assault of the Dutch upon the Swedish colony, accompanied by the usual

<sup>1</sup> His Majesty to Appelbom, March 6, 1664, in the Archives of the Kingdom.

<sup>2</sup> Letters of Trotzic to E. Oxenstjerna, May 24 and July 19, 1664, *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> His Majesty to P. Trotzic, May 27, *eodem anno*, in the Register of the Kingdom.

<sup>4</sup> Register of the Kingdom, the same day. It appears from this letter of the Government, that information had been received that these Finns had come in smaller bands from Finland, and passed across Sweden to Norway. But when Trotzic states that they were from the parishes of Torps and Brygajö, and were supplied with necessary legal papers, it may easily be presumed that they, or at least some of them, belonged to the body of Finns who had emigrated previously, whom we had occasion to speak of before.



demands for indemnity. Perhaps he permitted himself to use this bold language in consequence of the rumoured impending attack of England on New Netherland.<sup>1</sup> At the same time another complaint and demand for compensation was revived against the States-General, relating to the old Cabo Corso affair, in which they were involved. Appelbom's memorial was answered by the States-General, on the 29th of August, in the indefinite phrase, that they would take the matter into consideration, and render their reply.<sup>2</sup>

Already, before presenting the claims for indemnity at the Hague, the Swedish Government<sup>3</sup> had engaged the English to act in their interest, and had complained of the States-General; and when, next year, O. W. Königsmarck was sent as ambassador to France, he was charged to inform the French court of the affair, and use every argument to induce it to favour the cause of his Majesty.<sup>4</sup>

These claims for damages were most closely related to other questions, to be determined between Sweden and the States-General, namely, the *Elucidation straktat* and the Guinea affair, which merited special explanation, and formed the subject of a large part of the correspondence interchanged at that period between the Swedish Government and its envoys.<sup>5</sup> It was certainly the bitter memory of the behaviour of the Dutch during the war of Sweden with Poland and Denmark, that led the Swedish Government to push this matter so zealously.

It was not to be expected that the Hollanders would admit these claims, since the English had now taken possession of the disputed regions in America, thus bringing the affairs

<sup>1</sup> Appelbom's memorandum on the Dutch, dated June 27, 1664, among his letters to His Majesty, in the Archives of the Kingdom.

<sup>2</sup> The answer in Appelbom's letter, in the Archives of the Kingdom.

<sup>3</sup> In their memorandum for Leyonberg as Minister in London, April 28, 1666, in the Register of the Kingdom.

<sup>4</sup> Extract from His Majesty's instructions for Königsmarck, May 31, 1665, in the Register of the Kingdom.

<sup>5</sup> See especially Appelbom's letters and the memoranda of the Government for him, Hirschenstjerna, and others, in the Archives of the Kingdom. Appelbom's letter "ad legatos in Anglia," Haag, Sept. 12-22, 1666, in the Library of the University of Lund.

of the Dutch West India Company into a wretched state. Nevertheless, the subject was once more discussed the following year, when the States-General sent Isbrandt as an envoy to Sweden.<sup>1</sup> At a conference held with him with regard to it the old demands were reiterated by the Swedish Government. The Dutch negotiator defended his countrymen's conquest of the land by saying that it was caused by Rising's seizure of Fort Casimir (met by the objection that the fort had been erected on ground the Swedes had purchased), and that, when afterwards Stuyvesant was willing to restore Christina and a part of the territory to Rising, the latter refused to accept the offer. He then proposed that they should "*junctis viribus*" retake what they had lost.<sup>2</sup> In order to obtain some recompense for the loss of New Sweden from Holland, Isbrandt asked the Swedish Government for proofs of its rights; the latter renewed<sup>3</sup> its former order to the College of Commerce to furnish these and remit them to Count Dohna and Applebom, who were now appointed to treat further with the States-General, and see to "their pretensions in America."

In execution of this command, February 27, 1667, the College of Commerce drew up a paper, comprising the usual proofs of the rights of Sweden to the colony, strengthened by accompanying copies of appropriate documents as well as a detailed specification of the demands of the Swedish West India Company against the Dutch Company. The latter related to the ship *Gyllene Hajen*, the property lost by the conquest (consisting of houses, goods, and implements), the damages sustained by the Swedish Company through the seizure of Fort Trinity and their exclusion from the river, and so forth, and finally the loss of the cargo of the ship *Mercurius*.

<sup>1</sup> Isbrandt's mission was to seek the restoration of good relations between the States, and by means of subsidies to draw Sweden as well as Denmark to the side of Holland in her war with England; hence he had full authority to begin by removing the first stone of stumbling, the interpretation of the treaty of Elbing. Meanwhile, Sweden had already concluded a compact with England.

<sup>2</sup> Extracted from the minutes for Nov. 16, 1665, in "Acts relating to the negotiation of Envoy Isbrandt, 1665-66," in the Archives of Sweden.

<sup>3</sup> Register of the Kingdom, Dec. 24, 1666.

The computation of interest on the sums claimed swelled the indemnity required to not less than 262,240 *riksdaler*.<sup>1</sup> The Dutch negotiators, among whom we find the before-mentioned Isbrandt and John de Witt, on their side, produced complaints and claims for compensation of the Dutch West India Company against the Swedish, and demanded, since it could not be discovered who was in the right, that this "article should be altogether omitted and annulled, or the pretensions on both sides be reciprocally dismissed."<sup>2</sup> At the final convention at the Hague in July, 1667, compensation, certainly, was allotted to Sweden for her losses in Africa, but with regard to the claims for damages "alleged to have been sustained by both parties in America" it was determined, that "they should be examined and settled by His Majesty's envoy at the Hague, on principles of justice and equity as soon as possible, and satisfaction should immediately and without delay be given to the injured party."<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, we have not been able to discover that any compensation was rendered Sweden by Holland, and we are convinced that none was paid, inasmuch as the Swedish Government soon afterwards, with unrepining zeal, exerted itself to obtain indemnity from the power now holding the formerly Swedish territory.

Before the result of the peace of Breda was known instructions were issued to Dohna "to inquire whether England or Holland was in possession of New Sweden, and afterwards to treat with the occupant of that land for the restoration of it to Sweden, from whom it had been wrested most unjustly, and who thus had a clear right to reclaim it."<sup>4</sup>

When it became known that England had obtained the Swedish colony through the peace, Sweden had to try her fortunes with that nation. The Swedish Minister at London,

<sup>1</sup> Paper cited above, printed in *Monumenta politico-ecclesiastica, Praeside O. Celsio*.

<sup>2</sup> Dohna's and Appelbom's letter, Haag, April 6-16, 1667, in the Archives of the Kingdom.

<sup>3</sup> Acrelius, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

<sup>4</sup> His Majesty to Appelbom, dated Stockholm, April 18, 1668, in the Archives of the Kingdom.

Leyonberg, was therefore required, "without attracting observation, secretly, and with good grace and every caution," to make a beginning by discovering the designs of England as to her new acquisition.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently papers were drawn up, comprising the proof of Sweden's right to the restoration of the colony, and the English Ambassador promised to "contribute all good offices with his sovereign for that purpose."<sup>2</sup> From an answer of Leyonberg to the King of Sweden, dated London, July 24, 1669, it seems he had begun to give attention to the question, but was everywhere met by assertions of the rights of England, in view of the neglect of Sweden to assert her own at the conclusion of peace. Concerning the condition of the Swedish colony he had been told, "their land was the best cultivated of the whole region round about," and he had heard much praise of "their diligence and industry, good order and docility."

Since we do not meet with any evidence that the subject was ever brought up again, we may presume that it was dropped, and that henceforth the colony was looked upon as lost to Sweden. Nevertheless, mention occurs, from time to time, of the affairs of New Sweden in connection with complaints about compensation still unpaid, brought before His Majesty against the American Company, showing that private persons participated in the public loss incurred through the failure of the mother country to protect the fruits of her labours which were thus sacrificed to the advantage of other nations.

This completes our history of the Swedish colony on the Delaware which has been derived from such sources of information as we possess. The course of the narrative has manifested, as we stated at the outset, that this enterprise, begun and continued with inadequate means, failed certainly of the significance anticipated for it in the enlargement of the empire, and the development of the trade and commerce of Sweden. Nevertheless, it had indisputable influence in the free States of North America. The colony of New Sweden

<sup>1</sup> His Majesty to Leyonberg, April 28, 1669, in the Registry of the Kingdom.

<sup>2</sup> His Majesty to Leyonberg, June 30, *eodem anno, ibid.*

contributed no little to the growth of civilization in those vast wildernesses—leading to the peopling of Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey—and manifold testimony of numerous writers on both sides of the Atlantic demonstrates a full appreciation of the importance of these first emigrations to the New World from our old honoured father-land.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> During the publication of this article on New Sweden letters have been received by the translator from Professor C. T. Odhner and Dr. Sprinchorn, supplying several additions to and corrections of the original treatise, which have been inserted in the text. Besides these, Dr. Sprinchorn further observes as to the circumstance mentioned on page 24 of the original (page 17 of this volume of the *MAGAZINE*) that “nothing was heard from the mother country” by the colony “from June, 1644, till October, 1646,” that “the letter in R. R. dated Feb. 6, 1646, containing promises that Printz should be relieved, assistance sent, etc., could not have reached the Governor, or else was not received until the arrival of the sixth expedition in the colony.” Dr. Sprinchorn also desires to add what follows after the word “Holland” on page 8, line 19 of the original (Vol. VII., page 401, line 20, of this *MAGAZINE*):—

The instructions to Director Peter Minuit for his voyage “to the coast of Florida,” preserved in the Archives of the Kingdom of Sweden, although not signed, and consequently only to be regarded as a plan (probably drawn up by Minuit himself), shows what various schemes it was thought might be accomplished by this expedition. The coast of Florida is alleged to be the goal, but the instructions indicate that at first this was the last place thought of. If the expedition was ready to sail from Gottenburg sufficiently early, it was to direct its course to the “Ile de Sable” (off Nova Scotia), and take possession of the same, with the customary ceremonies, on behalf of the Crown of Sweden. Afterward it should proceed along the coast to the Zuyd Rivier [the Delaware], obtaining furs, etc., by barter with the Indians, during the journey. At the Zuyd Rivier it was to take possession of a region accurately described, to be called *Nya Sverige* [New Sweden]. Colonists of the French, English, or Dutch nations, residing there, were to be treated in friendly fashion, but Spaniards or their adherents were to be “boldly attacked.” After commercial relations had been formed with the neighbouring Indians, the smaller vessel was to be sent to take possession of the land of Florida. The animosity against Spaniards is seen also in certain instructions, which amount to nothing less than organized piracy against Spanish vessels in the waters of the West Indies. (“Instructions for Director Peter Minuit,” etc., in the Archives of the Kingdom at Stockholm). The expedition was not ready to set out from Sweden soon enough; so many details of this programme had to be omitted, and we now have only to do with a portion of them, as we shall see.—TRANS.

JOURNAL OF SERGEANT WILLIAM YOUNG.

WRITTEN DURING THE JERSEY CAMPAIGN IN THE WINTER OF 1776-7.

From the original in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[The circumstances which called the writer of the following Journal into the field produced the greatest consternation in Philadelphia. It was the first time since the beginning of the Revolution that our citizens felt that the war was about to be brought to their very doors. In the summer of 1776 the militia had been called out and had participated with some credit in the movements around Amboy in New Jersey. There had been some excitement upon that occasion, although the danger appeared distant. But since then the battle of Long Island had been fought and lost; New York had been occupied by the British; Forts Washington and Lee had been captured, and the Continental Army, with daily diminishing numbers, was in full retreat across Jersey; Washington was imploring Congress and the authorities of the several States to furnish him, without delay, the means to enable him to check the advance of the enemy. But, while he was striving his utmost to accomplish this, was keeping up the best possible appearance of defence, and watching every movement of the enemy with ceaseless vigilance, trusting for an opportunity to strike an effective blow, the words were wrung from him, "I think the game is pretty nearly up." Thomas Paine, writing then, described those days in words which have survived a century, "These are the times that try men's souls."

The Journals of Muhlenberg and of Marshall give us graphic accounts of the flight of some of the citizens from Philadelphia and of the exertions of others to furnish the means of defence. One of the most interesting pictures, however, is that suggested by the description of H. T. (see *Hazard's Register*, vol. iii. p. 41), she writes:—

"The mention of that sad day brings back its terrors with the freshness of yesterday.

"The British had penetrated into New Jersey as far as Princeton, and massacre and starvation chilled the blood in every vein!

"Where shall we go; how shall we get out of town? was the universal cry. Carriages of every description were few, and all were anxiously sought. No blessed steamboats to waft their thousands from 'Indies to the Pole.' No friendly hack to drag us from the scene of dismay; wealthy merchants kept a one-horse chair, but what was this to the conveyance of a whole household? A coach was here and there kept by the higher order, but these were not in requisition; these belonged chiefly to the officers of the royal government, who, fearing no violence from their brethren, had determined to abide the visit. But great was the scramble among this scanty state of

means. Happy was he, who could press a market wagon, or a milk-cart, to bear off his little ones! My family, together with that of a friend, who had been obliged to abscond with the city council, were stowed, women, children, and servants, counting in number more than a score, into a small river craft called a wood-flat, whose smoky cabin did not permit the ladies with infants in their arms, to sit quite upright. The smoke, however, was intolerable, and we girls, whose young hearts shrunk from no inconvenience or danger, made our beds with blankets upon the deck; from this enviable station we were driven, by a heavy fall of snow, into the hold of the boat, where we slept soundly on the few tables and chairs which our hurry had enabled us to carry with us. Innumerable were the hardships, and much would you wonder, could I tell what the scattered Philadelphians endured at that trying season; thankful, if they could find a hut or a barn, in any region of security! Sometimes, those who had never spoken together in the city would meet in their wanderings, and then all distinctions of rank were forgotten, and they were a band of brothers."

The promptness with which the militia of Pennsylvania responded to the demand made upon them "enabled General Washington," wrote John Cadwalader, "to strike a blow which has greatly changed the face of our affairs." "Great credit," writes another high in command (see *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, Jan. 14, 1777), "is due to the Philadelphia Militia; their behaviour at Trenton in the cannonade, and at Princeton was brave, firm, and manly: they were broken at first in the action at Princeton, but soon formed in the face of grape-shot, and pushed on with a spirit that would do honor to veterans, besides which they have borne a winter's campaign with soldier like patience." The testimony of Washington is as follows: "The readiness with which the militia of Pennsylvania have shown in engaging in the service of their country, at an inclement season of the year, when my army was reduced to a handful of men, and our affairs were in the most critical situation, does great honor to them."

The sufferings which these men endured is in part recorded by Sergeant Young. The company in which he served was commanded by Captain Thomas Fitzsimmons (see *PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE*, Vol. II. p. 306). It was incorporated in the 3d Battalion Pennsylvania Militia. The officers in 1775 were as follows: Colonel, John Cadwalader; Lt.-Colonel, John Nixon; Majors, Thomas Mifflin and Samuel Meredith. (See *Magazine of American History*, vol. iii. p. 555.) At the time of which the Journal treats it was commanded by Nixon, in the mean time Cadwalader having been promoted to the command of the Brigade. Mifflin had entered the Continental service, and was at the time a Brigadier-General. In printing the Journal many of the errors in the original have been corrected, but its general character has been preserved. The first five entries in the manuscript are misdated; the correct dates are given in brackets.—Ed.]

*Thursday, December 4 [5], 1776.* Set out by water from Philadelphia in a schooner for Trentown in the Jerseys to

oppose Generals Howe's [march] toward Philadelphia; Reached Bristol by two o'clock, went on shore and marched to Trenttown got there by night. Met with some Difficulty to get a lodging—Providence directed me to Mr. Brown's who kindly let us lodge in his Stove Room.

*Friday 5* [6]. Our company Joined and Marched to Major Meredith's<sup>1</sup> where we were kindly treated, had a good lodging-Room, warm and comfortable.

*Saturday 6* [7]. Orders to move our Quarters and Retreat over Delaware on account of Howe's advance party was near at hand;<sup>2</sup> got over after night, and Lay on the Shore very cold—and with much difficulty got some wood to make a fire. Renewed a cold I got coming up the river.

*Sunday 7* [8]. Marched about a mile from the Shore and pitched our tents; all pretty well; our Captain<sup>3</sup> very kind to our men.

*Monday 8* [9]. Got boards to floor our tents and cover them so as to keep out Rain, and to make it as comfortable as we could in this advance season of the year. We built a famous common house in Bad weather to cook in, and to sit in in Bad weather. We were pleased with the works of our hands, it was just Dark when we had finished: orders came we must Decamp for Howe's people Designed to cross at Dunk ferry; all the 3 Battalion obeyed the order, at it we went hurry scurry, almost head over heels. Set out at Dark; hadn't Marched far Before it began to Rain and Snow. Wind at N. E. Very Cold. I having charge of the wagon being in the Rear of the Brigade, it Being Dark and the Roads Bad. Some of the front wagons often stalled, which halted all Behind them for near 20 times which made our March Very Disagreeable, though the Distance was not more than 12 Miles. We Did not Get to Neshaminy ferry till three o'clock; all as wet as Rain could make us and Cold to numbness, we could not get to the fire on account of the numbers in the house; 8 o'clock got over the ferry,

<sup>1</sup> Major Samuel Meredith.

<sup>2</sup> Washington's Army crossed the same day.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Fitzsimmons.



about 10 o'clock joined our Company at Mr. John Keed<sup>1</sup> a little below Dunks ferry on Deleware, moved to Quarters at Mr. Smith's. Staid at Mr. Smith's Thursday and Friday.<sup>2</sup>

*Saturday, December 14,* Marched to Mr. Walton's near Bristol. Got there about noon.

*Sunday, December 15.* At Mr. Walton's, went to Bristol for provisions for our Men; my son Exceeding unwell, our Capt. went to town and got discharge for him and Valentine Gellaspee.

*Monday 16.* Son set out for home, went to town for Rations; all well; heard of Mr. Joseph Bedford Being at his fathers plantation.

*Tuesday 17, 18, 19, 20.* Nothing New happening worth notice; 20, heard of General Lee<sup>3</sup> being taken by treachery. Join Brigade every day.

[*Wednesday*] 25. At Night orders to hold ourselves Ready to move with 2 days provision, and so meet a grand parade at 7 this Evening. Set out about 9 to Dunks ferry, crossed over; on account of the Ice on the Jersey shore they could

<sup>1</sup> Mr. John Kidd is no doubt referred to. He was a retired merchant of Philadelphia, and owned a country-seat in the above locality. He was a member of the American Philosophical Society (1768), and one of the subscribers to the first Dancing Assembly. In 1762, in connection with Wm. Bradford, he established the Philadelphia Insurance Office, under the firm of Kidd & Bradford.

<sup>2</sup> On December 12 Washington issued an order to Cadwalader to throw up redoubts on the Neshaminy, and to closely watch Dunk's Ferry, "as something may be attempted there." See PENNA. MAGAZINE, Vol. IV., p. 140.

<sup>3</sup> General Charles Lee, who was captured by Lt.-Col. Harcourt, near Baskingridge, N. J., December 13. The British boasted that they had taken an American Palladium—that the Americans could not stand long as Lee was their chief man. Washington wrote to his brother, "This is an additional misfortune and more vexatious, as it was by his own folly and imprudence, and without a view to effect any good, that he was taken. As he went to lodge three miles out of his own camp, and within twenty of the enemy, a rascally Tory rode in the night to give notice of it to the enemy, who sent a party of light-horse that seized him, and carried him off with every mark of triumph and indignity." See, also, *Treason of Charles Lee*, by George H. Moore.

not Land the Great Guns. Crossed Back again, it came on to snow and Rain. Wind E. N.E. Very Cold our men came home very wet and cold.<sup>1</sup>

[*Thursday*] 26. All home, Drying their clothes. In the Evening Adjutant Roau came to our Quarters with orders for our Battalion to join Brigade at day light.

[*Friday*] 27. Our company up before day getting Ready to join Battalion, which they did about nine o'clock. Set out, went to the Jerseys, heard Last Night that General Washington had Defeated Howes Men at Trentown, had it confirmed this Morning.<sup>2</sup> Wrote home to my wife this day and yesterday. Received Letters from home Dated 23, 24.

*Saturday* 28 got all over. Baggage in the wagon Marched to Bristol there unloaded it aboard a flat bottomed Boat, and with much Difficulty got over on account of the Ice and by the good providence of God, got in the Colonel Cox house before dark. As soon as we got our Baggage housed set about foraging for wood, got some pretty Readily made a good fire. Got supper, went to sleep.

<sup>1</sup> This was the night of the surprise at Trenton. The crossing attempted by the militia was a portion of Washington's plan. On account of the ice General Ewing was also prevented from crossing opposite to Trenton. "I am fully confident," wrote Washington, "that could the troops under Generals Ewing and Cadwalader have passed the river, I should have been able, with their assistance, to drive the enemy from all their posts below Trenton." Cadwalader's letter to Washington, describing his exertions to cross the river, will be found in Spark's *Washington*, vol. iv. p. 248.

<sup>2</sup> It seems too incredible at the present day to be believed that the news of the Battle of Trenton, which took place at daylight on the morning of the 26th, did not reach Bristol until evening, and then only in the form of a rumor. The sound of the firing could not have been heard by Cadwalader's troops, and, although perfectly aware of Washington's intended movement, he was in entire ignorance, on the morning of the 26th, that it had been attempted, and closed his letter to him with the words, "I imagine the badness of the night must have prevented you from passing over as you intended." On the morning of the 27th, not having heard that Washington had recrossed to the Pennsylvania side of the river, Cadwalader landed about 1500 of his men in Jersey, and took possession of Burlington. If Sergeant Young "went to the Jerseys" on the 27th, as he writes, he must have returned to Pennsylvania to have crossed again with the baggage on the 28th.

*Sunday Morning* [29] got up pretty Early, went about breakfast, all well. Mr. Lowerrey is in the house with us, he is not very well; all my family well (to the number of 11 my son George among the number). I Expect to set out this Morning to join our company; the good woman next Door Sent us 2 Mince pies Last Night, which I took very kind. May God Bless all our friends and benefactors.<sup>1</sup> About 9 o'clock set out for Bordentown got to it about 2. Saw a Room full of wounded hessians, one of them with his nose shot off. All of them in a Wretched condition; set out Immediately for Croswicks four miles from Trentown, got there at sun set very much tired having marched 15 miles, put our Baggage into the Meeting house, where I shall Lodge to night and where I am Writing this. Met on the Road from Trent town to this place under a strong guard 7 persons going to Burding town [Bordentown], among which were one of Edward Shipeng<sup>2</sup> [Shippen's] sons, one of the Light Infantry, one Campbell of Philadelphia who were caught about 4 miles from this place, a Merchant of Trent town, it seems there was 8 in all, the 8th in getting out of a window was fired at and shot through the Body that he fell dead at

<sup>1</sup> An interesting confirmation of several incidents here mentioned will be found in the diary of Margaret Morris, who lived on the Bank at Burlington. Under date of Dec. 28 she writes: "The weather clearing up this afternoon, we observed several boats with soldiers and their baggage making up to our wharf. . . . A man, who seemed to have command over the soldiers just landed, civilly asked for the keys of Colonel Cox's house, in which they stored their baggage and took up their quarters for the night, and were very quiet."

"Dec. 29. This morning the soldiers at the next house prepared to depart: and as they passed my door, they stopped to bless and thank me for the food I had sent them."

<sup>2</sup> Edward, eldest son of Chief Justice Shippen. He was, at the time above mentioned, only eighteen years of age. He had been sent into New Jersey on business, and, in order to avoid being impressed into the militia, was persuaded by his friends, John and William Allen, to go with them within the British lines. His companions subsequently went to New York, but he remained at Trenton, and was taken prisoner when the British were compelled to retire. When Washington learned the circumstances of his arrest he ordered him to be discharged. See *Shippen Papers*, p. 256.

the window. At this place the woods are quite alive with men, all are illuminated with large fires. Very Bad traveling this day. I am very well, though somewhat tired Blessed be God in good health as are all our men.

*Monday December 30.* Lay very cold Last night. Rose a great while before day, went round our men who seem hearty except 3. Saw my son William, who is well. Still at Crosswicks. Saw the Jersey Light horse go through intending for a Scouting party. General Miffing [Mifflin] came to camp this Morning and adressed the New England forces, and [they] agreed to stay till this campaign is over.<sup>1</sup> A report this day that General Waster [Wooster] had retaken Fort Washington and Fort Lee, and had got Heacken Sack [Hacken Sack]; a fine day, all well, still in the Quaker's Meeting house; all Busy in Dressing and packing provision Ready to March which I believe will be soon.

*Tuesday December 31.* Went to Bed pretty soon Last night, a good Deal Disturb on account of my Quarters being the guard house for the picket guard. This news at camp that 7 of our Light horse took 9 of Howe's;<sup>2</sup> a Hessian Brought to Camp. Major Miffeling [Mifflin] past through here with a fine Company as a Scouting party; very Lowering and Like to Rain, our men Busy in Cutting wood, our people at Burden town took a large Quantity of fine Beef and Salt pork and a great Deal of Excellent Rum. I am much fatigued, yet have my health very well thanks be to thee oh God! It

<sup>1</sup> "I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that the Contirental regiments from the eastern governments have agreed to stay six weeks beyond their term of enlistment, which was to have expired the last day of this month. For this extraordinary mark of their attachment to their country I have agreed to give them ten dollars per man, besides their pay running on." Washington's letter of Dec. 30, 1776.

<sup>2</sup> This affair took place about a mile southeast of Clarksville, between four and five miles from Princeton, about 300 yards east of the Quaker Road leading from Stony Brook to Crosswicks. The seven Americans who took part in it were John Dunlap, James Hunter, Thomas Peters, William Pollard, and George and Samuel Caldwell, of the Phila. City Troop, and Adjutant-General Joseph Reed. See Reed's *Reed*, vol. i. p. 283; *Hist. of First Troop Phila. City Cavalry*, p. 8.

is melancholy to think what Loosness prevails among all our Men. There is among the New England men some Seriousness. Dined very hearty this day on a good piece of Cold Beef and pork, a good appetite is always good sauce. Wrote this day to my wife by Mr. Gay, I hope it will find her well.

[*Wednesday*] *January 1, 1777.* Rose a little before 4 having slept very well. At 5 all our men under arms at the grand parade; heard last [ ] our people taking from the Enemy a number of cattle they had stolen from the Inhabitants. Canon was heard this Morning supposed at our Men that are a scouting, and harrassing the Enemy. God in his good Providence has now brought me to the beginning of another year; and what shall I render to thee O my God, for all the blessings bestowed on me through the Last year.

Bless Oh my soul the Lord thy God  
And not forgetful be,  
Of all thy favors and that Love  
Thou hast bestowed on me,

And mine in ye year past, give me grace to trust thee for time to come.

12 o'clock News came that the Soldiers had Burnt Princetown, orders to-day that Mr. Duffeld<sup>1</sup> is to preach in the Quaker Meeting. But was disappointed on account of orders for the Battalions to parade. It is a Rainy after noon, under orders to march at a minutes warning; find myself very well Blessed be God. I am obliged to put up with the Disagreeable company of a mixed multitude, our own people are very loose in their conversation. I mean the Malitia. The New England Men are a quiet set of men. 4 o'clock, it Rains, some of our wood sentry are come in our quarters. This day twelve month I had the pleasure of dining with all my family. But now the Providence of God orders it other way.

*Thursday 2,* twelve o'clock or one this morning our Men Joined Battalion and order to Trentown. It rained when we set out; on account of the thaw the Road was very muddy and deep, though we had but 8 miles to go it was 9 o'clock

<sup>1</sup> Rev. George Duffield.

Before we Reached Trentown. I was a good deal fatigued on account of the Deepness of [the] Road, and its being night I could not see my way, the moon gave some Light, but it Being on my Back I could not see so as to get the best Road. But through the goodness of God I am very well and am at Quarters at Mr. Dickasons green house near a mile from Trentown on Delaware.<sup>1</sup> Passing through Trentown I saw the six pieces of artillery taken from the Hessians the other day. I called to see Mrs. Brown the old Lady at whose house I Lodged when I first got to Trentown, December 5,<sup>2</sup> 1776; about 10 the alarm gun fired, at it we went to pack up our baggage; as soon as it was done away we went out of town, some one way some another; about 12 [o'clock] the enemy appeared as designed to cross at the head of the Mill pond. But by the prudent conduct of General Washington they were Defeated, then appeared on top of the Hill the Back of the town where Lay a large number of men who Immediately Engaged, and a more furious Engagement that Ever was. I and my 2 sons saw the action, they canonaded each other with that furiousness that it was Impossible to hold Long, our people Retreated after Exchanging the Musketry

<sup>1</sup> General Philemon Dickinson, of the New Jersey Militia. He was a brother of the celebrated John Dickinson. His residence was about a mile from Trenton. A view of the house and a sketch of the General will be found in the *American Magazine of History*, vol. vii. p. 421. When John Adams passed through Trenton in Sept. 1777, he recorded in his diary: "Walked with Mr. Duane to General Dickinson's house, and took a look at his farm and gardens, and his greenhouse, which is a scene of desolation; the floor of the greenhouse is dug up by the Hessians, in search for money; the orange, lemon, and lime-trees are all dead with the leaves on; there is a spacious ball-room above stairs, a drawing-room, and a whispering-room; in another apartment, a huge crash of glass bottles, which the Hessians had broke, I suppose. These are thy triumphs, mighty Britain!" From what Sergeant Young writes of the conduct of the Americans, it is probable that some of the devastation attributed by Adams to the Hessians was the work of our own men.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly Polly Brown's, who kept a little shop on the west side of King Street, where spirits were sold. (See *Trenton One Hundred Years Ago*. By Wm. S. Stryker.) On December 5th, however, Sergeant Young speaks of the owner of the house as *Mr. Brown*.

for some time, with that haste that the Enemy took it for a flight, that Drew them into the Trap Designed for them, which was a Reserve of Men and cannon that cut them in such a manner that put a stop to their advancing any further, such was the slaughter of the Enemy that put an end to all their schemes.<sup>1</sup> As soon as night fell our people lined the wood made large fires, as soon as I could I came to them with the wagon, with the provisions and Blankets, and staid with them till 12 o'clock then Loaded our wagon, set out and joined my two sons whom I left in the wood with some of our men.

[*Friday*] *January 3*, one o'clock [A. M.] ordered to move out with the Baggage and proceed to Burlington, such a hurry skurry among all our waggoners. Some of our horses a good deal [ ] often got stalled which Retarded our March so that we didn't get to Burlington [until] 12 o'clock<sup>2</sup> I march the whole way, found myself a good deal tired Blessed God am very well. Got to Mrs. Annes at Burlenton. Mrs. Annes and Mrs. Bullock Received me & sons kindly. Lay down and slept as soon I got to Mrs. Annes's, as did my two sons. Lay at Mrs. Annes, and am very much Refreshed.

[*Saturday*] *January 4*. Rose Early went to see our men found them much Refreshed, then went to get provisions for them.

<sup>1</sup> For a further account of this engagement, see Haven's *Thirty Days in New Jersey*, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Burlington*, *January 3d*. "This morning we heard very distinctly a heavy firing of cannon; the sound came from about Trenton, and at noon a number of soldiers, upwards of 1000, came into town in great confusion, with baggage and some cannon. From these soldiers we learn there was a smart engagement yesterday at Trenton, and that they left them engaged near Trenton Mill." (*Margaret Morris's Diary*.) Mrs. Morris on more than one occasion greatly over-estimated the troops she saw. It is probable that those who entered Burlington at noon, on *January 3d*, were the guards to the baggage of the Pennsylvania Militia and some stragglers. On *January 5th* Washington wrote from Pluckemin, "I fear those [the troops] from Philadelphia will scarcely submit to the hardships of a winter campaign much longer, especially as they very unluckily sent their blankets with their baggage to Burlington. I must do them the justice, however, to add, that they have undergone more fatigue and hardship than I expected militia, especially citizens, would have done, and at this inclement season."

Wrote to my Dear family. Sent a Box and 2 Gun Barrels home. 7 o'clock, not much news from our people to-day, it is said they are at Prince town. Saw Mr. John Handay, took him home to my Quarters, where he is to stay till I join our Battalions. He tells me that our people surrounded 50 Light Horse at Prince town College yard and took them, also our people were attacked by the Regulars, and that Captain Lee Deserted his gun but it was soon Retaken again, with two of the Enemy's. Mr. Miffing with party way Laid and took from the Hessians 7 wagon Loads of the Baggage that they stole from the Inhabitants, and our people Burnt a good Deal of Baggage of the Enemy's at Prince town, and considerable slaughter among the kings forces. Blessed be the God and father of my Lord Jesus Christ for his protecting care over me and mine through this day. Give me a sense of pardoning Love through the atoning Blood of Jesus, then thy will be Done Respecting me, Amen and Amen. I hear our people are advancing to Brunswick and Carrying all Before them. Go with them Blessed God and give success, for thy Dear name. Oh Let a fear of thee fall on all our Enemies. And Bless our people, and Lord with the out pouring of thy Spirit, that a fear of thee and of thy name may be among our people Grant it blessed God for Jesus sake—amen.

*Sunday January 5.* Rose as soon as Light, took a walk to see our Company. Came home to my Quarters again before any of the family were up, had the pleasure of Shaking hand with General Putnam. Waited on Colonel Penross [Penrose] for a ticket to draw provision. The news is that our people have suffered a good deal. Mr. Dushe son of Anthony Dushe came to town wounded in the thigh, has got a pass to go home; and that the 2 and 3 Battalion stood firm and to it, and the New England men behaved very manly and got much honor; this day I was obliged to stand Baker. Blessed be God I find myself very well as are my sons. 2 of our men came home to my Quarters that were at Prince town that lost their Company.



*Monday January 6.* Slept but poorly last night it being Cold, this day went about the Business of the company. Got passes for Mr. Bowes and Serril of our Company, my son William got a pass and is gone home as is Mr. Frederick Williams. Had the pleasure of seeing 26 Tories Brought into town, and 7 wagon loads of goods they had taken from their Neighbors. About an hour after another party were Brought in, in number between 30 or 40 and put on Board the Row Galley and sent to Philadelphia. News came to head Quarters that the English were Scattered abroad through the country and were in great fear of our people. God grant that fear may seize them, that one may put a thousand to flight, and two ten thousand, and that the time may shortly come that peace may once more flourish in our American Land. And that the glory of God may be advanced that Jesus may rule gloriously in the Gospel of peace. Even so amen.

6 o'clock. Went to jail to see a number of wounded men just come from Prince town. 9 in number, that are mostly wounded in the legs, who say the soldiers were very cruel. One officer who was wounded in one of his Legs a soldier came and knocked his Brains out with the Butt End of his gun. A young Lad that was wounded they stabbed 3 times in his side with his Bayonet, which so Exasperated our men that seeing two Hessians behind a tree ran at them, shot one and Run the other through and that the Militia behaved to [a] Miricle.

*Tuesday Jan. 7.* Slept very well Last Night. Nothing new to-day.

*Wednesday 8.* Orders Last night for all the Baggage wagons to get ready and follow our people to Morristown, said to be 73 miles from Burlingtoun. Got Ready accordingly. Met Mr. Jonathan Gibbs took me and son home to Breakfast with him. Set out about ten. Marched to Trent town by night. Hard put to it for Quarters. At Last got an upper Room. Foraged for wood, got some. Made a fire, lay down, slept pretty well. Being very tired.

*Thursday 9.* At Trent town. Drew 42 gills of Rum. But

not Beef nor Bread. Saw a number of Horses lying on the Ground Dead belonging to Howe's train shot at Trent town. Set out on our Journey under the Command of General Stevens. About 12 passed through Penntown<sup>1</sup> in company of one hundred and fifty wagons, with a guard of three Brigades, New Castle, Chester and Cumberland. Halted at night about seventeen miles from Trent town. Lay at a Germans house who had a stove in the Room.

*Friday 10.* Set out Early this Morning. Met on the Road a number of prisoners taken at Elizabeth town in number forty-six. Reached New Germantown at night. Very much tired Blessed be God, though I am very tired at night I do enjoy a comfortable measure of health. •

*Saturday 11.* Set out. Assumed the command on account of our being out of the Road. Got on the Road by Sun Rising, halted 3 hours till the Brigade came up. Set out and Reached a little town called Well town just at sun set. Built a tent in the field. Got a good Deal of hay. Very cold. Built a good fire. Sleep pretty well.

*Sunday 12.* Rose a good while before day. Got Breakfast by fire Light. Set out for Morristown about 7 miles. We got here about 12. Met on the Road 36 Waldecker prisoners. In this town a number of Highlanders in Jail.

*Monday 13.* Slept pretty well Last night. Still at Morristown. Our men uneasy on account of their staying. A great deal of Swearing and taking the Holy Name of God in vain. Nothing new to Day. Colonel Ford<sup>2</sup> was this day Buried in Military order. Blessed be God for his kind Providence over me and mine. Wrote this day to wife and family by Capt. Moldar of Philadelphia.<sup>3</sup> A fine Day all Day, and

<sup>1</sup> Now Pennington.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Jacob Ford, Jr., who commanded the militia of Morris County, N. J. He was the father of Judge Gabriel Ford, and the owner of the mansion at which Washington made his headquarters. He died January 10th. (See *Alden's Epitaphs* and *Lossing's Field-Book of the Revolution*.)

<sup>3</sup> There were two Captain Moulders with the army at the time—William and Thomas—both from Philadelphia, and both in the Artillery. For mention of the former, see *Wilkinson's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 143.

pleasant for the season of the year. Mr. James Hood came and joined company.

*Tuesday 14.* A fine pleasant Morning. Men uneasy as yesterday. Capt. McIlvaine Drawn up at the Generals to get a Discharge this afternoon. Colonel Hedgcok<sup>1</sup> was buried in the Military Taste in the Rev. Mr. Jones Burying ground. News this evening that the king's forces have Left Brunswick and gone for New York.

[*Wednesday*] 15. Slept but poorly on account of the ungodly behaviour of our Men. All uproar on account of going home. Colonel Nixon<sup>2</sup> has passified them by giving them his Honor that they shall be Discharged in ten Days. Some are pleased, some are angry.

*Thursday 16.* Nothing new to-day, only my turn to Stand Baker. 3 of our men went home, viz., Edmund Allmans, Samuel Land and Charles Riggers. Blessed be God I am in good health, as are all our men. This Day it snows, and likely for a Deep snow. Just gone by a wagon load of Tories and one Hessian to the jail at this place. The Tories of this part are very numerous and they [are] taken Daily. A great number in jail.

*Friday Jqnuary 17.* Slept pretty well Last night thanks be to thee my God for it. Thy tender mercies to me are Many, Unite my heart to thee, and help me By thy Blessed Spirit to have a lively sense of thy kind providence to me and Mine. Even so Amen. Great uneasiness among the Cumberland Militia to go home. General Miffing persuading to stay till Monday next. Few consent. This morning washed a Shirt and handkerchief it being very Raggy yet must do. A fine day. While I pass through this country I could not help taking notice of the Devastation and Destruction done by those sons of Blood and Murder. Burden town and Trent town the houses are torn in a shocking manner and all the valuable goods taken by the friends, as the Tories Industriously propagate, to Deceive the Credulous. From Trent

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Daniel Hitchcock, of Rhode Island.

<sup>2</sup> See PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. I. p. 188.

town to Morristown the country is very hilly. Some very high hills with a good deal of snow on them makes it have a pretty appearance.

12 o'clock. 3 Deserters as it is said passed by our Quarters under guard to General Washington. They are to go to Philadelphia, one Light horse man, 3 Infantry men, who say their people are all scattered and a good Deal afraid of our people.

*Saturday* 18. Slept but poorly it being cold. Rose Early. Washed a shirt for self and son. A Report prevails that Colonel Gurney has taken 90 Baggage wagons from the Enemy near Amboy. Very fine day but cold. I find myself very well. Blessed be God for all his Kindness to me in this Season of ye year. 9 of the 90 wagons taken from the Enemy by Colonel Gurnay are amunition wagons. It is said the Enemy are fortifying Brunswick, and there to make a stand. General Sullivan is at Prince town, a great number of men are filing out for Plukemin. Putnam at Cranberry, General Washington at Morristown, and General —— at Elizabethtown, so that they are hemmed in on all sides. The 2d Battalion of Philadelphia Militia go home to-morrow Morning. This afternoon is passing through this town the Militia of New England. I Believe are to Quarter near this place. They are hearty looking men, and are Engaged for 3 months. The Brigade that has come in is part of General Warnor's [Warner of Massachusetts.]

*Sunday* 19. Early this Morning the 2d Battalion set out for Philadelphia. A cold Morning but a fine day to March. A goodly number of men under Colonel Potter<sup>1</sup> are gone to join a brigade to harrass the Enemy at Brunswick. News from them are, that they are in the utmost Distress on account of our people continually alarming them. They are alarmed Every night which causes them to be under arms from 4 o'clock to 8. Sometimes from 2 to 8. The Deserters say they are almost worn out. Quarter Master General

<sup>1</sup> Colonel James Potter, of Pennsylvania. See PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. I. p. 346.

Miffeng addressed the Bucks County Militia most pathetically. He had a good Deal of trouble to get them to go with Colonel Potter. It looks hazy this afternoon, and like for falling weather. It is very cold. This afternoon was brought in 2 English and Highland Soldiers as prisoners, and taken to head Quarters. Very like for snow. Sent a letter to my family. It being a day set apart by our God to be sacred to himself. But oh! how it is observed amongst us as called Christians. Little Else but fighting and Roaring to be heard amongst us all the day.

*Monday 20.* Last night came into our Quarters 3 Deserters from the Enemy, and a young man of the Jersey Militia who showed me a wound that he Received in his left Breast which came out of [his] Back and Lodged in his Shirt, from the Enemy. Blessed be God I am in good health as is my son. What shall I Render to thee Oh my God! for all thy kindness to me. Lord Enable me to Revere thee in all my Actions. Even so amen.

*Tuesday 21.* A fine morning. News this Morning is that Colonel Dickeson with 300 men have taken New Brunswick, 18 English wagons and number of this country Ditto, and 100 and odd horses,<sup>1</sup> by 3 Deserters who came in Last night say that General Waster (Wooster) has taken Fort Washington and Fort Independence with a great number of prisoners. The smile of Heaven seems Evidently to be on our side. Oh may gratitude Inspire our people. Grant great God that both soldiers and men with a love of Virtue, may Brotherly Love be infused in all our Breasts, and that sin as ashamed hide its face, Even so be it Lord Jesus. Amen &c. Rose this morning and went about the Company's Business, when

<sup>1</sup> This exploit, of Gen. Philemon Dickinson's, happened near Somerset Court-House, on Millstone River. It had a beneficial effect on the spirits of the troops. Washington states that forty wagons and upwards of a hundred horses, most of them of the English draft breed, and a number of sheep and cattle, which the British had collected, were captured. Christopher Marshall writes that the horses were "of the dray breed," and confirms what Young says of their condition. "They were so emaciated," he writes, "that they were scarce able to walk."

that was done went about washing my son's Jacket and Shirt. Blessed be God I am in good health as are our officers—Mr. Bullock<sup>1</sup> and Hood who are kind to me. Grant great God that none of my Conduct may give occasion that thy name may not be Blasphemed on my account. Just came the news that Fort Lee is in our hand, and 400 men are prisoners. 2 just came to head Quarters, and that 40 wagons were taken Last Night. Two prisoners that are here say General Howe would not have attempted Philad<sup>a</sup> this winter only on account of the Invitations Given him by the Tories of the Jerseys and Philad<sup>a</sup>. A confirmation of the Mornings news with addition of 400 of Major Rogers men being taken at Fort Washington. A fine warm afternoon. I am about Baking, have one oven now in and another Ready when the oven is heated. This afternoon the wagons taken yesterday came into town. The English horses taken are very poor Denoting their being hard put to it. They Brought in with them a number of prisoners amongst whom are 5 or 6 Highlanders. It is said to-day General Howe has ordered all the Tories in New York to take up arms or immediately leave their possessions. This is the protection he gives them, may all Such mean Rascals meet with the Same.

*Wednesday 22.* Slept but Indifferently, Mr. Towers being Sick. I Let them have my Bed. I took my Berth on the floor, which being very open Let in plenty of wind made Lying very uncomfortable. However blessed be God, I am in good health. A very fine day. A great Concourse of people Looking at the horses that our people took from the English. Yesterday 2 men were tied up on the picket for Leaving their post before properly Relieved. Nothing new to-day. General Washington just Riding by, may God Long preserve his Valuable Life. Yesterday was Brought into this town and sent to Jail an old man whose home is on Staten Island, who engaged himself in Howe's army with George Rex on his back. The people here were for hanging

<sup>1</sup> Probably Joseph Bullock, who was at that time an officer in the Pennsylvania Militia.

him without Judge or Jury, so much are they exasperated against them. At 12 orders came to hold ourselves in Readiness to march to-morrow. All hands Busy in cooking for to-morrow. All in high Spirits with the Thoughts of seeing their friends once more. This afternoon went about 2 miles to Major Nickels at Sweet town to get a wagon and four horses, which got in order to carry our Baggage home in. Saw at Sweet town Capt. Mullen and Peter Bedford, both well. The horses Brought in here yesterday taken from the Enemy, in number 60. Most done Baking. Taken and just Brought into this town 4 Regulars of General Howe's men.

*Thursday* 23. Rose before day. Got Breakfast. All hands getting Ready for a march, being under orders to march at 9 o'clock. A Lowering Morning alike for Snow. Blessed be God I find myself in good health though I slept but Indifferently. Set out about 12. Reached Bottel town [Bottle Hill] marched on to Chatam town. There halted and went into Quarters. It is now Snowing. Great firing heard at near Brunswick. Passed by the meeting house of the Late Mr. Horton. This town is — miles from Morriston. The Mistress of the house kindly Let me and son Lay in her Room by the fire-side for which favor I Desire to be thankful. Mr. Towers continues to be very Bad. Our people are Buying Rum of a New England man. The man of the house is very friendly. Our people are very unruly and almost beyond Shame. A great Deal of Swearing amongst them all. The whole Brigade very uneasy on account of our Route. Some Swear they will go home To-morrow by themselves. We are now about 14 miles from Elizabeth town, near forty from Prince town, 25 from Brunswick. Our road Leads within 8 or 9 miles from Brunswick. I fear all our men are not honest. What a wretch is man. Death that should effect a soldier more Immediately, yet he must be doing Mischief with some of our company. There are some that cannot let anything Lay that comes in their way. For in this house one of them was Detected in taking a gammon out of the Cellar. Great God make us Better men. Renew us by thy Holy Spirit. Convince us of sin in all its shapes,

and Bring us near thyself. In Mercy change our hearts, and then and not till then shall we do as we would be done by. Grant this for Jesus Sake, Amen and Amen.

*Friday 24.* Slept But Indifferently. Rose before day. It Snowed all night. This Morning it turned to Rain and very Sloppy, it being the day we were to March home. Our Company are uneasy to be home, but it being Sloppy agree to stay a day or two Longer in hopes it will be clear weather. One of our men had taken from Mr. Enos Ward, the Master of the house where we are Quartered, 2 Gammons out of the Cellar, and secreted a pair of Breeches, and an under Jackets, all of which were proved on him (Joseph Crovat). Mr. Enos Ward appears to be a kind friendly man, a shoe Maker by trade, Mr. John Towers continues to be very Bad. The Doctor has been with him. Breakfasted with [the] man of the house with my son; for which I paid 1/8. News just came that our people yesterday near Brunswick attacked the Regulars, then made a hasty Retreat which Drew them into an ambush when our people surrounded them. Killed a good number, took 1500 prisoners. Our people were under the command of General Sullivan. Praise be to thee, O God! How many of our people are Lost I know not. It still Rains, and like to Rain all the Day. It is now very Sloppy and like to be more so as the Snow melts. As soon as it clears up we purpose to Set out for home if heaven permits.

*Saturday 25.* Set out from Mr. Wards a little after 8, and arrived at Lomenton [Lamington] opposite Mr. Lak's mill. Passed through Puckenun [Pluckamin]. Was shown the Hill where our people Encamped after the Battel at Prince town. A most Disagreeable Day's March that Ever was Marched. Something Like that from Trent town only this was in Day Light. Our people waded Lomenton River, there Being a fresh occasioned by the snow. The Road almost all the way was very hilly, and some places so Stony that it was with Difficulty we came along. Blessed be God, we got here just at Sun Set, having come 22 miles. Mr. Hood is kind and Careful of our Men. Mr. Bullock cares but very Little, as appears by his Behaviour. I find myself



a good deal fatigued, having Marched all Day. The whole of my Riding put together I believe was about 4 miles. Blessed be God, I find myself very well as is my son. We should have made our Journey Something Sooner, but Mr. Tower and Forder being sick Somewhat Retarded our March. We shall set out To-morrow for Corriels [Corryell's] ferry to Cross Delaware, if the Lord permits. Our people are Drying themselves after wading through Lomenton. The news on the Road is that Generals Putnam and Sullivan have so cut up the king's forces in Brunswick that they Dare not come out of their Lines, and that a battle must Ensue, it is Expected in a day or two. The people where we Quarter this night are somewhat Shy of us on account of Capt. Brown and Eyers usage here a few nights ago. They behaved very Rudely, Insulted the people of the house, and other ways used them ill. This shows that only one Bad Man Causes a great Many Honest men to Suffer. This day has been very warm. The Distance from Lak's Mill, the people of the house say is 25 or 26 Miles. I hope the Roads are not so bad as from Chatham to this place. The people of this place are Low Dutch or Hollanders.

*Sunday 26.* Slept very well Last Night. Did not wake till 6 o'clock. Got ready as soon as possible and Set out, and a most Disagreeable Journey than ever anybody had yet. Stalled twice, unloaded once, and having Mr. Towers and Forder sick that very much hindered our March. The Latter took Such a bleeding at the nose that at his own Request I left him at Mr. Joseph Moleson in a mill near the South Branch of the Raritan. Got safe to Tronces, the wagoners by Dark. Was told on the Road that a great Quantity of Patents have Been taken that allow our Landholders to hold their Land, allowing the King a Bushel of wheat for Every Acre of Land they hold, very kind. Met on the Road a Troop of Light horse of the Virginia Troop. It Began to Snow a little after night. Lay down on the floor and took a nap for about 3 hours.

*Monday 27.* Rose about 2. Set out about 3. Passed the

Little house I and son slept in when going to Morristown. With Much fatigue got to Corryells ferry before ten, but cannot tell when I shall get over on account of the Number of wagons that are here. 3 o'clock, still this side of the Delaware on account of the number of the Maryland Militia that are coming over. Mr. Towers very ill, which gives me pain. Sent word to his father by Mr. Huddell and 2 others. After Sunset Mr. Culburts Company helped me over the Delaware. As soon as over got into Quarters at Mrs. Dobes at the ferry.

*Tuesday 27 sic [28].* Slept very well. Saw Capt. Molder who gave me an account of the health of my family, the first for near a month. Blessed be God they are well. I should have set out for home this Morning, but Mr. John Towers continues to be very ill, I cannot leave him in his present condition. Set out Early this Morning about 2 miles to a doctor for him. If I had not got over Last Night I know not when I should for the ferry float is Broke, for which Providence I Desire to be thankful. Give me a heart blessed God. Two of our horses being Lame, and an Irish Driver I don't know when I shall Set out for home. That Depends on the Safety of Mr. Towers. Mrs. Dobes is kind to him. It is bad to be in a strange place without money, and to have no friend is worse. It is worst of all to be without hope in the Mercy of a gracious God through Jesus. Blessed be His Holy Name for that Degree of hope. I have sent word this Morning by Mr. Cutbort to Mr. Towers father which I don't expect he will get till to-morrow Night. 36 miles, a bad Road, Bed horses, are very Discouraging things. I have been trying to get a light wagon with a cover to take Mr. Towers home, but as yet cannot get any, and when I shall I know not. 2 o'clock and no doctor yet Dined on a good turkey. Sent John Smith to try to get a wagon in order to carry Mr. Towers home To-morrow. Lowery this afternoon. Sent the wagoner for hay. Hope to set out To-morrow for Phila. About 3 o'clock Doctor Enham came and says he will do all he can for him, and that if I take him in the wagon his Life

will be in Danger. Mrs. Dobes kindly agrees to Let him Stay at her house. Mr. John Smith and David Stentson consent to stay with Towers. Mrs. Dobes kindly offers to furnish them with provisions. Patrick Grogan is gone to the Doctor. A fine Evening. Likely for a fine Day to-morrow. Mrs. Martha Dodd has kindly furnished a bedstead for Mr. Towers to lay on in a warm Room that has a good fire-place in. The Doctor has sent some drops to take Every two hours, 40 at a time with another vial of Liquid to take a spoonful Every 2 hours, and very kindly provides Drink and other things for him so that I hope he will Soon Recover. The Doctor says his Disorder is a Pleurisy, and near to height. Blessed be God I find myself in good health, hoping to see my family Shortly. I purpose, God willing, to set out to-morrow Morning for home. It is now 9 o'clock at night fine star Light. The Northern Light Shows Like the Moon at its Rising.

*Monday* 28 sic [29]. Sat up with Mr. Towers till Late Last Night to give him his physic, be being in a critical Situation. Laid down and slept about 4 hours. Rose, Loaded the wagon. Set out about 6. The Road being Rough we made but poor progress. Very poor accommodation on the Road. About 10 it began to snow which made our March very troublesome. Stopped often. Lay by the further side of Neshaminy to Rest our horses. Bought some Bran and a loaf of Bread. About 3 set out, and Reached Abbington about six. Stop at a certain Gentleman's house in comfortable Expectation of Quarters, which Begged to be in his Kitchen and a cover for our Baggage, which he Resolutely Refused, and Used some unkind Expressions. Finding I could get no admittance there I ask the Loan of tubs to feed our horses in which he as kindly Refused. I at this time found a comfort in being enabled to throw myself into the arms of that God that supports those that put their trust in him. I told him I intended to proceed to Phila<sup>d</sup> after our horses had fed and Rested awhile for I often Experienced the goodness of God in worst circumstances. I

told him I only wanted to Lay at his Kitchen fire a few hours till the Moon Rose. It still Snowed fast. At first Refused our men warming themselves, telling me there was a tavern a little further on, and a good Deal more. I told him I wanted nothing of him. He went in and came out again. I had walked Down the Lane to Reconnoitre the road with a design as soon as the horses had fed and Rested awhile to go on. The Gentleman came and kindly offered me my Request, which, with some Reluctance, I Accepted. At Length put our Baggage under his shed, our horses in his stable. Lay Down by the Kitchen fire. Very comfortable after Eating some warm Bread and Milk. Rose about 3 the 29<sup>th</sup>. Set out about 4. Reached home, and found my family all well, to my great Satisfaction, about 10. And now what Shall I say. Surely God has Been good to me and mine. Blessed be God my health is preserved through all the fatigue of this winter's campaign. I cannot conclude better than in the sweet Singer of Israel in the 34 Psalm, translated by Tate and Brady.

Through all the changing scenes of Life,  
In trouble and in Joy,  
The praises of my God shall still  
My heart and tongue employ.  
The hosts of God encamp around  
The Dwellings of the Just,  
Deliverance he affords to all  
Who on his succor trust.  
Oh make but Trial of his Love.  
Experience will decide  
How Blest they are, and only they,  
Who in his Truth confide &c.

Blessed be God I can in some good Measure adopt the Language here held forth. O give me a sense of Thy goodness. Even so, amen.

If Salvation comes to our guilty Land it will be through the tender Mercy of our God. And not through the Virtue of her people. So much Swearing and profane Living is

nowhere Else to be found. It appears to me the Judgments of God will Ere Long Burst on this city, though Judgments Linger, it will assuredly take place. The wickedness of this city crys Loud for punishment. If grinding the poor is a sin, surely it is done to a great Degree. If Debauchery and Profaneness among all Sorts of people is a crying sin, Jehovah will find it here. If Restraining prayer before God, if the Slighting the house where the honor of God in a peculiar manuer dwells, is a sin, here it is a sin, here it is in perfection.

THE GOVERNOR'S MILL, AND THE GLOBE MILLS,  
PHILADELPHIA.

BY SAMUEL H. NEEDLES.

No historical sketch has been written of the water-power grain mill built for William Penn in the Northern Liberties, on Cohocksink Creek, where, for one hundred and nine years, it occupied a site afterwards used for the first "Globe" cotton mill. There is also not any connected record of the Globe Mills—the most conspicuous establishment in Kensington for many years, and until about 1850 the largest textile factory in Pennsylvania with possibly one exception. As representative places, the Governor's Mill was a diminutive prototype of monstrous flouring establishments at Minneapolis and in other cities; and the Globe Mill was one of the few factories which, in 1809, despite numerous difficulties, were striving to introduce into the United States the use of cotton machinery. Those members of the Craige, and other families, who were long identified with the latter establishment, having been some years deceased, it seems appropriate that a record of its rise and progress should now be made, before circumstances therewith connected are forgotten or lost.

No mention is made of these two mills in Hazard's or Day's Pennsylvania historical collections, and only brief and indirect notices of them in the admirable annals of Messrs. Watson, Westcott, and Ward. Although the first corn and cotton mills of other States are well noticed in Bishop's History of American Manufactures, there is no mention therein of the Governor's Mill, and very slight reference to the Globe Mills. As the "Roberts Mill" at Germantown dates from about 1683, one was built at Chester for Penn and others in 1699, and Thomas Parsons had one at Frankford in 1695, it is probable the Governor's Mill (built 1700–1701) was the fourth water-power grain mill erected after Penn's arrival. All the machinery for it, of very rude description, was im-

ported from England, as was also done for its predecessors; and there is reason to believe that English bricks were used for certain parts of the building. Power was derived from Cohocksink Creek, formerly called Coxon, Cookson, and even Mill Creek—the race descending from a pond covering almost three acres at the junction of the western branch, which entered said pond near the present northeast corner of Sixth and Thompson Streets.

The triangular sheet of water was bounded on the south by a lane, now Thompson Street, east by "Old York Road," now Fifth Street; and the third irregular line stretched from the corner above named to where the creek entered, about the present junction of Fifth Street and Timber Lane, now Master Street. The main stream, rising near the locality now known as Twenty-Fifth and Clearfield Streets, turned from its east course just below the intersection of Fifth Street with Germantown Road, and ran south into the said mill-pond. On Foley's map of 1794, the ground between the creek and race is depicted as swampy, and it is known to have been frequently inundated. "Green Mill" is the name given to this mill on said map, which will be hereinafter explained. Dimensions of the one-and-a-half story building were forty by fifty-six feet, walls very thick and of extra large stones, windows few and small; and the double-pitched shingle roof had heavy projecting eaves.

The earliest facts respecting the Governor's Mill are found in the "Penn and Logan Correspondence," where, however, they are neither frequent nor satisfactory; and no mention is made therein of mill property transfer by William Penn or his agents. When returning to England, after his second visit, Penn, writing from the ship *Dolmahoy*, in the Delaware, November 3, 1701, says:<sup>1</sup> "Get my two mills finished [one was the Schuylkill Mill, yet to be noticed] and make the most of these for my profit, but let not John Marsh put me to any great expense." The Governor's Mill, though it was certainly a great accommodation to many of the inhabi-

<sup>1</sup> P. and L. Corr., vol. i. page 60.

tants of the new town and the Liberties, did not prove a profitable investment to the owner. Part of the difficulties arose from the want, for a long time, of proper roads and bridges in its vicinity. Pegg's Run, whose course was along what is now Willow Street, caused an extensive district of marsh and meadow as far north as the junction of Front Street and Germantown Road; and on the south, similar low lands reached to and even below Callowhill Street. Watson refers to this difficulty as follows:—<sup>1</sup>

“The great mill, for its day, was the Governor's Mill, a low structure on the location of the present [1830] Craige's factory. Great was the difficulty then of going to it, they having to traverse the morass of Cohoquinaque (since Pegg's Run and marsh), on the northern bank of which the Indians were still hutted. Thence they had to wade through the Cohocsinc Creek beyond it. Wheel carriages were out of the question, but boats or canoes either ascended the Cohocsinc, then a navigable stream for such, or horses bore the grain or meal on their backs.”

Records exist of horses and their riders sinking and being lost in these marshes and quicksands, between Front and Third Streets. Watson again says (i. 478): “In the year 1713, the Grand Jury, upon an inspection of the state of the causeway and bridge over the Cohocsinc, on the road leading to the Governor's Mill, where is now [1830] Craige's manufactory, recommend that a tax of one pence per pound be laid to repair the road at the new bridge by the Governor's Mill and for other purposes.”

Above Second Street, northwest from Germantown Road, and towards the mill pond, the land became considerably elevated; and, excepting the space between the creek and the mill-race, the locality was, even up to 1820, one of much sylvan beauty, sometimes made wild enough, however, when, after heavy rains, the widely swelled creek rushed along over its muddy bed like a mountain torrent. The banks and vicinity of the mill-pond were for many years a favorite

<sup>1</sup> *Annals of Philadelphia*, ed. 1857, vol. i. page 40.



resort. Miss Sarah Eve, whose interesting diary is published in Vol. V., PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY, tells (page 193) how she and a friend wandered around its shores and gathered wild flowers.

The first difficulties from freshets and other causes at this "Town Mill," as Logan sometimes calls it, are portrayed in his letter to Penn of 7th of 3d month, 1702,<sup>1</sup> wherein he makes a general complaint about this and the Schuylkill Mill. "Those unhappy expensive mills have cost since at least £200<sup>2</sup> in our money, besides several other accounts on them. They both go these ten days past. The town mill (though before £150 had been thrown away upon her through miller's weakness and C. Empson's contrivance) does exceedingly well, and of a small one is equal to any in the province. I turned that old fool out as soon as thou wast gone, and put her into good and expeditious hands, who at the opening of frost would set her agoing, had not the want of stones delayed; and the dam afterwards breaking with a freshet prevented. A job that I was asked £100 by the miller who lately came from England (Warwick's Real) to repair, but got it done for £10. The walls in the frost were all ready to tumble down, which we were forced to underpin five feet deeper, the most troublesome piece of work we had about her. There is nothing done in all this, nor is there anything of moment, without Edward Shippen's and Griffith Owen's advice, where his is proper."

Logan writes to Penn, under date of 13th of 6 month, 1702,<sup>3</sup> with severe complaint of the aforementioned J. Marsh: "The town mill does well, but has little custom; Schuylkill Mill went ten days in the spring, but [I am] holding my hand in paying J. Marsh's bills, which he would continue to draw on me for his maintenance, notwithstanding he had

<sup>1</sup> P. and L. Corr., i. 96.

<sup>2</sup> \$730. *Vide* note, P. and L. Corr., i. 210, where Penn reckons the Pennsylvania pound to be  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the £ Sterling of \$4.8615 (present), value, say \$3.65.

<sup>3</sup> P. and L. Corr., vol. i., page 127.

the profits of the mill, went privately away from her towards New England, without any notice, and now is skulking about in that province; the mill in the mean time is running to ruin, for nobody will take to her, she is such a scandalous piece of work, should we give her for nothing.<sup>1</sup> Pray re-

<sup>1</sup> The inferior work appears to have been on the Schuylkill Mill. No one has identified the location of this establishment; and the P. and L. letters do not again mention it. Scharf and Westcott's History of Philadelphia says (i. 153) without explanation, "Penn had two mills on the Schuylkill." Also (Id., i. 146) that William Bradford, writing to the Governor, about the year 1698, states he and Samuel Carpenter were building a paper mill "about a mile from Penn's mills at Schuylkill." That there was a mill known as "The Schuylkill Mill," is proved by an advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, of July 21, 1737, which commences: "Absented himself from the Service of Richard Pearne, at Schuylkil Mill, in Blockley Township, Philadelphia County, an indentured Man," etc. Mill Creek, still known by that name, was once a considerable stream, and the two principal mill-seats on it were the one near its mouth, just below "The Woodlands," where was very early a corn-mill, known as Joseph Growden's in 1711. More recently it was for many years the Maylandville woollen-factory, and for some years after 1816, had been a saw-mill with snuff-mill annexed.

The other principal site was a short distance north from the present north-west corner of Forty-Sixth Street and Haverford Avenue, where was formerly a cotton mill occupied 1830-1843 by William Almond, whose store was at 39 North Front Street. This mill went into possession of Richard Blundin about 1843, and was by him much enlarged, and made into a cotton-woollen mill. About 1858 Captain John P. Levy bought this property from the Blundin estate; and the buildings still stand, forming part of the Levy estate. The site last named is, I think, the only one in the Schuylkill district likely to have been the "Penn Mill" or the "Schuylkill Mill." It is located one and one-eighth of a mile from the Schuylkill River, and one and three-eighths of a mile in a direct line from the Maylandville site. It appears also to have been the water power which, at and before Penn's arrival, was known as "Captain Hans Moen's Great Mill Fall," and respecting it there is the following minute from the proceedings of The Upland Court in 1678: "The Co<sup>t</sup> are of opinion that Either Capt<sup>s</sup> hans moens ought to build a mill there (as hee sayes he will) or Else suffer an other to build for the Comon good of y<sup>e</sup> parts." [Up. Ct. Rec. (reprint), pp. 114, 115, His. Soc. Penna. *Vide*, also, Wharton's Surveys, September 20th, 1675, in Sur. Gen. Off. Harrisburg.]

It is not improbable that Hans Moens declined to build, and that Penn exchanged other land for the 120 acres and the millsite which Moens

member to send over a small pair of cullen stones for this of the town."

Other mill difficulties are mentioned in Logan's letter of 2d of 8th month, 1702.<sup>1</sup> "The town mill goes well, but will not yield much profit, though the cost above £400,<sup>2</sup> without a pair of black stones or cullens, which I wrote for before. The miller next week leaves for that on Naaman's Creek; we have not yet got another." . . . There must have been additional troubles, for Penn writes anxiously to Logan from London, 1st of 2d month, 1703:<sup>3</sup> "Take care of my mills." In a letter, about 6 month, 1703, complaining of his financial difficulties and the opposition of some persons, Penn writes:<sup>4</sup> "Make this matter as easy as may be; the land granted from the mill at town's end would have done the business. . . . I can satisfy thee I have writ to none anything that can give them the least occasion against thee."

The occult expressions probably relate to the sale in 1701-2, and 3, of portions of the "bank lot" of Lætitia (Penn) Aubrey—which lot extended from Front to Second Street, and 172 feet southward from Market Street—the necessity for which seems to have been a sore point with her father. Thomas Masters had already built his "stately house" at the southeast corner of Front and Market Streets, had purchased a lot forty-six by seventy-four feet for £290, and an annual rent of two shillings, on the south side of Market above Front Street, others had also purchased lots, and Logan had signed his own name to Thomas Masters' deed,<sup>5</sup> though the attor-

held by patent confirmed to him March 10, 1669-70, O. S., by Governor F. Lovelace, of New York. [N. Y. Patents, Exn. Book 8, page 436.] This was done by Penn in the case of the Cocks and other Swedish holders of good titles to important portions of the site of Philadelphia. Moens appears to have been allied to the Cock family, for there is frequent mention in the old annals of Moens Cock.

<sup>1</sup> P. and L. Corr., vol. i. page 182.

<sup>2</sup> §1460 Pennsylvania money of present value. *Vide* P. and L. Corr., i. 209. and note 210. The value of the Pennsylvania pound was afterwards fixed at a (present) value of \$2.66½.

<sup>3</sup> P. and L. Corr., i. 142.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*, i. 182.

<sup>5</sup> Exemplification Book, No. 6, page 84, Rec. of Deeds Off., Philadelphia.

neyship of himself and Edward Penington, deceased, was duly therein recited.<sup>1</sup>

The next Logan letter which refers to the Governor's Mill is dated 5th month, 11th, 1707-8,<sup>2</sup> when he writes bitterly: "Our mill proves the unhappiest thing of the kind, that ever man, I think, was engaged in. If ill luck can attend any place more than another it may claim a charter for it. I wish it were sold."<sup>3</sup> This unfortunate condition continued nearly six years, and finally the mill was sacrificed; and it probably would have remained an incumbrance much longer, but for the invention of a woman, as will hereinafter appear.

Thomas Masters, who came from Bermuda in 1687, was one of the wealthiest of early Philadelphians. Besides various houses and lots in the built portion of the city, he acquired at sundry times over 600 acres in the Northern Liberties, mainly north and west from Cohocksink Creek, and extending from near the Delaware River beyond what is now Broad Street. He was mayor of Philadelphia in 1708, and Provincial Councillor from 1720 to 1723. Watson, under the caption "Quacks"<sup>4</sup> has the following curious story, which *may* explain the subsequent purchase of the Governor's Mill:—

"We have on record some 'fond dreams of hope' of good Mrs. Sybilla Masters (wife of Thomas) who went out to England in 1711-12 to make her fortune abroad by the patent and sale of her 'Tuscarora Rice,' so called. It was her preparation from our Indian corn, made into something like our hominy, and which she strongly recommended as a food peculiarly adapted for the relief and recovery of con-

<sup>1</sup> "The land granted from the mill at town's end" was probably part of the tract long known as "the Governor's pasture," which extended south from the mill nearly to Laurel Street, and joined the property of Daniel Pegg.

<sup>2</sup> P. and L. Corr., ii. 254.

<sup>3</sup> James Logan's idea of grist-mill property must have changed after this, for on April 4, 1718, he bought, paying £100, one-quarter interest in the "Potts Corn Mill," of Bristol Township. [D. B. "E. 7, No. 10," page 477.] The mill and its fifteen acres of land were then worked for account of James Logan, Richard Hill, Joseph Redman, and Isaac Norris.

<sup>4</sup> *Annals*, vol. ii. page 388.

sumptive and sickly persons. After she had procured the patent, her husband set up a water mill and suitable works near Philadelphia, to make it in quantities for sale."

English patent N° 401, the *first to any person in the American colonies*, was granted November 25<sup>th</sup>, 1715, "to Thomas Masters, of Pensilvania, Planter, his Exec<sup>n</sup>, Adm<sup>n</sup>, and Assignes, of the sole Use and Benefit of A New Invencon found out by Sybilla,<sup>1</sup> his wife, for Cleaning and Curing the Indian Corn Growing in the severall Colonies in America within England, Wales, and Town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and the Colonies in America."

The arrangement (*vide* plan opposite page 279) was simply two series of stamps in mortars, to be driven by horse or water-power, acting through wooden cog-wheels on a long cylinder, the latter having projections to trip stamps or mallets. There were also included a number of inclined trays. At the foot of the rude drawing of the machine there is the following in old English script, apparently an additional claim or afterthought:—

Philad<sup>a</sup> the 2<sup>d</sup> <sup>o</sup>, called August 1716.

Pursuant to his Mjst<sup>ies</sup> Grant for the using tryeing and preparing the Indian Grain fitt for transportation & Which was never before done these are Example of part of the Engines I [obscure] on my protection With the Witnesse my hand and Seale

SIBILLA MASTERS.

In tertio die Novembris Anno MD<sup>ccxvi</sup> Georgij anno tertio.<sup>2</sup>

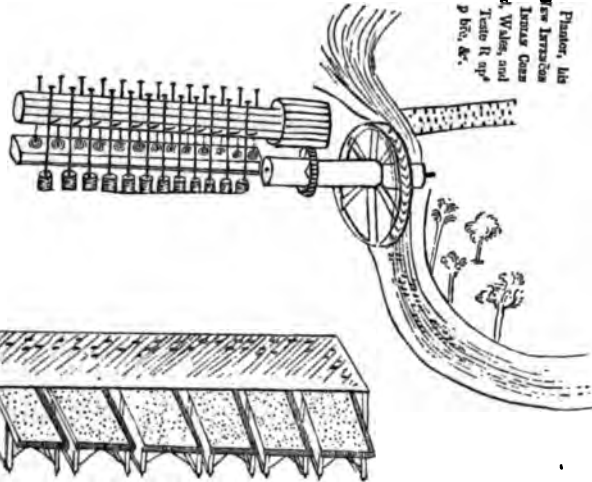
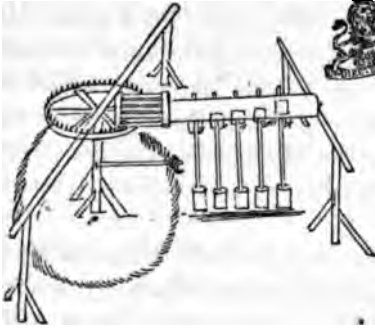
<sup>1</sup> Keith, in "Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania," page 453, states that Thomas Masters' wife was Sarah Righton, who was the mother of William Masters, to be hereinafter mentioned. In the will of Thomas Masters, Senior, although no wife is mentioned, he stipulates for a home during her life for "my mother [mother-in-law], Sarah Righton." There is no reference to the patent, nor to "Tuscarora Rice," in said will.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* vol. iv. Brit. Pats., also Brit. Pats., Agr. Div. p. 2, and framed copy of drawing in Franklin Institute, Philadelphia. Minutes of the Provincial Council show that on July 15, 1717, Thomas Masters applied for permission, which was granted, to record this patent and another, also the invention of his said wife, Sibilla [English patent No. 403, granted Feb. 18, 1716], "for the Sole Working and weaving in a New Method, Palmetto, Chips, and Straw, for covering hats and bonnets, and other improvements in that ware" (Brit. Pats. Wearing App., Div. 1, p. 1).

Cleaning and Curing Indian Corn.

LETTERS PATENT to Thomas Mather, of Pennsylvania, Printer, his Executors, Adm., and Assignors, of the said Use and Benefit of "A New and Improved Method of Cleaning and Curing Indian Corn." In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and the Great Seal of the said Kingdom of Great Britain, this 27th day of November, 1776.

Dated 27th November 1776.



Prisad the 2<sup>o</sup> mo rallas Agust 1776  
 Pursuant to his Majesty's Grant for cleansing and curing  
 preserving the Indian Corn fit for transportation of which  
 was never before done these the Dynamics of birth of  
 the Engines fitted on my invention with the Scurves my  
 Patent a Kettle

Thomas Mather

My testis die habentur dno the Beggs inu testis



By patent deed, dated December 25, 1714, under the proprietor's seal, Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, and James Logan, the duly constituted commissioners of William Penn, conveyed to Thomas Masters two tracts called "the mill land," respectively 16 and 8 acres, the former tract including the mill-pond, dam and race, the Governor's Mill and all its appurtenances, mill lot, etc.; and the other tract was stated to be contiguous "to his [T. Masters'] other lands," and probably abutted on the 18 acres above mentioned. It is, however, not possible now to trace the bounds as then given. The price paid for the whole was £250, Pennsylvania money, besides one English sixpence piece annual quit rent, being about \$912.50, present currency. It is recited in the deed that the conveyance was made with the consent of the eight holders of the mortgage on the province for £6600 sterling, given October 8, 1708,<sup>1</sup> but it is not stated that the property conveyed was subject to that incumbrance, nor was provision made for its release.<sup>2</sup> The following is a copy of this interesting document, now for the first time made public:—

PATENT TO THOMAS MASTERS FOR THE MILL LAND.

William Penn true and absolute Proprietor and Governor in Chief of the Province of Pennsylvania and territories thereunto belonging To all whom these presents shall come sends Greeting. Know ye that in consideration of the sum of two hundred and fifty pounds of lawful money of the s<sup>d</sup> Province to my use paid by Thomas Masters of the City of Philadelphia Merch<sup>t</sup> the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged & the s<sup>d</sup> Thomas Masters his Heirs Executors & administ<sup>r</sup> and every of them is by these presents forever acquitted and discharged of & from the same & every part thereof I have given granted enfeoffed released & confirmed and by these presents for me my Heirs & Successors do give grant enfeoff release and confirm unto the s<sup>d</sup> Thomas Masters

<sup>1</sup> Sergeant's Land Law, 39. Lewis, Orig. Tit., 42.

<sup>2</sup> Judge Huston (Land Titles, 231) says, that William Allen, barrister, of London, and afterwards Chief Justice, of Pennsylvania, furnished the funds to pay off the balance of this mortgage.



& his Heirs and Assigns all those sixteen acres of land situate in the county of Philadelphia near to the city of Philadelphia commonly the Mill Land. Beginning at a stake by the Mill creek at a corner of John Stacy's land and extending East North East by s<sup>d</sup> Stacy's land forty two perches to a corner post thence North North West by Robert Fairman's land thirty six perches to a White oak sapling thence West South West sixteen perches to a post on the Mill race then on the several courses of the race seventy five perches to the side of the Mill Pond thence crossing the Pond & Creek South thirty seven degrees West twelve perches to the Bank on the South side of the Creek then continuing the same course ten perches to the corner of Thomas Masters his pasture then South thirty degrees West forty perches to the Mill Creek then down the same on the several courses thereof eighty six perches to the beginning containing sixteen acres together with all that Grist or Corn Mill and Mill thereon commonly called and known by the name of the Governor's Mill. And all the messuages tenements Mill Houses edifices and buildings whatsoever now standing and erected on the said land or any part thereof and all & singular the timber and trees Woods underwoods Meadows Swamps Cripples orchards Gardens Mill Ponds Mill Dam Banks race streams Creeks Waters Watercourses ways easements profits commodities privileges advantages emoluments & appurtenances and all the implements utensils & materials whatsoever to the s<sup>d</sup> Mill or Mills belonging or in anywise appertaining or therewith now or at any time heretofore used occupied or enjoyed Together also with all that piece or parcel of ground taken out of my Manor or reputed Manor of Springetsbury adjoining to the other lands of the s<sup>d</sup> Thomas Masters Beginning at a corner of Richard Hill's land & running by the s<sup>d</sup> Manor of Springetsbury North thirteen degrees East seventy five perches to a small White oak marked then by Thomas Masters his other land South twenty five degrees East forty perches to a post thence South South West fifty eight perches to a post in Richard Hill's line then by the same North West sixteen perches to the beginning containing eight acres and

all the Mines Minerals Quarries Meadows Marshes Savannahs Swamps Cripples Woods Underwoods timber & trees ways waters watercourses liberties profits commodities advantages hereditaments & appurtenances whatsoever to the s<sup>d</sup> sixteen acres and to the s<sup>d</sup> eight acres of land in anywise belonging and lying within the bounds thereof (three full and clear fifth parts of all royal Mines free from all deductions and reprisals for digging & refining the same only excepted & hereby reserved). And also free leave right & liberty to & for the s<sup>d</sup> Thomas Masters his Heirs & Assigns to Hawk Hunt Fish & Fowl in & upon the hereby granted land and premises or upon any part thereof. To Have and to Hold the s<sup>d</sup> sixteen acres of Mill land and the Mills erected thereon and the s<sup>d</sup> eight acres & other the premises (except before excepted) with all and singular the appurtenances to the s<sup>d</sup> Thomas Masters his Heirs & Assigns to the only proper use and behoof of the s<sup>d</sup> Thomas Masters his Heirs & Assigns forever. To be holden of me my Heirs and Successors Proprietors of Pennsylvania as of our Manor or reputed Manor of Springetisbury in the county of Philadelphia in fee & common socage by fealty only in lieu of all other services yielding and paying therefore yearly to me my Heirs and Successors at Philadelphia at or upon the first day of March in every year from the first survey thereof one English silver sixpence for y<sup>e</sup> whole s<sup>d</sup> hereby granted premises or value thereof in co<sup>m</sup> current to such person or persons as shall from time to time be appointed to receive the same.

In Witness whereof I have by virtue of my commission to my Proprietary Deputies hereinafter named bearing date the ninth day of November in the year one thousand seven hundred and eleven caused my great seal to be hereunto affixed by and with y<sup>e</sup> consent and approbation of Henry Gouldney & others y<sup>e</sup> trustees for raising a certain sum of money out of my said Province Witnessed by their power to my s<sup>d</sup> Deputies bearing date the tenth day of the s<sup>d</sup> November Witness Richard Hill Isaac Norris & James Logan my s<sup>d</sup> Deputies at Philadelphia the five and twentieth day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and fourteen

and in the first year of the reign of King George over Great Britain &c.

Richard Hill      Isaac Norris      James Logan

Recorded y<sup>e</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> of September 1719, in Patent Book A. Vol. 5 page 383. Copied in Exemplification Record N<sup>o</sup> 2, page 219, in Recorder of Deeds' office, Philad<sup>a</sup>.

Thomas Masters died in 1723, "seized" as two of the principal briefs of title now express it, "of about 600 acres in the Northern Liberties, Philadelphia." Of all title previous to 1723, the said briefs are silent. His will (Deed book D. page 380), dated Dec. 4<sup>th</sup> 1723, was proved January 16<sup>th</sup> 1723 O. S. In this will is the following clause:—

"And I give and devise unto my said son William Masters and to his Heirs and Assigns forever, all that my Messuage or Tenement, Plantation and Lands on the South West side of Germantown Road aforesaid in the said Northern Liberties, beginning at the Intersection of John Harvey's line, and from thence extending with the same Road unto the Land claimed by Benjamin Fairman, and from the Road westward and southward to the full extent of my Boundaries so as to include my whole Right in Lands there. Together with the Mill, Mill-house, Buildings, Improvements and Appurtenances to the same Messuage and Plantation belonging . . . . and all utensils belonging to husbandry or y<sup>e</sup> mill aforesaid." He also requests that his cousin Richard Tyson should have, for a coopershop, a piece from certain tracts of land devised to his sons William and Thomas jointly—said piece to be "somewhere near the Mill."

[It will be well to pause here to consider a singular fact. Among numerous conveyances of tracts large and small in the Northern Liberties to Thomas Masters, no plain mention appears to be made in any of them of the mill, mill-pond, or race as constituting neighboring property or boundaries, except where Mary Fairman, widow of Benjamin, by deed September 8<sup>th</sup> 1719 (Deed book F, page 76) conveyed 256 acres to Thomas Masters, and among other bounds it is recited, that the tract is "bounded on the west by lands of John Stacey and the Governor's Mill." This silence is the

more remarkable, since the mill and water power were of considerable importance to the district. In a deed of confirmation from Nicholas Moore, Jr., and sister to Thomas Masters, dated April 23, 1713,<sup>1</sup> it is stated that 280 acres—200 in one tract and 80 in another—had been conveyed by Dr. Griffith Owen, “by deed acknowledged in the Court of Common Pleas, September 7, 1704,” to Thomas Masters (the original record cannot now be found), “which said premises were formerly in the tenure of the said Nicholas More;” but there is no mention in said confirmatory deed of mill-pond, dam, or mill-property. The 80 acres were deeded to Dr. More by Thomas Holme, Sept. 5th, 1685.<sup>2</sup> Further, although in the printed explanation of the map of 1750—as republished in 1846—the 16 acres, forming part of the “Mill Land” aforesaid, are mentioned as purchased by Thomas Masters “from the proprietors” (an incorrect plurality), and though the courses thereof are the *same* as in the patent deed for the mill land as hereinbefore given, there is no mention in said reprint of any mill-property, except that one of the courses of the 16-acre tract was “W. S. W., 16 perches to a mill race;” and another boundary ran “on the several courses of the race 75 perches.”]

Mr. Townsend Ward (PENNA. MAG. OF HIS., V. 4) remarks: “On the map of 1750 there is placed between the branches

<sup>1</sup> Recorded in deed book E, No. 7, vol. 8, page 360. Both this and the 80-acre tract are shown on Reed & Hall's map of 1750, as lying between the west branch of the Cohocksink and the creek itself. The 200 acres surround on the west and northwest a tract of 12 acres marked T. Masters, in the forks of the two streams, which last-named portion must have included the mill-pond, not shown, however, nor is the race.

It is interesting—as recited in the old deed—that Dr. N. More, of London, was buried on the 80-acre tract, which appears to have been his residence for some years. He was—for that period—a very wealthy man, president of The Society of Free Traders (see its constitution, etc., in vol. ii. page 37, PENNA. MAG. OF HIS.) and possessor in his own right of 10,000 to 15,000 acres of land in and near Philadelphia—a portion of which tracts formed the “Manor of Moreland.”

<sup>2</sup> Deed book E, vol. v. page 134.

of the [Cohocksink] stream spoken of, a property marked "Masters," and another one similarly marked to the east of it. These are the same that Varlé, on his map, marks as "Penn's." The tract of 200 acres, already mentioned as conveyed by Dr. Griffith Owen to Thomas Masters, was called "Green Spring,"<sup>1</sup> and was long the summer home of the latter, and afterwards of his son William Masters. This name will explain the appellation "Green Mill" on Foley's map of 1794.

Thomas Masters, Jr., died in December, 1740, without issue, and by will dated December 4, 1740, left nearly all his real estate to his brother William Masters. The latter married, at Christ Church, August 31, 1754, Mary Lawrence, who had either inherited or had built the mansion on the south side of Market below Sixth Street, occupied for two years as headquarters by Sir William Howe, and upon whose site Robert Morris afterwards erected the house where President Washington resided. William Masters was, for many years, one of the principal citizens of Philadelphia, and held several honorable public offices.<sup>2</sup> He resided partly at his "bank house" southeast corner of Market and Front Streets, but chiefly, as Keith says,<sup>3</sup> "at the plantation of Green Spring, operating the Globe Mill on Cohocksink Creek;" but, as here

<sup>1</sup> "Att a councill Held att philadelphia Die Martis 23 Aprill 1695, 5 in the afternoone,"—in regard to certain debts due by Nicholas More's estate, and to raise funds for educating his minor children, it was ordered: "That the said John Holme might be permitted & allowed to sell the plantaon of Green-spring, with all y<sup>e</sup> Lands & improvements thereto belonging . . . . and that the members of Councill for the Countie of philadelphia, or any two of y<sup>m</sup>, may supervise the said sales." . . . . *Colonial Records*, vol. i. page 476.

<sup>2</sup> One of the few modes of speculation among business men in those early days, is indicated by an advertisement which appeared in the Philadelphia papers in 1739, over the signature of William Masters and two others, offering to sell the time of a large number of Palatines [Redemptioners], who had just arrived in a ship from London.

<sup>3</sup> Prov. Coun. of Penna., page 453, etc. The dwelling of the plantation, as shown on a map made for the British General Howe in 1777, was near what is now the northwest corner of Eighth and Dauphin Streets.

inafter shown, he probably rented the mill or mills to other parties.

All the woodwork of the mill was destroyed by fire, as per an item in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of March 20<sup>th</sup>, 1740. "Tuesday last [March 18<sup>th</sup>] the Mill commonly called the Governor's Mill, near this Town, took Fire (as it's thought by the Wadding of Guns fired at Wild Pidgeons)—and was burnt down to the Ground." The reason given was not improbable, since the country around was in an almost original state of wildness, and the shingle roof must have been then in a crumbling condition, inviting ignition. William Masters put a new ground floor, attic floor, roof, and windows upon the solid walls that remained, but circumstances about to be mentioned indicate that no grain grinding machinery was placed in the mill. William Masters died November 24, 1760, and his will<sup>1</sup> gives to his wife Mary a life interest in the aforesaid<sup>2</sup> "bank house" and his plantation of "Green Spring," or so much of the latter as *was not leased*. The whole of his extensive real estate was to be equally divided among his daughters Mary, Sarah, and Rachel (the last named afterwards died in childhood); and the widow was also to receive an annuity of £350 from the rents of the estate.

The first known change of the property in question from a corn mill is shown by an advertisement which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* frequently during the early part of

<sup>1</sup> Proved January 30, 1761, Will book M, page 38. Benjamin Franklin, Joseph Fox, and Joseph Galloway were made executors, and with Mrs. Masters were to be guardians of the three minor daughters.

<sup>2</sup> This house, or the upper stories fronting on Front Street, was, as shown by an advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, of May 26, 1790, the clock and watch store of Ephraim Clarke, and his residence, and probably had been for some years thus occupied. There was a clock face in the transom over the front door; and it was an almost daily practice with Washington to walk to the London Coffee House corner, opposite, to compare his watch with this standard regulator. Benjamin and Ellis Clarke, sons of Ephraim, continued the business; and a son of Ellis, I believe, remained there as watchmaker. The old clock was in the transom until the year 1843-4, when the present granite and brick store was erected on the site, after immense trouble from water which invaded the foundation.

the year 1760.<sup>1</sup> The announcement has the representation of a peculiar bottle and the proprietary seal, and, in part, reads as follows: "Whereas Benjamin Jackson, Mustard and Chocolate Maker, late of London, now of Lætitia Court, near the lower end of the Jersey Market in Philadelphia, finding that, by his former method of working those articles he was unable to supply all his customers, he therefore takes the liberty of thus informing the Publick, that he has now at a very considerable expense, erected machines proper for those businesses, at the mill in the Northern Liberties of this city, formerly known by the name of the Governor's, alias Globe Mill, where they all go by water, altho' he sells them only at his Mustard and Chocolate Store, in Lætitia Court, as usual."

Very soon after, perhaps in the year 1760, a partnership was formed between a Captain Crathorne and Jackson, to continue this business at the Globe Mill.<sup>2</sup> Jackson's interest was purchased by Crathorne in 1765; and the latter dying in 1767, his widow, after having removed store and dwelling to the corner of Market Street and Lætitia Court, advertised that she would continue "the manufacture of the articles of mustard and chocolate, at those incomparable mustard and chocolate works at the Globe Mill, on Germantown Road." She died in 1778.

Until 1839, there stood, fronting lengthwise upon Germantown Road and a few feet south of the present position of the stack of the Globe Mills, a small 1½ story building. Its stone walls were over two feet in thickness, while the chimney and some other parts were built of English bricks, evidently imported very early, for such practice did not continue after 1720. Tradition among the Craige Family and others says this was originally a grist mill; some have always heard that it was a snuff mill just before the Revolution. Both traditions may be correct. Although there is

<sup>1</sup> See one on January 3d. Wagstaff & Hunt also advertise concurrently in same journal, mustard for sale "at the sign of the Key in Market Street, or at their Mustard Mill, in Tradesman Street, near the New Market, Society Hill, Philadelphia."

<sup>2</sup> PENNA. MAG. OF HIS., iv. 492.

no distinct mention thereof, it is possible the building was erected by James Logan and his advisers as accessory to the Governor's Mill.<sup>1</sup> The ancient English bricks partly composing it seem to favor this idea; about these there is no error, for Mr. Henry Einwechter informed me that he aided his father to build them into the stack of the Globe Mills.

Another view is, that since Thomas Masters obtained possession in 1714, and had the intention of making "Tuscarora Rice," he may have built this small mill to develop that business. As already quoted, Watson expressly says that he "set up a water-mill and suitable works near Philadelphia to make it in quantities for sale." If this were so, it was because he desired not to disarrange the machinery of the Governor's Mill. That there were two mills at the time of Thomas Masters' death seems probable from an expression in his will, "Together with the mill-house, building, etc."

It is almost a certainty that this small house formed part of the mustard works of Crathorne & Jackson, even if not previously a snuff mill. Such a building, with or without power, could have been, and probably was, used as part of the block calico printing works of Jno. Hewson, yet to be mentioned as located at the Globe Mill shortly after the year 1800. As to the power used, we can only conjecture. The topography and elevation were such that a branch from the race—the location of which will be hereinafter described—could have supplied a *breast* wheel of same diameter as the overshot wheel of the Governor's Mill, or an overshot wheel of about 8 feet less diameter. There was, doubtless, at first, ample water for the amount of work that could be done in this little place; but many small mills were worked by single horsepower at that time.

Mrs. Mary Masters continued to reside during the remainder of her life chiefly at "Green Spring;" and in 1771 there appeared the notice of a petition by citizens, that "a public road leading from the upper end of Fourth Street to the

<sup>1</sup> The deed of the Mill Land to Thomas Masters recites: "Together with all that grist or corn mill *and mill* thereon . . . and *all the millhouses* utensils and materials whatsoever to the said mill *or mills* appertaining;" also, "To have and to hold *the mills* erected."



Widow Masters' land, near her mill dam, should be opened into the Germantown Road," which was granted.

On May 21, 1772, Mary, daughter of William Masters and Mary, his wife, married Richard Penn,<sup>1</sup> grandson of William Penn; and in 1774 (various minor conveyances, agreements about annuities, etc., having in the interim been made among the parties in interest) it became needful, for important reasons, to define with certainty the boundaries and location of the various properties then jointly belonging to Mary Masters Penn and Sarah Masters, and to make a legal division. Lewis, in *Original Land Titles in Pennsylvania*, page 166, says: "The original survey of the Liberty Land was lost at a very early date,<sup>2</sup> and in 1703 a warrant issued by virtue of which the whole was resurveyed as far as practicable, according to the original lines."<sup>3</sup> This must have altered the courses and bounds as recorded in many first patents and deeds; and even the revised boundaries were now, in large degree, obliterated, owing to the marks being chiefly wooden posts and notched trees. The division was, however, the more imperative, because an act of Assembly of 1705 was in force, which, though very vague, might through neglect, cause much confusion and dispute. "Seven years' quiet possession of lands within the Province, which were first entered on upon equitable right, shall forever give an unquestioned title to the same as against all during the estate whereof they are or shall be possessed."<sup>4</sup>

On December 12, 1774, at the petition of Richard Penn, Mary Masters Penn and Sarah Masters, the Court of Com-

<sup>1</sup> Keith, *Prov. Coun.*, 427, 428, has the following curious statement: "After war broke out he [Richard Penn] wrote to a friend, that he was thankful his marriage had provided him with sufficient fortune to live in England, away from the scene of trouble." . . . In England he became very poor. His attorney wrote in 1780: "My friend R. Penn's distresses have almost drove him to distraction. I understand from Mrs. Penn, they are now kept from starving by the bounty of Mr. Barclay." Richard Penn visited Philadelphia in 1806, and lived for awhile at 210 Chestnut Street between 8th and 9th Streets. He died in England, May 27, 1811, aged 76.

<sup>2</sup> *Hill v. West*, 4 Yeates, 142, 144.

<sup>3</sup> *Hurst v. Durnell*, 1 W. C. C. R. 262.

<sup>4</sup> *Sergeant's Land Law*, 44; 1 *Smith's Laws*, 48.

mon Pleas of Philadelphia ordered a partition of the real estate of William Masters, deceased, equally between his two surviving daughters, which division, and settlement of bounds, was made by a sheriff's jury, and returned under date of March 1, 1775.<sup>1</sup> Herein (or perhaps more clearly shown in "Briefs of Titles," pamphlets, vol. ii. in library of His. Soc. of Penna., in the matter of "Lands held by trustees of Mrs. Mary Masters Ricketts," a daughter by the subsequent marriage of Sarah Masters, page x.), certain tracts, *i. e.*, No. 10 of 26 acres, and No. 12 of 4 acres and 80 perches, were, *inter alia* (seventeen in all), adjudged to Sarah Masters; but, as also in the more ancient instances already mentioned, neither mill nor water power was recited in said partition.

[As nearly as I can trace the boundaries, it was No. 10, only two acres larger than the two tracts in the deed for the "Mill land" to Thomas Masters, or, perhaps Nos. 10 and 12, which together included the mill land, mill buildings, and water power, afterwards forming the Globe Cotton Mill property. With the latter there were various lots, the one where the mill was located extending north as far as the junction of Third Street with Germantown Avenue—Franklin Street, afterwards Girard Avenue, not being then opened.<sup>2</sup> These remarks, are of course, somewhat anticipatory.]

Miss Masters, after the adjudication of her real estate, continued renting the Globe Mill to parties for purposes similar to the one already mentioned; but for many years, records on the subject, if they exist, are not accessible. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of January 6, 1790, however, has an advertisement stating that mustard and chocolate manufacturing was continued by W. Norton & Co., and M. Norton & Co.,

<sup>1</sup> Recorded in Partition deed book, Docket No. 1, Supreme Court. page 310. By this partition there was no prejudice to the life right of the Widow Masters in certain parts of the property, as above mentioned. She died in London, in 1799.

<sup>2</sup> It is evident that tract No. 12, of four acres and eighty perches, could not yield all this large property, including the race and mill-pond, since the latter alone contained two acres and forty nine perches. This may seem of inferior importance, but in briefs of title exactness is needful.

"who give *thirty-two shillings* per bushel for good, clean, *Mustard Seed*, and in proportion for smaller quantities, at the store of the deceased [most probably the Widow Crathorne, as the place is the same], now of the subscriber, on the south side of Market Street, about half way between Front and Second Streets, where orders from town or country are carefully attended to by John Haworth."

The Philadelphia journals of 1790-2 show active competition in the spice business; and probably Mr. Haworth did not continue it long. In 1792 or '93, James Davenport put in operation at the Globe Mills, machinery patented by him in 1791 for spinning and weaving flax, hemp and tow, by water power. The mill was visited by President Washington and several members of Congress in 1793. Davenport died a few years thereafter, and the machinery was sold in 1798.<sup>1</sup>

In 1779, John Hewson, a revolutionary soldier, had established linen printing works, using hand printing blocks, at what was afterwards Dyottville, and now the suburb Richmond, receiving £200 aid from the Assembly in 1789. Mrs. Washington frequently wore calico dresses, woven in Philadelphia and printed at this establishment. Bishop mentions [His. of A. M. ii. 100], that John Hewson's print works were removed to the Globe Mills, but does not state in what year. They were there in 1803.<sup>2</sup>

Sarah Masters visited England, Scotland and Ireland in 1795, and while there, married Turner Camac, a scion of one

<sup>1</sup> Scharf & Westcott's "His. of Philadelphia." 1884, iii. 2310. Bishop, His. of Amer. Mfrs., ii. 51, also says: "A number of carding machines for cotton and wool were recently (1794) constructed, and eight spinning frames on the Arkwright principle, and several mules were erected at the Globe Mill in the Northern Liberties."

Introduction to vol. iv. page 106. U. S. Census 1860, has the following on this effort: "The labor was done chiefly by boys, each of whom was able to spin in ten hours 97.333 yards of flaxen or hempen thread, using 20 to 40 pounds of hemp according to fineness, and another could weave on the machinery 15 to 20 yards of sail-cloth per diem."

<sup>2</sup> It is quite possible that for some years his son John Hewson, Jr., continued a print works at or near the former place; for, as late as 1808, he is mentioned in the directory as a calico printer, located or residing in Beach Street above Maiden [Laurel] Street.

of the oldest Irish families, originally of Spanish extraction; he possessed several handsome landed estates, and a valuable copper mine. Miss Masters shortly before her marriage obtained from John Davagne £5000 on mortgage upon her real estate in the Northern Liberties. Some years after their marriage, when Mr. and Mrs. Camac came to reside in the large old house on the west side of Third above Union Street, Philadelphia, and Mr. Devagne having in the mean time died, it became a question how to avoid inconvenience, and by whom to cancel the said mortgage, and thereafter give indefeasible titles to portions of the property sold, at same time protecting the interests of both wife and husband. There would have been no difficulty in obtaining a large sum on mortgage, but that was inadvisable, as the property was becoming very valuable, was wanted, and must be minutely subdivided on sale. The plan adopted was for a friend to buy the whole property at sheriff's sale, consequent on an amicable suit by Devagne's executor, reimburse outlay by sales of lots in his own name, and then reconvey the remainder, unencumbered. Benjamin R. Morgan, one of the most esteemed citizens of Philadelphia (admitted to practice as attorney in 1785, secretary of the Philadelphia Library from 1792 to 1825, and judge of the District Court in 1821), was the disinterested friend who performed this service; and to him all the property was conveyed by sheriff's deed dated April 3, 1809.<sup>1</sup> In said deed, among the various tracts described, neither the Governor's Mill, nor the "mill land," nor mill-pond is mentioned. Although anticipatory, it is proper here to mention that Mr. Morgan, after conveyance of the Governor's Mill and other land therewith, about to be mentioned, and the sale of certain other lots of ground, conveyed in 1812, "out of friendship to Turner Camac"—as expressed in the deed—all the residue of the tracts and lots comprising Sarah Masters Camac's estate to two trustees "for the benefit of Turner Camac and Wife." This formed what for many years was known as the Camac Estate.

(To be continued.)

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<sup>1</sup> Book C, Sup. Ct. Rec., Philadelphia, page 378.

GENERAL SIR FREDERICK HALDIMAND IN  
PENNSYLVANIA.

BY G. D. SKULL, OXFORD, ENGLAND.

General Haldimand, like many other British and Swiss officers who served in America before the Revolution, invested most of his spare money in buying up choice and desirable tracts of land throughout the country. In this way the subject of our notice may be said to have identified himself with Pennsylvania, as will be seen by the following letter, addressed to him by his old friend and Swiss compatriot Major Augustin Prevost. General Haldimand owned, besides the Pennsylvania estate alluded to, the extensive seigniority of Pabôs in Canada, which was, in 1772, under the management of his nephew, Pierre Haldimand. This estate had been purchased by him soon after his arrival in America. After the passing of the act of expulsion of the Acadians from Nova Scotia, General Haldimand applied to that government for permission to receive a number of the unfortunate exiles at Pabôs. This estate, once known as Pabôs, is said to be now called by the name of Haldimand, and has been erected either into a township or a county. The following genealogical notes concerning the Swiss family of Haldimand have been furnished by a correspondent in Switzerland. The family derived their descent from "honest" (*honniête*) Gaspard Haldimand, originally of the bailiwick of Thun, in Cantou Berne, who removed to Yverdun, 1st April, 1671, and was admitted to citizenship 26 March, 1694, with his four sons, one of whom François Lois, notary and justiciary of Yverdun (1728-1737), married Marie Madelaine de Traytorrens, and had several sons and one daughter. Frederick Haldimand, said to have been the eldest son of the above François, was born in Yverdun. He entered the military service, and passed many years in America. One of his brothers, Jean Abraham Haldimand, became a banker in

Turin, and married, in 1745, Marie Justine, daughter of J. J. Long, and Marie Bonijal, and had eight children. Their only daughter was named Marie Madelaine Haldimand. Another brother of Frederick Haldimand was François Louis, who was Secretary-bailiff of the valley of Yverdun, and married Esther Chaillet.

Several generations of the family of Haldimand have been settled at Locust Grove, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. They claim to be descended from Jacob, a brother of General Frederick Haldimand. In process of time this American branch seems to have dropped the final "d" in the family name. Jacob Haldimand was born October 7, 1722, and died in Rappo Township, Pennsylvania, where he settled on first coming to America, and purchased a considerable tract of land. His son John settled at Locust Grove (1753-1832), and was succeeded by his eldest son John Breneman Haldiman (1779-1836), from whom the estate passed to his fourth son, Henry Haldiman (1787-1849), who married Frances Stehman (1794-1826), and was the father of the distinguished scientist, the late Samuel Stehman Haldiman, who died September 10, 1880.<sup>1</sup>

Frederick Haldimand served in the armies of Sardinia and Prussia with his friend Henry Boquet. Commissions of Lieutenant-Colonel were offered them by Sir Joseph Yorke, the English minister at the Hague in 1756. In the following year they went to America. Colonel Haldimand distinguished himself at Ticonderoga in July 8, 1758, and also at the defence of Oswego in 1759 against the French and Indians. He was with General Amhurst at Montreal from 1760 to 1762, and was appointed Colonel, and placed in command of Florida in 1767, on the death there of Colonel Henry Boquet. He was made Major-General May 25, 1772, and succeeded General Gage at New York in 1773. On General Gage's return from England to resume the command, General Haldimand was sent to Boston, where he was in a short time replaced by General Gage in 1774. Being re-

<sup>1</sup> *Memoir of S. S. Haldiman by Charles Henry Hart, 1881.*

lieved of his command, he was summoned to England, by the ministry, to act as their adviser on American affairs. Here he remained until his appointment as Governor-General of Quebec and Canada in 1778, succeeding General Guy Carlton. His full official title then was "Captain-General and Governor-in-chief in and over the Provinces of Quebec and the Territories depending thereon in American, Vice-Admiral of the same, General and Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's Forces in the said Provinces and Frontiers thereof, &c. &c. &c." He was created a Knight of the Bath May 19, 1778. At the close of the year 1784 he retired to England, and succeeded Lord Heathfield July 30, 1787, as Governor-in-chief of Gibraltar. He eventually retired to Yverdon, Switzerland, where he died in the house of his brother, June 5, 1791. Antoine François Haldimand, the son of Jean Abraham and of Marie Justine Long, became a banker in London, and eventually inherited the property of his uncle, the General. He married Miss Pickersgill, by whom he had twelve children. One of his sons, William Haldimand, was born in London, September 9, 1784, and died at Lausanne, September 20, 1862. He was the friend of Charles Dickens, and is mentioned in John Foster's Life. He is said to have found the material for his election scene in Pickwick in his friend William Haldimand's election at Ipswich. William Haldimand bequeathed all the papers of General Haldimand, numbering between two and three hundred volumes, to the British Museum. In the above volumes are also bound up all the papers of General Henry Boquet on American affairs, which were left at his death in 1765 to his friend General Haldimand.

Major Augustin Prevost ("of Montgomery, State of Pennsylvania") to General Fred<sup>k</sup> Haldimand (in London) 18 August, 1788.

"I have just returned from the western country, where I called in consequence of seeing that your lands had been again advertized for the Taxes of last year by the Commissioners of Bedford which evinces the great desire they have of availing themselves of every advantage over the absentees

to obtain their property on their own terms, however your lands were not the only one in that predicament and jointly with them have taken such measures as in future will place it out of the power of those counties to take any unjustifiable advantage of the absent Proprietors. I visited your different Tracts and but two of them had settlers, the first and nearest to Bedford, I mentioned formerly to have leased to an Industrious German for seven years on an *improving lease*, the distance of this farm may be about 9 miles from the town. The other tract is situated on the Vineyard or crooked Creek, on which I found a tolerable Farmer who had erected a sort of Grist mill with a small pair of stones, but the whole going to decay. To this man, I have granted a lease for seven years, but with conditions which I trust you will approve of. He is to rebuild the mill with good square timber and a good shingle roof, the same to his dwelling house with a good stone chimney; he is to clear fifteen acres of meadow, to build a Barn of 60 feet by 20 with good fences all which he is to deliver up in good order at the expiration of his lease and to pay a yearly rent of 12£ per annum. All these clearings and buildings he has covenanted under the penalty of 200£ to perform in the first 3 years of his lease. I have divided this Tract into 3 farms on the two other I have leased much in the same manner with the exception of the mill and they are to pay me £7.10 each per annum. They pay all taxes exclusively. By this means the rent that will accrue from these farms will more than repay the Taxes arising on the unimproved tracts. The distance of these farms is about five miles from Huntingdon the County Town and about 42 miles from Bedford. The Vineyard empties in to the Juniata which again empties itself into the Susquehanna and is navigable for boats all the way to Lewisburg formerly Harris's Ferry, an immense advantage to the settlers in that part as they can so readily convey their grain to a good market. I propose endeavouring to procure settlers for the other Tracts which will at once remove every difficulty beside that of rendering your properties so much more valuable. Several Swiss families from the neighbour-



hood of Bern arrived in this State some few weeks ago. I met with several on my way over the mountains exploring the back country and seeking for lands to settle on. Had I then been as well acquainted with the local situation of your lands, as I now am I could have provided for ten families of them to very great advantage to both parties. I have however left two of them with the people on the Vineyard Tract, who are to assist in the clearings which they have contracted for of each 15 acres of meadow, exclusive of the arable or tillable land. I made them some small advances to enable them to bring up their small luggage from the inner settlements but this shall come with the rent when it becomes due. Your lands, Sir, are in general good and well watered and must now very soon become of much value. Most of them have roads either very near or through them, and settlements all round, some of some consequence and value. I proceeded from thence to Bedford there to arrange the business of the taxes with the Commissioners which in the whole did not amount to 6£. My son accompanied me and I thought you would be glad to see some one who had been on this part of your estate. He will have the honor (should he receive his leave in time) to pay you his respects, sometime this autumn. An idea has struck me, that may perhaps meet with your approbation, that is, as your Brother resides in England and the spirit of emigration, so prevails through Europe, he could perhaps without expence or much difficulty, recommend to me 10 or 12 families which I could immediately place on your lands. The Americans, I observe have a partiality for the Swiss or Germans. Could such come over and able as those already arrived have done to pay their passage, it would be a great advantage to them to find on their landing a person ready to receive and convey them to their destination and to you Sir would prove of an immediate value and realize every expectation you may have formed respecting this part of your property. If after they are on the premises it should be found necessary to afford them some small aid, such as the purchase of a couple of low priced horses, a cow and their seed Grain, I am well assured that in three

years they would repay both the capital and interest, at any event their improvements and the stock itself would prove a sufficient security for their performance. These articles I calculate at the rate of about ten guineas to each of those families as had not within themselves the means of making so essential and necessary a purchase. These people would meet with countenance and a friendly reception. The fertility of that country and its rapid increase in population gives weight to my proposals. I am myself so morally certain of its advantages that I offer myself to conduct them and remain with them until properly fixed. I am far from being an enthusiast to this business, it is suggested by the best information and observation. My gratitude towards you alone dictates on this occasion and shall think myself happy if any of my time can be devoted to your interest. I have only traced the general outlines of the Plan which I here submit to you and which my observation of things and custom of settling in this country points out to be best advantageous to the settlers and landlord. The general adoption of the new federal Government appears to raise the expectation of the people to the highest pitch. Their political salvation seems to hinge on the event. How far their hope will be realized time must unfold, for it will require *time* to organize such an unwieldy machine. Their finances and their resources have equal depth, but as I am a poor conjecturing politician I will not intrude by lengthening of this already too long a letter. I wrote to Mrs. Prevost by this opportunity. I am the more sensible of her goodness to me as it was through your generous interference that she was stimulated to act so liberally towards me."

Extract from a letter (in French) from Major Augustin Prevost, dated 28 November, 1789, from "near Philadelphia," to General Haldimand "in London." My last apprised you of the death of Capt. Hutchins. Your business affairs will not feel the effects of it at all. The change which must take place, will enhance the value of your lands. The residence of the supreme power of the United States being decidedly fixed in this Province. I look for my own retirement into

our colonies. In the meantime the state of my affairs will only allow me sometime. When that will take place you can feel assured that your affairs will remain in good and sure hands, and which will be faithfully watched for your best interests. Sir William Moore Smith, the near relative of the English Consul, advocate, and my friend, who has himself much land in the same county, very much wishes to assist me, and take my place in everything that will be necessary in the event of my absenting myself. I take the liberty of praying, if the occasion presents itself of vouchsafing of your remembering me. I know not if it will be in Jamaica or in Canada that I shall pass over to. Time and circumstances will decide that. I do not wish, Sir, to weary you with the recital of my unhappy situation. Madame Prevost knows and appears to be perfectly sensible of it and perhaps you have shared in a part of her knowledge concerning it.

The writer of the above letter, Major Augustin Prevost, was the son of General Augustin Prevost, a native of Switzerland. Major Prevost was born in Geneva in 1744, and died at "Hush Hush farm at the foot of the Catskill Mountains in January, 1822. He married 1<sup>st</sup> Susannah daughter of C<sup>l</sup> Croghan of the British Army by whom he had 6 surviving children. After the death of his 1<sup>st</sup> wife Major Prevost m<sup>d</sup> Miss Bogardus of N. York by whom he had a large family. This American branch of the Prevost family is now represented by M<sup>r</sup> Theodore L. Prevost of Greene Co., New York.

Governor General Haldimand to Sir Henry Clinton, 16 November, 1780.

Sir: An idea has just struck me, which if improved I think may be highly advantageous to the King's service in this Province in which I have to request your Excellency's assistance. General Amherst having been frequently in the Provinces upon business, before the breaking out of the Rebellion, had an opportunity of being intimately known to and forming connections with the inhabitants both French

and English particularly at Montreal. In his military capacity he distinguished himself at the siege of this place and in other parts of the Province by which he acquired the perfect confidence of the disaffected inhabitants and of course took the advantage of retaining them as emissaries in the Rebel interest. I have suspected many persons to be concerned in this business, which has been a continual source of inconvenience and disappointments to the service, but by the art and secrecy of those employed & many of them being under the influence of religion, all my efforts to discover them, have been ineffectual & th<sup>o</sup> I have confined some upon well founded suspicion yet I cannot obtain proofs sufficient to justify my making an example. Before the French alliance, I suspected the Jesuits and some few of the clergy—since, I am confident that the greatest part of them have entered warmly into the interest of the Americans, and it is much to be feared find means to correspond with the Enemy. There is at present in custody a M<sup>r</sup> Charles Hay (brother to M<sup>r</sup> Hay, Quarter Master General in the rebel service), a Monsieur du Calvet & a Monsieur Caseau against whom there are strong presumptive proofs. M<sup>r</sup> Arnold, must from his Intimacy with the former have a knowledge of his Brothers transactions in favour of the enemy and from the resentment he has discovered at the fate of Major André of which he was the innocent cause, as well as the change of his political ideas manifested in his address to the public, I should think, he will not hesitate candidly to give your Excellency every information in his power by which a discovery may be made and a stop be put to the intercourse which certainly subsists between this province and the principals of the Rebellion. If General Arnold should have removed from New York, I entreat your Excellency will nevertheless transact this business with him, the result of which I shall wait for with the utmost impatience.

To Sir Henry Clinton—I have the honor to be—Fred Haldimand.

Extract from a letter from General Haldimand to Sir Henry Clinton, Quebec, 7 Feb<sup>r</sup>, 1781. “I hope you received my letter

of November 16<sup>th</sup> by Ensign Drummond. I requested your endeavours to procure from M<sup>r</sup> Arnold some information of the disaffected subjects in this province, his private and public transactions here could not fail to give him a perfect knowledge of them. He may depend upon my not making use of his name but as he shall permit. I have presumptive proofs against some of them, but none that would justify making an example nor am I able to procure such with every effort in my power to make."

Extract.—Sir Henry Clinton to Gen'l Haldimand, 8<sup>th</sup> May, 1781. "I received yours of the 7<sup>th</sup> February, but the letters you mention to have sent me by Ensign Drummond of the 16<sup>th</sup> November have not reached me, nor has that gentleman as yet made his appearance here."

Extract.—Gen'l Haldimand to Sir Henry Clinton, June 6, 1781. "Ensign Drummond went on board a vessel which came here to a M<sup>r</sup> Pagan, who has always been suspected of favoring the rebels. His ships from hence have always been taken. I permitted the last to sail upon condition that my dispatches addressed to Gen'l Robertson should be safely delivered, if so, I requested she might be allowed to return in the Spring, which I now earnestly recall. I sent duplicates by Ensign Prentice of the 84<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> who sailed at the same time in another small vessel. They had the strongest injunctions to throw overboard the dispatches in case of necessity, which I make no doubt they observed. One of my letters was to request you would procure from Arnold some information of the disaffected persons in this Province of whom he must have a thorough knowledge. It would be of infinite use, as the secrecy of the Jesuits baffles all my endeavours to discover them."

Extract.—Sir Henry Clinton to Gen'l Haldimand, New York, July 23d, 1781. "Those letters in cypher you mentioned as having been sent by Ensigns Drummond and Prentice have never reached me, nor have I heard of those Gentlemen being taken. I am therefore apprehensive that some worse misfortune may have befallen them."

Memorandum, New York, 26th July, 1781. (In Gen'l Arnold's handwriting.) "Lieu' General de Reidesel will be so good as to acquaint General Haldimand that General Arnold having had all his papers taken can only remember one suspected person in Canada—a Jesuit at Montreal, whose name is Pierre, & the only one of that sect there. He is a very sensible shrewd man."<sup>1</sup>

Extract.—General James Robertson to General Haldimand, Oct. 31, 1781, New York. (Received 14 May, 1782, by Gen'l Haldimand at Quebec.) "General Arnold says Pire Floquet is an inveterate enemy. Jacob Rove no better and indeed the gross of the Boston leaders little better. He had no friendly aids from any of the Noblesse."

Extract.—Sir Henry Clinton to General Haldimand, Nov. 12, 1781. "General Arnold says Monsieur du Calvert Pire Floquet, Mess<sup>rs</sup> Hay, Cord, Freeman and Watts were friends to the Rebels."

Extract.—General Haldimand to Sir Henry Clinton, Quebec, Nov. 15, 1781. "I have lately had the mortification to learn that the principal channels I have used to convey dispatches & procure Intelligence are almost entirely broken up, owing to the Imprudence of recruiting parties of the Corps of Loyalists & discoveries by Emisaries & the desertion of Rebel prisoners enlarged upon Parole. This will make our intercourse still less frequent than it is & I have to request your Excellency should you have any matters of importance to communicate to me that you will send duplicates by way of Niagara or to strike upon Carleton Island for though more tedious it is, at present, the most certain route."

<sup>1</sup> We have here a positive confirmation of the statement which has been often made, that Arnold violated the confidence which had been reposed in him by persons residing within the British line, while he was in the service of Congress.

**AN ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF PRINCETON.****FROM THE PENNSYLVANIA EVENING POST, Jan. 16, 1777.****Extract of a letter from an officer of distinction in General Washington's Army, dated Pluckemin, Jan. 6, 1777.**

“I have been so much engaged with marches and countermarches, that I have not had a moment to write. We left Crosswicks the first inst., about ten o'clock in the morning, and arrived a little after sunset at Trenton, through the worst roads that were ever seen. About eleven o'clock we were alarmed by the approach of the enemy. We only sent out a brigade to amuse them, while we took post on the lower side of the creek, and back in the woods. There was a pretty smart cannonade till dark, when both sides ceased firing. The men ordered to keep their posts, and lie on their arms. A council of war was held, and it was determined to file off to the right, through the woods, and by bye roads, leaving the enemy on the left, and attack Princeton by daylight; about five hundred men, and two pieces of iron cannon, were left to amuse the enemy.

“Our whole army, with a great train of artillery, marched about one, and you may suppose that we must form a very long line of march. We arrived one hour too late. About seven hundred British troops were prepared to march, to join their main body, part of which lay at Maidenhead. They saw our army about a mile and a half distance, which made a very formidable appearance. They returned to the town, and made ready to receive us; one division of their troops formed in front of a house on the south side of the college, and on the right hand of the road. Gen. Mercer's brigade filed off to the right, and was attacked by the other division. The brigade did not fire till they advanced within forty yards. The enemy received this brigade with charged bayonets. Gen. Mercer was wounded (it is said by a ball fired) but it is a fact he was afterwards wounded in the belly by a bayo-

net. Our brigade advanced through the skirts of a wood in front of the enemy, posted on an eminence with two field pieces. Gen. Green ordered me to form as soon as we arrived on a hill about two or three hundred yards distance. Our column was formed from the right by divisions. About fifty light infantry of the enemy posted themselves behind the fence, about an hundred yards distance. And, on our left flank, I despatched Captain Henry, with a body of light infantry, about an hundred, to flank that party. But the first discharge from our field pieces on the left, drove them up to the main body. I immediately rode in front to the column, and ordered the second divisions to double up to the right; the third to the left, and so on alternately. This was done in the face of the enemy, and under a shower of grape shot. About half the first battalion was formed when they broke, fell back upon the column, threw the whole into confusion. I immediately rode round the left and formed a division, joined one man after the other to it; but the fire was so hot that they again broke. Some of the officers behaved very bravely, and exerted themselves to the utmost. Gen. Washington came down and exposed himself very much, but expostulated to no purpose. I just then saw a considerable party of horse moving off to our right, to take advantage of the confusion, but a discharge or two from the cannon immediately dispersed them. I asked the General if it would not be proper to form about an hundred yards in the rear. He desired me to try, which succeeded beyond my expectation. I collected some of the brigade and some New Englandmen, and advanced obliquely to the right, passed a fence, and marched up to the left of the enemy. Two small parties were formed on the left, and advanced at the same time, and bravely pushed up in the face of a heavy fire. The enemy then left their station and inclined to the left, and gave us several heavy fires, in which two were killed and several wounded. I pressed my party forward, huzzaed, and cried out, 'They fly, the day is our own,' and it passed from right to left.



“I fancy the enemy found it impossible to escape, as our troops all began to rally and join in the pursuit. They all dropped their packs and flew with the utmost precipitation, and we pursued with great eagerness. The men were much fatigued for want of rest, provisions, and with marching. We followed about two miles, and then gave over. Many parties are yet out, and have taken several prisoners. The town surrendered, and about sixty including fourteen officers surrendered. We have taken in the whole about three hundred, about thirty killed and fifty wounded. I have no doubt but others will be brought in. We lost about thirty killed, and thirty wounded. We took three pieces of brass artillery. The troops that lay at Maidenhead returned about the same time we returned from the pursuit. Horses could not be secured to carry off the artillery. Major Proctor made an exchange; he left an iron three-pounder, and brought a brass six-pounder. The enemy proceeded towards Brunswick with the utmost expedition; the British arrived there at about daylight, and the Hessians at twelve yesterday. All was in the greatest confusion, and the British troops left town last evening, and the whole this morning. We marched immediately to Morristown, where we shall be ready to fall down on Elizabethtown, Newark, or Amboy. Gen. M'Dougal is back of Newark, where three Continental regiments, and Jersey militia, altogether two thousand. Gen. Heath has crossed the North River with three brigades. General Putnam is to come up with all the troops he can muster.”

FRANKLIN COUNTY ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

A SETTLER'S EXPERIENCE TOLD IN A LETTER WRITTEN BY  
ALEXANDER THOMSON IN 1773.

CONTRIBUTED BY REV. T. W. J. WYLIE, D.D.

[The following letter was printed in *The Presbyterian* for August 17, 1872, and appeared in several county papers about that time. Its interest, however, makes it deserving of a more permanent form, and one in which it will always be accessible to students. We are indebted to Dr. T. W. J. Wylie, a descendant of the writer of the letter, for the introductory note.—Ed.]

The writer of this letter was a descendant of the old Covenanters of Scotland. His grandfather, Gabriel Thomson, according to family tradition, fought in the battle of Bothwell Bridge, June 22, 1679. His pistols, said to have been used on that occasion, were brought to America, and long preserved in the family, but have now been lost or destroyed.

Alexander Thomson was born in 1722, most probably at Corkerhill, near Glasgow, a short distance from Crookston Castle, the scene of Queen Mary's few happy days after her marriage with Darnley, and from which Sir Walter Scott, inaccurately, represents her as viewing the battle of Langside (The Abbot, ch. 37th). In 1748 (?) he was married to Elizabeth Edmonstone, born Dec. 31, 1728, a daughter of Wm. Edmonstone, born April 4, 1707, and married Jan. 20, 1728, to Agnes Haidley. Fifteen children were the result of this union, of whom thirteen were born in Scotland, and two in Franklin Co., Penna. Finding that it was very difficult to provide for his family in his native land, and resenting the oppressive government then prevailing, he determined to seek a home in America. Leaving his oldest son, Robert, in Scotland, he sailed with the rest of his family from Greenock about the middle of July, 1771, and arrived at Boston on the 10th of Sept. At that time the events which culminated in the American Revolution were agitating the public mind, and the sailors were afraid that they might be arrested on their arrival, and in consequence deserted the vessel in Boston harbor, leaving the passengers to reach the wharf as best they could. After a few days' sojourn in Boston he hastened to see Dr. Witherspoon, at Princeton, N. J., for whom he had letters of introduction. This distinguished divine had projected a colony for Scotch settlers in Caledonia Co., Vermont, but Mr. Thomson concluded to make a purchase of property near Chambersburg, now the county seat of Franklin Co., Penna. The place which he selected occupies both sides of the Conococheague Creek, and at present contains the small but flourishing and picturesque village of Scotland.

The sentiments of the old Cameronian Covenanters of Scotland, to which he was ardently attached, led Alexander Thomson to sympathize with the spirit of resistance to the royal government, which resulted in American Independence. Several of his family entered the American army. His son William (born Jan. 15, 1750) fought at Quebec, under Gen. Montgomery. Alexander (born Jan. 19, 1754) served in the army at Valley Forge. Archibald (born Jan. 24, 1755) was in an engagement at Crooked Billet. During the war of 1812, and also in our recent conflict, the family was well represented. Many of his descendants have gained high and honorable positions in political and mercantile life, as men of learning, as physicians, as ministers of the gospel, as well as among the honest and industrious cultivators of the soil. Besides those bearing his own name, mention may be made of the Agnews of New York, the Wylies of Philadelphia, the Watsons of Pittsburg, the Hendricks of Indiana, with many others. He died February 26, 1800, aged seventy-eight years, leaving an honored name still cherished by a numerous offspring.

Alexander Thomson was a very active and prominent supporter of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, which he regarded as the lineal successor of the Covenanters of Scotland. For many years the religious services of that church were held in his house, and when the attendance required larger accommodation, in his capacious barn. Often during the summer, when the weather allowed, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was dispensed, in the open field or in an orchard, resembling the worship of the Covenanters. Although formerly numerous the adherents to this system have now become few in number, but these warmly cling to the faith of their fathers, hallowed by so many noble associations, and for which so many poured out their life blood on the mountains and muirs of Scotland.

Alexander Thomson closed a long, useful, prosperous, holy life on the 26th Feb. 1800. His remains were interred at the quaint old Presbyterian church at Rocky Spring, near Chambersburg, and marked by a suitable memorial stone. The old pulpit of the church, with its sounding board, and a desk for the clerk or precenter about half the height of the pulpit, its aisles paved with brick tiles, its old-fashioned pews, and its communion plate, relics of the olden time, although now scarcely ever used, remain as memorials of the devout services of holy men of God, who have long since been gathered to their fathers. But few of the descendants of Alexander Thomson remain near the old homestead, which has now passed out of the hands of the family, and is the property of Mr. Samuel Garver. Among those who survive may be mentioned Mr. William Thomson (born July 12, 1797). With good health, a sound mind, an excellent memory, attended by loving relatives, provided with all that is necessary for his comfort, and cheered by the hope of a better world beyond the present life, he enjoys in his old age the respect and love of the community in which he has lived so long. It is to be hoped that the many interesting reminiscences which he has preserved may not be forgotten when he shall have passed away.

CORKERHILL, Pennsylvania, August 16, 1773.

*Dear Sir:* I know well that after the promises I made, you could not have thought that so much time would pass before you had any letter from me. Indeed I did not forget my promise, but after I had got an agreeable settlement to myself, I was desirous to have some particular knowledge of this country before I should undertake to write any account of it to you.

In July, 1771, I and my wife and twelve [children] went aboard the *Friendship* in the harbor of Greenock. It was after the middle of the month when we set sail for North America, and happily we arrived at the city of Boston on the tenth of September, all in perfect health. I believe that some of my neighbors and acquaintances thought it strange that one of my age should forsake his native country, but I thought I had too much reason to do as I have done, as I was blessed with a numerous family (and I have had another child since I left Scotland). I was very desirous to provide for them. All my sons who were able to work were brought up to the business of farming, and it was by their labor that I was assisted to gain any money I have. I, therefore, endeavored to have one or two of the eldest of my sons settled in farms at home, and with that view I employed myself for the space of five years in looking out for such farms as might answer my purpose. I travelled through the country for twenty miles around the place where I lived, but though I found plenty of vacant farms, I told you before, and I declare it again on the word of an honest man, that I could see no farm for which the laird did not ask more than double the rent it was worth; so that if I had meddled with any of them I saw well that my sons would not be able to pay the rent, and that in three or four years I would not have one shilling to rub upon another.

After I had spent so much time and labor to no purpose, I confess that at length I conceived a sort of distaste for the lairds; I imagined that as they knew I had a little money, they wanted to get it from me as fast as they could; and in truth some of my neighbors observed a change in my

temper, and alleged I was turned so obstinate that I would not stay in the country even though some laird should offer me a farm or two on reasonable terms, and I dare say they were not altogether in the wrong. As I was going to America not for merchandising, but as a farmer, several of my acquaintances and wellwishers told me that I would save both time and money by landing at New York or Philadelphia; but I had a great curiosity to see Boston, especially as I understood that some of my father's friends had settled there long ago, and some from Paisley very lately. However, I stayed at Boston but a very few days; for I made all the haste I could to wait on Dr. Witherspoon, at Princeton, in West Jersey; and when I had gone there I was sorry to hear that he had gone away a day or two before to convey some of his pupils home to their parents who lived in Virginia; but I had the good luck to come up with him in the city of Philadelphia. I delivered to him the letters I had from Scotland, and he received me very kindly. When he understood my errand, he was very earnest to assist me to get a right farm. He advised me to take patience, and that I should not be hasty in making a bargain, but that he was upon a journey, and I should wait at Princeton till his return, when he would do all he could to get me settled in a comfortable manner. He also advised me to rent a farm for some time; but as I had so great a family with me I was desirous to have a house of my own as soon as I could conveniently get it; and I also thought it would be better for me to improve land that was my own than any rented farm; and as I had heard so much said about the goodness of the land upon the Ohio, both at home and since I had come here, I would fain have settled there at first; but as I could not conveniently do so, I bargained for the plantation on which I now live, before Dr. Witherspoon returned from Virginia; and if it had not been for the reason I have told you, I would have conducted myself entirely by his advice. But I have much cause to rejoice, and none to repent, that I made this purchase.

I had stayed about seven months in the country before I

took possession of the purchase, during which time my family were not idle, but cheerfully applied themselves to such labor as they were employed in by the planters about Princeton and Philadelphia. By this means it happened that my landing at Boston was not so great a disadvantage as you may think. My stock of money was not much impaired thereby, and my children learned the work of the country. But I thought nothing of this alteration when I had been obliged to enter on such an enterprise; I was willing to submit to greater inconvenience than any I have met with. It was in April, 1772, that I settled on this plantation. It is situated at the distance of one hundred and fifty miles from Philadelphia, and is just as far from Fort Pitt; it lies in a large and beautiful valley, which runs all through Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia; it consists of about four hundred and thirty acres, and there was a house of two stories high, and office house upon it. The house is built of square blocks of wood, worked or indented in one another; it is well plastered, so that it is warm enough, and I have six convenient rooms in it. My plantation, which I have called Corkerhill, after the name of the farm where my father lived and died, and where I lived so long—my plantation consists wholly of limestone land, and in general, limestone land is reckoned the best in the country. There is plenty of limestone for manure on every field, and it does not cost much labor or expense to come at it, and it can be burned with the wood which we grub up when we clear the ground. Our greatest labor is to cut the wood into small pieces when we are to burn the lime.

Dear sir, I do assure you I am well pleased with the country, and with my situation in it. I bless God that I came here, and I heartily thank every man who encouraged me, and helped me to get the better of that fear which a man is under when he is to venture over so wide a sea, and, indeed when, excepting my eldest son, I was to carry along with me all that was dear to me in the world. I could not but be anxious about them; but I was determined in my mind, and Providence hath been very favorable to us. We

are all at present in good health, and, blessed be God, we have always been so since we came to this country. They say here that the air and climate of Pennsylvania agrees better with European constitutions than even the air of Europe itself, and I am inclined to think this is true from the constant health which my family have enjoyed.

The man from whom I bought this plantation had lived upon it for the space of eleven years, and in all that time he had cleared no more but fifty acres, and I have got other fifty acres cleared since I came to it in April, 1772; upon ten acres of which I had a good crop that very season. I and my three sons cleared those fifty acres without any other assistance but that of one man, whom I hired for half a crown a day of our currency, besides his victuals. The clearing of these fifty acres cost me in whole about ten pounds of our currency, which is about six pounds Sterling, besides the labor that was done by my own family, and in truth I was very well pleased to find that the clearing of ground was so easy; for before I left you, some of my neighbors were like to fright me when they told me that several sensible gentlemen had assured them that it would take ten or twelve pounds Sterling to clear a single acre; but those gentlemen were mistaken, for that is not the truth. Three men will clear three acres in six days, just for the plough; and in general over all the country hereabout a man will do forty rod a day, for which he gets half a crown currency and his victuals. I gave three hundred pounds Sterling for this plantation, and I could sell it already for double that money.

We who are country people used always to think it a great matter that the gentlemen in Scotland had orchards. We thought this a fine thing, and, indeed, squashes and pumpkin gourds, cucumbers, melons, and all other garden stuff grow in the open fields. But, unluckily, through the slothfulness of my predecessor, there was no orchard on the plantation when I came to it. To supply this defect, I have already planted two hundred fruit trees, and I was pleased to see that one of the trees had three apples upon it this year, though it was not planted till March last.

Dear sir, I have said so much about my industry and labor upon the plantation, but I have said it upon purpose, because I know that a vile and false report hath been published at home, that it is only lazy persons who come over here. Now you know well, and I need not tell you, that the very contrary is true; the lazy are motionless, and, like snails, abide on the spot where they are, until they either starve or are compelled by hunger to go a begging; whereas the industrious strive to maintain themselves by their labor without being troublesome to any body, and many of them finding it difficult by their labor at home, they are so far from being lazy, that they have activity and spirit to venture over to America; but I pity many of your poor people who are indeed very lazy, and it is impossible [but] that they must be lazy, because they have found, by long experience, that by their labor they can make no profit to themselves. My flock of cattle is not hitherto very great; however, I have enough of horses, and I have cows, and hogs, and sheep, and by proper care they will soon multiply. I did not think it prudent to exhaust too much of my stock in buying cattle all at once; for as I have many children I design to purchase more land for them.

Dear sir, notwithstanding my promise, I am yet very unfit to write you a description of the country, and, indeed, it is needless, as you know so much and so well about it already; but, for the sake of my promise, and for your satisfaction, I will tell you the truth about it as far as I can, and I shall begin with the climate.

Till I came into this country I did not, I could not image the climate was so fine and so healthy. The air is sweet and clear, and we find an agreeable smell. One would think the sky is much farther distant from us than it seems to be at home. The southwest winds rule the summer seasons, and the northwest the winter. The winters, which are very agreeable, continue from December to March, and we have no black, foul weather as at home, but a fine, pure sky and bright heavens. No storms as at home, but fine, small breezes; no winds to shake or rains to rot the corn. Sir, I cannot ex-



press the beauty of the summer season ; it is so fine, so pleasing, and healthy. While I and my sons are clearing ground, and go for a while to walk or rest ourselves in the forest among the tall oaks on a summer day, the sight of the heavens and the smell of the air gives me pleasure which I cannot tell you how great it is. When I sit down to rest, the breezes of the southwest wind, and the whispering noise it makes in the top of the trees, together with the fine smell of the plants and flowers, pleases us so exceeding that we are almost enchanted, and unwilling to part with such a pleasure. If my dear countrymen knew the beauty and healthiness of the climate, they would not be afraid to come to North America. There are a good number of old people just where I live ; some sixty, some seventy, some eighty years of age. I thought it right to tell you all this, because I know that much pains have been taken to spread abroad a bad opinion of the country and climate, as if it were unhealthy. I will not say why this has been done, but I suspect it hath its rise from some designing men among you, who, though they saw many people in great straits, and many next door to starvation, have, for some view of their own, endeavored to terrify them from coming here. In truth, I am sorry to hear of the great distress of farmers and tradesmen in your country. You mention that in your letter, but I have heard much more from some folks I lately met with when I was at Philadelphia ; and so far as I understood the weavers and other tradesmen, and also many farmers, are in a far worse condition than they were when I came away, in the year 1771, for it seems the tradesmen cannot get employment, and the meal continues to be as dear as it was.

If the tradesmen and farmers would come here, they would soon find themselves in a better condition ; and there is plenty of room for them all—yea, for all that are in the three kingdoms. And this is the best poor man's country in the world, for the price of provision is cheap, and the price of labor is dear ; and there are many people in Pennsylvania and the neighboring Provinces who had to work here to pay their freight, who have good plantations, and

are in wealthy circumstances. But this country is chiefly profitable to those farmers who bring along with them one, two, or three hundred pounds. Such farmers can afford to eat good pork, beef, or mutton as often as those who have one, two, or three hundred pounds of yearly rent in Scotland; that is to say, if they have some tolerable skill in farming, and live upon the land they take up here. And I believe there are no farmers in the world who live on so coarse and so poor food as do the generality of farmers in Scotland.

With respect to the soil of the Province, some parts of it are rich and some poor, just as at home. If it is well improved and manured, it will bear good crops just as the land does in other countries; but as far as I have yet seen or heard, the farmers here are really lazy. They make no improvement on their land but just what they do with the plough, in which they are not very expert; many of them do not so much as draw out to the land the dung which is made by their cattle. When I came to this land there was lying, in several heaps at the house, all the dung that had been made in the space of eleven years. I was glad to find I had so much ready manure; so I drew it out to the land, and the crops were answerable to my pains and expectations, for I had that year a rich crop of wheat, and rye, and Indian corn.

But the richest soil in all North America is on the rivers Ohio and Mississippi, and I intended to have gone and settled there at first, but my wife did not incline to go so far back at that time; and that was the reason I made a purchase so soon, and did not take Dr. Witherspoon's advice. But I made the purchase on the road that leads to the Ohio River, and, as I am told, I am just one hundred and fifty miles from Fort Pitt; as soon as we have this plantation put into some order, I and one of my sons will go back, and take up a large tract for the rest of my children.

Mr. Lewis Evans, who travelled over the middle provinces, and most of the country that lies on the Ohio and Mississippi, has made a geographical description of these territories. I know he speaks the truth with respect to the many parts I have seen, and I am thereby the better disposed to believe

him concerning the rest, especially as I have conversed with several of our own people, who all agree with him in his account of the Ohio and its branches.

The land on the Ohio is a rich, deep soil all the way from Fort Pitt downwards. That river hath many branches, which furnish good navigation to the adjacent parts; and there is plenty of limestone and stone-coal on many of the rivers that fall into the Ohio. Mr. Evans, who published his book in the time of the late war, maintains that the territory then in dispute was as great a prize as had ever been contended for between two nations, and that the influence that a State vested with all the wealth and power that naturally arise from the culture of so great an extent of good land in a happy climate, will make so great an addition to that nation that owns it (where there is no State to hold the balance of power), that the loser must inevitably sink under its rival. He says: "That country exceeds in extent and good land all the European dominions of Britain, France, and Spain." And he affirms, "that with moderate cultivation it is capable to maintain fifty millions of people." But for a further account of the land on the Ohio and Mississippi, I refer you to Mr. Evans's book, and I have desired the Rev. Mr. Marshall, of Philadelphia, to send you a copy of it.

In your letter you mention the American Company of Farmers in the west of Scotland, and I cannot but approve of their sending over skilled men to take up land for them before they bring their families here; and they have just taken the method which you and others advised me to take, and I would surely follow your advice, but I could not prevail on my wife to stay a year behind me. David Allan and James Whiteland, the two commissioners from that company, are now at my house, and I hope they will rest with me for a week or two, for I can easily accommodate them and their horses. They are going now for North Carolina to look for a large tract of land, agreeably to their commission. A large tract of land to the extent of 16,000 or 20,000 acres, all contiguous, and conveniently situated and not yet occupied, is not to be got in the middle provinces; though they might

hereabout get plenty of single plantations here and there; for the farmers are, many of them, selling their plantations and going back to take up larger tracts. I, therefore, advised them all I could to go to the Ohio, but they are afraid the settlers there will be too far from market or a landing place. Since I come to America I have learned to think that those who have got a rich soil in a favorable climate, and who have got all the conveniences of life in great plenty, may be happy enough though they have but little money, and they may carry on a sort of inland trade among themselves by way of barter; but those on the Ohio will not be long under that necessity, for I hear that money is already subscribed to improve the navigation by cuts into the Ohio, and besides the farmers in that rich country may easily get money by rearing large flocks of cows, hogs, and sheep, which they may drive to Philadelphia, and the market towns of New York and Maryland. By my being here I see that much of that fine land on the Ohio and Mississippi will be quickly taken up, though no person should come to it from Scotland. I see emigrants in crowds passing this way almost every week. One of my family, whom I lately sent to Philadelphia, lodged in a house with fifty of them, and within these few days I saw more than threescore, all of them hastening to the banks of the Ohio. Some of them came from Ireland, some from England, and some from Germany, and we hear that several ship fulls are coming from Corsica or Italy. About Fort Pitt, where three considerable rivers fall into the Ohio, the country is pretty well peopled already.

We are in no fear that any harm will be done us by the Indians. I have seen many of them, and by all that I can hear they are harmless people, except they be offended or wronged. I hope we shall never have any bickerings with them; but it would not be a small number of enemies that would terrify us, or even those about Fort Pitt, for, besides a well-trained militia, we all have guns in our hands. For there is no disarming act, or game act, as with you; which last, you know, is considered as part of the disarming act. Our young men are at full liberty to shoot all sorts of game

wherever they please, and by frequent exercise, there are as good marksmen here as any in the world. Indeed, by the throneness we have been in, my sons have seldom, hitherto, had leisure to partake of that diversion. They must improve the plantation.

I need not tell you, for you know it already, that we have no tithes, or general taxes, or poor rates, or mill-mulcters, or such other grievances as tend to relax the diligence or industry of the farmers. We have the privilege of choosing our ministers, schoolmasters, constables, and all other parish officers for laying and collecting all necessary assessments. These are chosen by a majority of the votes of the inhabitants. In the neighborhood, if any differences are like to arise about roads and marches, they are amicably adjusted without any law process. We have no characters hereabout which answer to the Scotch justice of peace, which we who come from Scotland look upon as a very great blessing; and there is, I believe, no part of the world where justice is more impartially administered than in the province of Pennsylvania. In our law courts the poor are in no danger of being brow-beaten and borne down by the rich. With respect to our laws, they are made by those who are not nominally only, but really our representatives; for without any bribes or pensions they are chosen by ourselves, and every freeholder has a vote. In one of the American provinces, an honest man who was my acquaintance in Scotland, and who came over some years ago, is already a representative in the House of Burgesses. He had a small but valuable paternal inheritance; but as the laird in his next neighborhood fell to work with him about roads and marches, and other pretences of contention, he judged it prudent to let that laird have his substance before it should be wasted with the expense of litigious law processes, where the laird's friends were the judges. He is now possessed of three considerable estates, and is ten times richer than ever he could expect to have been in Scotland.

I might write to you at large about the religious liberty which is enjoyed in this province in the most extensive

manner. We have, indeed, no religious establishment, but Christians of every denomination, as they choose their own ministers, so they also make provision for them, and, so far as I know, the several sects live in good friendship with one another. If I am spared, I may give you some further accounts of these several sects, as well as of my extended purchases, in another letter.

Dear sir, I again beg pardon that I did not write sooner to you, according as I have promised, and I am sensible I have not wrote as clearly as I could wish to do when I wrote to you, for neither the spelling nor the grammar is good; but you must forgive me. And I have another great favor to ask of you, which is that you would correct the spelling and grammar a little, and send this letter of mine to the press yourself, or else put it into the hands of some member of the American Company, for it may be some of them will take the pains to get it published, with my name on the title or at the end of it. You may think it strange that I beg this favor of you so earnestly, but there are two reasons which make me wish this letter were made public. One of them is because of a report which hath been sent abroad among you that I am discontented, and that I have made an ill bargain, and that I am rueing my race, and wanting to be home again, which are great untruths, and maybe there is some malice at the bottom of them. Therefore, that all my friends and acquaintances should know that I am very happily settled, that all is very well with me, that all my family are cheerful and in good spirits, and that I hope I shall soon provide a comfortable settlement to every one of them who are come up to years. The other reason for my desiring that my letter should be published is, that I hope it may be of some use to my dear countrymen. I hear, as I have told you, that many farmers and a very great number of laborers and tradesmen are in more distressing circumstances than they were when I came away. Perhaps there are many of them who have some thoughts of coming hither, but are hindered by their fears about the climate or the Indians. Now, if this letter shall help to remove these groundless fears, it will in

so far tend to the relief and encouragement of my dear countrymen, and I am sure that no man who knows me will suspect that I have written anything besides the truth. If tradesmen, or laborers, or farmers design to come over at all, they ought by all means to come immediately, before they are too old or so poor that they will have no money to bring with them, nor even to pay their freight; and the sooner that farmers come over they will both buy land the cheaper, and also have a wider territory, out of which they may make choice of the richest tracts.

The providence of God hath been wonderfully kind to those who have emigrated from your country. For two or three years past many vessels, freighted with emigrants, have yearly sailed from the coast of Scotland; and I never knew of any calamity or grievous accident that befel these vessels. This is certainly remarkable; it is ground of thankfulness and confidence. But the same Providence that preserves your honest people on their way to America seems to frown upon them while they remain at home. Your laborers and tradesmen are in misery by reason of the dearness of the markets, and that dearness is occasioned—in part, at least—by the long course of bad seasons you have had. This is a dispensation of Providence which hath language.

I had almost forgotten to tell you that when I was in Philadelphia I saw some Scotch newspapers, in which a great deal was said about the death of emigrants by sea, and their wretched state after they have come to the American towns. As I have said already, I never knew of any ill happening to emigrants by sea, and if they suffer any harm here, it will be rather from hospitality than from the cruelty of this people; no doubt those who are forced to indent must be in a state of dependence till they have served out their time, and I pity their case. But as I have told you, I know several people here who served to pay their freight, who have now good plantations. However, our opinion here is that both your farmers and tradesmen should come away before they grow so poor that they will have nothing to bring with them, or even to pay their freight.

I sincerely thank you for your last kind letter, which I received from the Company's commissioners; I read it at once with pleasure, and I thought I was just conversing with you as I used to, and that frequently, in your own house. If it is not troublesome I beg to hear at times from you. If you direct your letters to the care of Mr. Marshall, he will take care of sending them to me.

I do not know if ever I shall see you again; but I am sure I wish you well, and all your family, and my heart's desire is that God may ever keep you in all his good ways. I have come over to America, but I hope both you and I are seeking for a better country, and that we shall at last meet in that city which hath the sure foundation.

I am, etc.,

ALEXANDER THOMSON.



**A PARTIAL LIST OF THE FAMILIES WHO ARRIVED  
AT PHILADELPHIA BETWEEN 1682 AND 1687.**

WITH THE DATES OF THEIR ARRIVAL.

From the original in the possession of the Historical Society.

[The paper here printed gives the names of some few of the persons who arrived at Philadelphia between 1682 and 1687. It is not entirely a contemporaneous document; if such were the case the entries would appear in chronological order. Nor is it, judging from what we know of the extent and character of the emigration of the period, as complete as a list of that kind would have been. It is, however, of early origin and of great interest, and we may well inquire into the circumstances under which it was prepared.

The importance of registering servants was patent to Penn when he prepared the laws agreed upon in England in 1682, and statutes providing for such a record, as well as for the registration of births, marriages, burials, wills, and letters of administration form a portion of that code. Provisions of like character are found in The Great Law or Body of Laws passed at Chester in 1682. These acts were re-enacted in 1683 and 1684. Up to the last year, however, no provision was made for registering arrivals, which is evident from the absence of legislation on this point as well as from the list of fees which the Register was allowed to charge.

In 1684, a law was passed directing inhabitants then in the province, and all who should thereafter arrive, to register in their respective counties. A similar law was enacted the same year in New Jersey, showing that the necessity for such legislation was more than local. In Pennsylvania it was probably called forth to give effect to a statute already existing requiring persons who intended to depart from the province to give public notice of the fact, and to another which made it obligatory on any unknown person who should presume to travel without the limits of the county in which they resided to have a pass or certificate under the seal of that county—measures which would obviously require that all the inhabitants should be known to the county authorities.

It does not appear that the law for registration was ever carried into effect. The following list, and one almost as imperfect of Bucks County, are too meagre to be looked upon as other than attempts in that direction. Nor are the names in the Philadelphia list confined to those who actually settled in the county as required by law. Some we know took up land in Chester County and others in Bucks. Occasionally the Bucks County list

repeats the names given in the Philadelphia list. The penalty for not registering was repealed in 1690.

The entries in the list were made between May, 1684, and August, 1687, with the exception of the 4th dated 28th of 11th month, 1687. This is shown by the fact that all those in the handwriting of James Claypoole, Sr., who was appointed Register in 1686, and who died in August, 1687, are either on what were the waste leaves of the book, or are interpolations, and, therefore, the body of the manuscript must have been written before it came into his hands.

It may surprise some of our readers to learn of the number of servants brought out by the early settlers. This was no doubt greatly increased by the liberal terms which Penn offered to emigrants. The advantages offered to those who would bring servants and those who would come as such were equal. Each was to have fifty acres when the servant's time should expire. Nor did the word servant as used here necessarily imply a person who was to perform menial duties. On the contrary, they were often farm hands or skilled mechanics, in some cases of the same social position as their masters, in others they were no doubt overseers to act for purchasers who remained in England, a measure suggested by Penn in his first proposals to purchasers and which he subsequently found reasons to regret.—Ed.]

1682. 9  $\frac{10}{m.o.}$  The Antelope of Belfast arrived here from Ireland.

James Atkinson arrived here and Jn<sup>o</sup> Ashbrooke his servant p.  $\frac{5}{y}$ .

The Morning Starr Thomas Hayes mast<sup>r</sup>. Arrived from Leverpoole in England about the 20<sup>th</sup>  $\frac{2}{m.o.}$  168 [3].

Henry Atherly shoemaker a freeman John Loftus Husbandman a freeman from Leverpoole.

William Morgan & Elizabeth his Wife both free arrived at Philadelphia in the same ship from Leverpoole in y<sup>o</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> Month 1683.

The Jeffries Thomas Arnold m<sup>r</sup> from London Arrived 20  $\frac{1}{m.o.}$  1686.

Johannes Cassel a German his children Arnold, Peter, Elizabeth, Mary, Sarah.

Sarah Shoemaker of the Palatinate Widdow, George, 23 years old, Abraham 19, Barbary 20, Isaac 17, Susanna 13, Elizabeth 11, Benjamine 10 all her Children. )

Joseph Ransted Gardner from London.

880 *Families who Arrived at Philadelphia, 1682-1687.*

28<sup>th</sup> <sup>11<sup>th</sup></sup> <sub>mo.</sub> 1687. The Margeret from London arrived here from London John Bowman commander.

Pasco [or Pasro] Beliteg Servant to John Tizack bound at London for four years next ensueing his arrival in this province & Registered in the now [or new] office in London erected by Letters patent for that purpose.<sup>1</sup>

John Colly late of Sauior Southwork in old England feltmaker came in the Eliza & Mary, John Bowman M<sup>r</sup> arrived here y<sup>e</sup> 22<sup>d</sup> <sup>mo.</sup> <sub>7<sup>o</sup></sub> 1683.

in the Endeavour of London, A Ketch George Thorp M<sup>r</sup>.

Fran. Rosell late of Maxsfield in Cheshire in old England Millin<sup>r</sup> came in endeav<sup>r</sup> of London Geo: Thorp M<sup>r</sup> arrived here the 29<sup>th</sup> <sup>mo.</sup> <sub>7<sup>o</sup></sub> 1683.

Michaell Rosell late of the same place Husbandman came in the same vessell.

Thomas Janeway & Margaret his wife late of Poonnall in Cheshire Husbandman came in ditto shippe. [Children] Jacob, Thomas, Abell, [and] Joseph Janeway. [Servants] John Neild [or Wild], Hanah ffalkner [?].

Jos. Milner, Ann his mother late of Poonnell blacksmith in ditto. [Children] Sarah, [and] Ralph Milner.

Ralph Milner & Rachell his wife late of ditto, carpenter came in ditto vessell. [Children] Rob<sup>t</sup> Milner.

Tho Pierson & Marg<sup>t</sup> his wife late of ditto mason came in ditto shipp.

John his Brother & Mary Smith his sister all of the same place came in ditto vessell.

John Nixon & Margery his wife late of Powell Cheshire husbandman came in ditto vessell. [Children] John, Thom, James, Nehemiah, Joseph, fredrick, Mary, Jane Margery [and] Eliz: Nickson. [Servant] James Witaker.

John Clone & Mary his wife late of Gosworth in Cheshire husbandman came in ditto shipp. [Children] W<sup>m</sup>, Margery [and] Rebeckah Clone. [Servants] Joseph Charley, John Richardson, Sam: Hough.

<sup>1</sup> This entry is the only one which appears to have been made after the book passed out of the hands of James Claypoole.

Richard Hough late of Maxfield in Cheshire husbandman. Ditto ship. [Servants] Fran. Hough, Jam: Sutton, Tho. Woodhouse, Mary Woodhouse.

Fran: Stanfield & Grace his wife late of Garton in Cheshire Husbandman in ditto shipp. [Children] Jam: Mary, Sarah, Eliz: Grace, [and] Hannah Stanfield. [Servants] Dan: Browne, Tho: Marsey, Isa: Brookesby, Rob. Sidbotham, John Smith, Rob<sup>t</sup> Bryan, W<sup>m</sup> Rudway, Tho. Sidbotham.

John Maddock, Joyner. Richard Clone, Joyner. John Clous, shoemaker, Chas: Kilbeck. all of Nantwich in Cheshire came in ditto shipp.

Servants to Henry Madock. George Phillips, Ralph Duckard.

Daniell Sutton, Taylor. John Presoner [?] blacksmith, both of Maxfield in Cheshire came in ditto shipp. & Jo: Charlesworth, Taner, of the same place.

John Oudfield, Tayloer, of the same place in ditto ship.

John Howell & Mary his wife late of Budworth in Cheshire, Husbandman, came in ditto vessell. [Children] Hannah his daughter.

Mary Taylor late of Clatterwitch in Cheshire came in ditto ship. [Children] Isaack, Tho: Jona: Phebe, Mary [and] Martha Taylor.

Anne Robothan serv<sup>t</sup> to the m<sup>r</sup> of the s<sup>d</sup> Ketch.

in Capt. Jefferies' Shipp.

Leonard Aratts & Agnistan his wife late of Crevelt near Rotterdam in Holland came in the ——— of Lond. Wm. Jefferies com<sup>d<sup>er</sup></sup> arrived here the 6<sup>th</sup> of <sup>m<sup>o</sup></sup>: 1683. Leonard Teison his Brother a freeman.<sup>1</sup>

James Claypoole, Merchant, & Helena his Wife with 7 children and 5 servants vis Hugh Masland and his Wife to serve 4 years. Sissilla Wooley 4 years and Edward Cole Jun<sup>r</sup> to serve 7 years.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This name is given under the heading of *Servants*, but as he was a freeman, it was an error to have entered it there.

<sup>2</sup> This entry is in the handwriting of James Claypoole.

332 *Families who Arrived at Philadelphia, 1682-1687.*

The Providence of Scarbrough Rob<sup>t</sup> Hopper M<sup>r</sup>.

Joshua Hoopes & Isabell his wife late of Cleveland Yorkshire husbandman came in ditto ship. [Children] Dan: Mary, [and] Christian Hoopes.

John Palmer & Christian his wife late of Ditto place came in ditto ship.

William Preeson M<sup>r</sup> of the Vine of Leverpoole arrived the 17<sup>th</sup> day of the 7 mo. 1684 At Philadelphia ffrom Dolyserne near dolgules in Merionothshire.

Robert Owen & Jeane his wife and Lewes their sone, one serv<sup>t</sup> Boy named Edward Edwards for 8 years & 4 serv<sup>t</sup> Maids named Loury Edwards for 4 yrs. Margaret Edwards for 4 ye<sup>rs</sup>. Ann Owen for 12 ye<sup>rs</sup> and Hannah Watt for 3 ye<sup>rs</sup>.

*From Derbyshire.*

David Davis & Katherine his sister & Mary Tidey her daughter and one serv<sup>t</sup> man named Charles Hues for 3 ye<sup>rs</sup>.

*From Manhinleth in Montgomeryshire.*

Hugh Harris & Daniell Harris.

John Rechards & Susan his wife & their daughters Hannah & Bridget and one servant named Susan Griffith for 8 years.

Margaret the wife of Alexander Edwards and her daughters Margaret & Martha and 2 sones Alexander & Tho:

*From Radnershire.*

Rees Rees & his wfe Ann & their daughters Mary, Sarah and Phebe, and two sons Rich: & John.

Jane Evans Widdow and her 4 daughters Sarah, Mary, Alice and Eliza: & one sone named Joseph.

*From Merionithshire.*

Res Jones & his wife Hannah & their sones Rich. & Evan, and one daughter named Lowry.

*From Carmarthenshire.*

Ane Jones & her daughter Ane Jones.

*From Shropshire.*

Rechard Turner and Margaret his wife & Rebecca their Daughter.

*From Prescoe in Lancashire.*

Griffith Owen & his wife Sarah and their sone Rob<sup>t</sup> & 2 daughters Sarah & Elenor & 7 servants named Thos Armes,

*Families who Arrived at Philadelphia, 1682-1687.* 333

John Ball 4 years, Robert Lort for 8 years, Alexander Edwards; Jeane, Bridget & Eliz Watts 3 years.

*From Walton in Lancashire.*

Henry Baker & Margaret his wife & their Daughters Rachell, Rebecca, Phebey & Hester and Nathan & Samuel their sones. Mary Becket & 10 servts named John Siddell for 4 years, Hen: Siddell 4 ye<sup>rs</sup>, James Yates 5 ye<sup>rs</sup>, Jno Hurst 4 ye<sup>rs</sup>, Tho: ffisher 4 yrs, John Stedman 4 years, Tho. Candy for Joseph Feoror 4 yr<sup>s</sup>, Deborah Booth 4 yrs, Joshua Lert 4 yrs.

*From Lancashire.*

Wm. Hatton & Eliza his wife. Rebecca, Martha & Elenor Hall; their servants Thos. Harrison for 2 years, John Cowp for 4 years, Lawrence Parker for 5 years, Katherine Owen 4 years, Mary Hall for 8 years, Eliz: Stedman, Sarah & Judeth Buller her Daughters, Joseph Stedman her sone; Rebecca Barrow.

The Ship Providence from old England Capt. Robert Hopper commander arrived here in Delaware River the 29<sup>th</sup> of 7 mo. 1683.

William Carter, John Lash.

The ship called the Bristoll Comfort from Old England. John Read Master arrived here in Delaware River the 28<sup>th</sup> of the 7<sup>th</sup> month & in the same came 1683.

Alexander Beardsly & Margaret his wife & his Daughter Mary the said Alexander is a glover and he came from Worcester.

Tho: Boweter out of Wostershire a servant to ffancis ffisher out of Woster City Glover for three years they came in the ship aforesaid.

Richard Hillyard and Mary his wife and Rich. and Philip his sons and John Witt his servant.

Christianus Lewis late of Dudley in Worstershire in old England. Schoolmaster came in the Comfort of Bristol Capt Reed arrived here the 1<sup>st</sup> 1683.

834 *Families who Arrived at Philadelphia, 1682-1687.*

Geo Painter. & Ellinor his wife late [of] Haverford west in Pembrookshire in Southwales, Husbandman, came in the Unicorne of Bristol Tho: Cooper M<sup>r</sup> arrived here ye 31<sup>ᵐ</sup> 1683. [Children] Susan [and] Geo: Painter. [Servants] Lewis — time of service 4 years; payment in money £ 2, Acres of land 50: time of freedom 31<sup>ᵐ</sup> 1687. Matthew — time of service 2 years & wages ye last 2 years at 8. Jannet Umphries time of service 4 years 2 [?] for ye 2 last years. Time of freedom 31<sup>ᵐ</sup> 1687.

Dennis Rothford son of William Rothford who was Born in Emstorfeý in the county of waxford in Ireland about the year 47: and through the goodness and Mercy of the Lord was Convinced of gods blessed truth About the year 62: Went into England and Landed in Whitehaven in Cumberland the 30<sup>th</sup> of 3<sup>d</sup> mo. 1675. Dwelt in Brighthelmston in Sussex 3 years & kept a grocers shop And came into this Province of Pennsilvania with Mary his wife, Daughter of John Heriott of the Parish of Hostperpoynt in Sussex in old England she was Born 14<sup>th</sup> of the 3<sup>d</sup> month 52) in the ship called the Welcom Robert Greenway Commander with two servants Tho: Jones & Jeane Mathewes, the said Dennis two Daughters Grace & Mary Rutherford dyed upon the Sea in the said ship Grace being about 3 years old and Mary being 6 Months old the said Dennis Rutherford Landed w<sup>th</sup> his family in Pennsilvania about the 24<sup>th</sup> day of the 8<sup>th</sup> month 1682.

Mary Rutherford the Second Daughter of Dennis & Mary Rutherford was born in the Province of Pennsilvania at Egely poynt in the County of Philadelphia the 22<sup>d</sup> of the 8<sup>th</sup> Mo. 1683 between 10 & 11 at night she being their second Daughter of that name.

In the Lion of Leverpoole.

Robert Turner late of Dublin in Ireland, merch<sup>t</sup> came in ye Lion of Leverpoole, John Crumpton M<sup>r</sup> arrived here the 14<sup>ᵐ</sup> 1683. [Children] Martha Turner.

*Families who Arrived at Philadelphia, 1682-1687.* 835

Servants.	Time of service.	Payment in money.	Acres of land.	Time of freedom.
Robt. Threwecks . . .	. 4 years.	£8	50	} 14 $\frac{mo.}{s}$ 1687
Henry Furnace . . .	. 4	3	50	
Robt. Selford . . .	. 4	6 10	50	
Ben: Acton . . .	. 4	3	50	
John Reeves . . .	. 4	6 10	50	
Row: Hambridge . . .	. 4	...	50	
Richard Curlis . . .	. 4	3	50	
John Furnace . . .	. 4	3	50	
Daniel Furnace . . .	. 9	...	50	14 $\frac{mo.}{s}$ 1692
Robt. Threwecks . . .	. 13	...	50	14 $\frac{mo.}{s}$ 1695
Lemuel Bradshaw . . .	. 4	2 10	50	} 14 $\frac{mo.}{s}$ 1687
Robt. Lloyd . . .	. 4	4	50	
Wm. Longe . . .	. 4	3	50	
Hen. Hollingsworth . . .	. 2	...	50	14 $\frac{mo.}{s}$ 1685
Aiolce Cales . . .	. 4	3	50	14 $\frac{mo.}{s}$ 1687
Kath: Furnace . . .	. 6	...	50	14 $\frac{mo.}{s}$ 1689
Jos. Furnace . . .	. 4	3	50	14 $\frac{mo.}{s}$ 1687

Joseph Fisher & Elizabeth Fisher his wife late of Stillorgin near Dublin in Ireland, yeoman, borne in Elton in Cheshire in old England came in ditto ship. [Children] Moses, Joseph, Mary, [and] Marth Fisher.

Servants.	Time to serve.	Payment in money.	Acres of land.	Time of freedom.
Edward Lancaster . . .	. 4	£4 10	50	} 14 $\frac{mo.}{s}$ 1687
Wm. Robertson . . .	. 4	...	50	
Ed Doyle . . .	. 4	...	50	
Ben: Clift . . .	. 4	...	50	
Tho: Tearewood . . .	. 4	...	50	} 14 $\frac{mo.}{s}$ 1691
Robert Kilcarth . . .	. 8	...	50	
Peter Long . . .	. 2	6	50	14 $\frac{mo.}{s}$ 1685
Phill Packer . . .	. 4	...	50	} 14 $\frac{mo.}{s}$ 1687
Wm. Conduit . . .	. 4	3	50	
Mary Toole . . .	. 4	3	50	
Elez: Johnson . . .	. 4	...	50	

Marg<sup>t</sup> Colvert late of Dublin came in ditto ship.

The Rebecca of Liverpoole James Skinner commander Arrived at Philadelphia the 31<sup>st</sup> of the 8 mo. 1685.



336 *Families who Arrived at Philadelphia, 1682-1687.*

The passengers names are as followeth.

John Cutler Edmond Cutler, Issabell Cutler Elizabeth Cutler Thomas Cutler William Cutler. Freeman. They came from Bullandiu Yorkeshire.

Rechard Mather, Cornelious Netherwood, James Myrriall, William Wardle, James Molenex, Eliz: Wingreene, Servants to said John Cutler.

Thomas Bates [?] a freeman.

James Ratclife, Mary Ratclife Richard Ratclife, Edward Ratclife, Rebecca Ratclife, Rachell Ratclife, free persons from Monsebury in Lancashire.

James Heyworth, Robert Hewet James Rothwell servants to the said Ratclife.

Richard Cureton & Margaret his wife, William Cureton his sone & Jane Cureton his Daughter free persons.

James Holgate and Ann Dugdale servants to the said Cureton.

Matthew Holdgate & Mary his Daughter free persons.

John Lathum, Ann Lathum his wife, John Jennings his wifes son. John Lathum his sone Aron Lathum his sone, Moses Lathum his sone & Ann Lathum his Daughter, free persons.

James Scoles, John Scoles, Hester Rothwell free persons.

The Bristoll Merchant John Stephens Commander Arrived here the 10<sup>th</sup> of 9<sup>th</sup> Month 1685.

The Passengers names are as followeth viz.

*Jasper Farmer, Senior, his Family.*<sup>1</sup>

Mary Farmer, widdow, Edward Farmer Edward Batsford, Sarah Farmer, John Farmer, Robert Farmer, Katherine Farmer, Charles Farmer.

*Jasper Farmer Juniors family.*<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Farmer, Katherine Farmer, widdow, Elizabeth Farmer, Katherine Farmer Junior.

<sup>1</sup> The will of Jasper Farmer, Sr., is dated 7 mo. 25, 1685, and was proved second of 11th mo. 1685. Letters of administration to the estate of Jasper Farmer, Jr., were issued 19th day of 11th mo. 1685. It is probable that they both died on the voyage.

*Their Servants are as followeth viz.:*

Joane Daly, Philip Mayow and Helen his wife, John Mayow, John Whitloe, Nicholas Whitloe, Thomas Younge & his wife, William Winter, George Fisher, Arthur Smith, Thomas Alferry, Henry Wells, Robert Wilkison, Elizabeth Mayow, Martha Mayow, Sarah Binke, Shebe Orevan, Andrew Walbridge.

Thomas Webb and Danniell his son.

*Thomas Webbs servants are as followeth:*

John Beltshire, John Robinson, Richard fford, James Banbury, Thomas Case, Henry fford, John ffox, Derby Haley, Joseph Case, Thomas Burke, John Garrett, John Mehone, David Quinn, Mary Widdam, Prudence Stuart, Katherine Robinson, Richard Muske.

Nicholas Scull, free.

*his servants are as followeth:*

Samuell Hall, Cornelious Davye, George Gooding, Miles Morin, Daniell Morin, John Ward, Mary Cantrell.

*Tho: Carters family.*

Thomas Carter senior, Frances his wife, Thomas his sonn, Henry his sonn, John his sonn, Ann his Daughter.

Jonathan Thatcher.

Arrived here the 29<sup>th</sup> of the 7<sup>th</sup> month 1682, the Ship called the Elizabeth, Ann & Catherine from old England Thomas Hudson Commander.

Robert Kent serv<sup>t</sup> to Phillip Oxford.

Arrived here the 6<sup>th</sup> of the 6<sup>th</sup> month 1685 the ship Charles from London, Edmund Payne Commander.

John Marlton serv<sup>t</sup> to Robert Kent.

The ffrancis and Dorothy ffrom London Richard Bridgeman Commander Arived at Philadelphia the 16<sup>th</sup> of the 8<sup>th</sup> months 1685.

*The Passengers names are as followeth:*

Isaac Sheepear and Gertrude his wife and Margaret his Daughter.

John Peter Umstat and Barbara his wife, Joh Margaret and Eve his Daughters.

Garret Hendrix and Mary his wife and Sarah ter. Henry Fry his servant.

Peter Shoemaker and Peter his sonn Mary hi & Sarah his cosen, Frances and Gertrude his Dau, Henry Pookeholes and Mary his wife.

Aron Wonderley.

John Saxby and Eliz: his wife & John and 7 sons and Elizabeth Lucy and Ester his Daughters

The Unicorn from Bristol Arived here the 10<sup>th</sup> month 1685. Thomas Cooper Commander.

*The Passengers Names are as followeth:*

Daniel flower, Mary Bradwell, Mary Brad Sarah Bradwell, Thomas Nixon, Thomas Nixon J Doling, Mary Townsend, Hannah Smith. Tho: M gery Martin, Mary Martin, Sarah Martin, Hanr Rachell Martin, Tho: Hopes, John Hopes, Moses Godden Walter, Joshua Chart, Jane Chart, Sam Chart Juner, John Roberts, Joseph Morgan, Be gan, Tho Tutlin [or Tuslin], Anne Morgan, Fa Eliza: Philpot, Henry Laking, Sarah Lakin Laking, Moses Laking, John Ironmouger.

The ship the Desire from Plymouth in o Arived here the 23<sup>th</sup> of June 1686 James Cook C

Francis Rawle Sen<sup>er</sup>, Francis Rawle Jun<sup>er</sup>—] are Thomas Janveiries als January, ffrancis Je Marshall, Samuel Rennell, Isaac Garnier, Elizabe

Richard Grove,—his servants are, David David Bonifoye.

Nicholas Pearce—his servants are Richard John Fox.

James ffox & Elizabeth his wife, George & Jam Elizabeth and Sarah his Daughters—his servants ffox, Stephen Nowell, Christopher Lobb, Riel

Nathaniell Christopher, Abraham Rowe, Mary Lucas, Sarah Jefferies.

John Shellson & Naomie his wife—his servants are: John Hart, John Cocker, Justinian ffox, Mary Welsh.

James Shaddock and Jane his wife—his servts are Jacob Coffin, Eliz: Gibes.

John Holme—his serv<sup>ts</sup> are: William Hayes 5 years, Richard Bestitraser 9 years, George Gwinop 5 years from the arrival of the Desire afores<sup>d</sup>.

The America Joseph Wasey M<sup>r</sup> from London Arrived 20<sup>th</sup> of 6<sup>th</sup> mo. 1683.

Jacob Shoemaker borne in ye Palatinate in Germany servant to Danel Pastorius & comp<sup>a</sup>.

Joshua Tittery servant to ye Society broad Glass maker from New Cassle upon Tine to serve four years at £ 88 <sup>ƒ</sup> an.<sup>1</sup>

The Wellcome Rob Greenway master from London arrived at Upland about the end of ye 8<sup>th</sup> month 1682.

Richard Townsend, Carpenter servant to ye Society for 5 years to have £ 50 <sup>ƒ</sup> ann. salary.

Ann Townsend his Wife & Hannah their Daughter. W<sup>m</sup> Smith, Natha: Harrison, Barthol: Green, his servants each for 7 years.

The ship Delaware From Bristol in Old England John Moore Comander Arrived here the 11<sup>th</sup> of the 5<sup>th</sup> Month 1686.

Thomas Greene (Husbandman) & Margaret his wife, Thomas and John Greene his sons, Mary Guest his servant for 7 years to come from the third day of May 1686.

<sup>1</sup> Until we met with this entry we were not aware that definite steps had been taken towards the manufacturing of glass in Pennsylvania in the 17th century. That the Free Society of Traders proposed establishing such an industry, and selected a site for the works, and possibly built a house upon it, is evident from Penn's letter to the Society, dated August 16, 1683. He writes: "The Glass house [is] so conveniently posted for Water carriage." But we were unaware that workmen were employed to develop the scheme. It is not likely that anything practical resulted from the effort. See Weeks's Report on the Manufacture of Glass, U. S. Census, 1880, p. 79.

340 *Families who Arrived at Philadelphia, 1682-1687.*

Richard Moore (Brickmaker) & Mary his wif & Mary his Daughter & John Moore his sone, Sarah Searle his servant for 4 years to come from the 3<sup>d</sup> of May 1686.

Henry Guest (sawyer) & Mary his wife & Henry his sone.

The Amity Richard Dymond mastr. from London arrived in Pennsylvania the 15<sup>th</sup> 5 month 1686.

David Lloyd born in the year 1656 in ye Parish of Manavan in ye County of Mount Gomery in North Wales, Sarah Lloyd his Wife borne in ye year 166□ at Cirensister in Glosester in England.

Christofer Sibthorp & Barbara his wife of London, Brasier, Tho: Peppitt & Barbara Peppitt the Children of Christopher Sibthorps Wife Barbary and W<sup>m</sup> Pike their Servant bound in London for 7 years and had about 4 year to serve when they arrived here which was in Ship above written ye 23 8d month, 1685.

## ORIGINAL LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS.

## CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN GOVERNOR PRINTZ AND GOVERNOR WINTHROP.

MR. EDITOR:

Your translation of the very interesting dissertation, by Carl K. S. Sprinchorn, on the History of the Swedish Colony on the Delaware in the 17th century, printed in the *MAGAZINE* for Dec. 1883, mentions the official correspondence which passed between Governor Printz of that colony and Governor Winthrop of the Massachusetts Bay colony. This reminds me of two letters, doubtless a portion of the correspondence referred to, which were contributed by Mr. Frederic Kidder to the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, in 1874, with translations by myself. I have revised the translations, and now send you the same with copies of the text of the original letters.

BOSTON, 1884.

Very truly yours,  
A. H. HOYT.

## I. LETTER FROM WINTHROP TO PRINTZ.

L'ris tuis humanissimis (colendissime Dñe) aliter respondendi, in presentiarū non datur facultas, quā, quod acceperim, & in illis, erga nos & Anglorū gentem, benevolū amicissimumq' animum gratanter p'ceperim: vnde, & ex antiqua arctissimaq' illa inter Anglos & Suecos necessitudine, facile sibi p'suasū habeat Dñs Gubernator Suecorū, se suosq' oīes Anglos in hisce terris, pari studio benevolentia prosequi, & in honore habere, semp' curaturos. Quod vero Literarū tuarū & exemplariū p'tes attinct, Responsū plenū & p'ticulare, a proxima Commissionaria conuentiōe expectare possis. Interim spero (quod etiam a Dominatione tua peto) ut oīa, inter vos & confæderatos n'ros Neuhausenses, sumā pace et concordia, transigantur negotia. Vale.

Tuæ Dignitatis amicissime.

Studiosus

J. W.

[This document, which is obviously the first and retained draft of Gov. Winthrop's letter, has the following endorsement: L'ra ad Gub: Suecorū 11 21-43.]

## TRANSLATION.

I am not able at the present time, most highly esteemed sir, to make a reply to your very courteous letters in any other respect than to say, that I received them and gladly perceived in them a benevolent and most friendly disposition towards us and the English nation: hence, and on account of the ancient and very intimate relations of friendship between the English and the Swedes, you, Mr. Governor of the Swedes, may easily persuade yourself that all the English people in this country will be solicitous at all times to conduct themselves towards you and your people with like zeal and good will, and treat you and them in an honorable manner. But, in respect to certain matters contained in your letters and the official copies of papers, you may expect a full and particular reply after the next meeting of the Commissioners [of the United Colonies]. Meanwhile, I hope (what also I

ask of your Government) that all affairs between you and our confederates of the New Haven Colony will be carried on in perfect peace and harmony. Farewell.

Your Honor's  
Most devoted friend,  
J[OHN] W[INTROP.]

## II. LETTER FROM PRINTZ TO WINTROP.

Generose Dñ: Gubernator:

Salut:

Literas tuas cum harum exhibitore, *Dño Wilhelmo Aspinwalds*, ut illum mihi habeam commendatum sonantes, libenter accepi, & quemadmodum mihi nihil magis gratum fuerit, quam hoc ita efficerem, ut is hanc tuam recommendationem sibi plurimum profuisse intelligat; ita citò citius standoq' pede officarijs, hic in nostris propugnaculis scripsi, ut illum haud quovis modo impediunt, vel vlla molestià afficiant, sed sine incluso transitu, tutò ire & redire permittant, ubiq' necessitas postularetur, fide et securitate publica, alijs suo itineri rebus necessarijs haud gravatim juvant. Et ne aliquis ei vim contra jus inferat, vnum ex subditis meis, usq' ad propugnaculum Belgicum Nassoviæ condonavi, sed quapropter, per oras Belgicas ei non pertransire concessum, id ipse coram revelare potest. Si quid est in quo. Dño Gubernat: post hac tutius possum gratificari nihil sum recusaturus. Vale.

Dat: Tinnakung 29 Junij 1644.

T. G.

Officiose colens,  
JOHAN PRINTZ.

Generoso & Clariss: viro Dño Johanni Wintrop, Nov: Anglia Gubernatori, &c.: meritiss: amico cum primis Colendo. Officiosiss:

[Endorsement by Gov. Wintrop: From the Swedes Gouvern (4) 29-44.]

### TRANSLATION.

Noble Sir Governor,

Greeting:

I gladly received your letter by the bearer, Master William Aspinwall, signifying that I should regard him as commended to me; and, as nothing could have been more gratifying to myself than to do this so that he may understand that this your recommendation has been of great advantage to him, therefore, without delay and on the spot, I wrote to the officers here in our forts, that they should not in any manner whatever impede nor in any way molest him, but permit him to go and return freely and safely, and, whenever there was need, they should aid him in his journey with whatever was necessary, under the public faith and protection. Moreover, lest any one should do him violence, I sent one of my subjects with him as far as the Dutch fort at Nassau; but why he was not permitted to pass freely throughout the territory on the coast occupied by the Dutch, he can make it known to you in person. If there is anything hereafter, Sir Governor, in which I can prudently serve you, I shall not all refuse to do it. Farewell.

Given at Tunnaconck, 29 June, 1644.

With thanks,  
Respectfully,  
JOHN PRINTZ.

[Superscription]: To the noble and illustrious Master John Wintrop, Governor in New England, etc.; a friend worthy of the highest regard.

Most respectfully.

LETTERS FROM THE HON. WILLIAM FINDLEY OF WESTMORELAND COUNTY, PA.,  
TO THE HON. WILLIAM PLUMER, GOVERNOR OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Washington, March 24, 1811.

Sir,

I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of Decem<sup>r</sup> 26 long since, but could not find the pamphlet to which you allude, I have one of them bound up with other pamphlets at home and had severals of them, loose, but when I wrote home none of them could be found, some may be mislaid among a multitude of loose pamphlets. I presume severals of them are to the eastward. An impression of 1000 was so rapidly sold off that when I returned to Phil<sup>a</sup> they were all gone, but 30 out of 200 that were demanded went to the western parts of Pennsylv<sup>a</sup>. They were hastily wrote from day to day for the press and therefore not well degested. A second edition was demanded in New York, I submitted it to the criticism of those best informed, but two facts of little importance were found to be misrepresented. There general circulation through the newspapers prevented the new edition.

The publication was occasioned by numerous publications on the other side, advocating the funding systems in all its forms the taxes occasioned by it, and Eulogizing Col Hamilton &c. I have not looked at it for many years but I remember I was severe on the assumption of the state debts, in the manner it was done, and that one whole letter is occupied in proving from facts, that Washington was a republican and Hamilton a friend of Monarchy. That his whole system pointed that way and considered the bank in connection the funding system; Duers speculations &c as tending that way. I was not a member of Congress when the bank was instituted, but I was present and approved of Maddisons Constitutional objections and I believed I introduced them in the letters, Maddison was then and till after 1795 opposed to the banking principle Generally. I having been with others engaged in a struggle with the bank of North America, under an exclusive and perpetual charter recommended by Congress during the war, and incorporated, by the state. It became very unpopular, and opposed at the barr of the Legislature the grant of any other charters. Next year the charter was repealed. The Councils and politics of the state were convulsed for two years, till the charter was restored but limited. The debates on the subject, and the partiality charged upon it had rendered banking very unpopolour, the arguments on that question were the first that was published in the state. My own was extensively circulated.

In this state of the public mind the bank of the United States was instituted, no bank at that time had been connected the Government it is believed of any state. And at first the principle Customers were Duers Speculators, but it afterwards Mellowed down not only to become very usefull both to Commerce but to the Government, not only in affording a safe deposit and medium of transmission, but in contributing Loans when the revenues were small, and we were pressed with an Indian war and when Insurrection threatened the existance of the government, more than three fifths of its capital being before lent to Government, it could give no assistance in the Hostilities with France.

When the Republican Administration commenced no objection was made to the bank as contrary to the Constitution. So far from this its powers and influence was enlarged. The revenue bonds were by law deposited in it and its branches for Collection, and the Collectors directed to deposit the money they received in weekly. before this many collectors failed greatly indebted to the public, one in Phil<sup>a</sup> failed for about \$70.000. The supervisor of the excise went out \$80.000 in debt to the Government, most of which has been recovered. No such thing has happened since President Jefferson employed



the bank to establish a branch at this place and another at Savannah for the safe keeping collecting and transmission of the Revenue, and in 1804 a law was passed by a Unanimous vote to authorise the bank to establish a branch at N. Orleans. I could not have voted for this if I had then believed it to be contrary to the Constitution, all the states have now got banks of their own Some of them, too many, even Virginia, so long opposed to the banking system, now negotiates her revenue through the means of banks and draws a revenue from them, Pennsylv<sup>a</sup>, and other states does the same.

On the question of expediency much might be said, those most opposed to the bank of the United States admit that banks are a necessary and proper means for conducting the Revenues. If such a connection of state banks can be formed as is contemplated which will answer the same purposes as the bank of the United States, the principle will be the same though the agent is changed. It was the influence of state banks however that prevented the renewal of the charter, many of those who voted it down however are anxious for a new National Bank and proposed to bring forward their plan if the other had been sooner decided they think state banks, viz. bills of credit, are unconstitutional, but they differ too much in their theories to agree on one plan. Neither myself nor, I believe any other member would have agreed to the bill as it was reported. It was the chairman of the committee who draughted and reported the bill, that moved to strick out the first Section and thereby precluded amendments. Gallatin never considered the Bank as contrary to the constitution and some others that I will not name were of the same opinion long ago. I am sorry however that there was not a greater Majority on the one side as the other, the people would have been better satisfied.

I am Glad Sir that you are about writing the history of the United States, notwithstanding the number that have been wrote we yet we still want a good one. Marshal has disappointed the expectation of all. It is disgusting by its bulk and adds little to our information. Ramsys is defective particularly with respect to the services of the Militia and his life of Washington is a panegyric rather than Biography. Gardens which I have not seen lately has many mistakes. Sumpter whom you know and Pickens who is yet living, could give much original information about the Southern war, their is no proper history of Pennsylv<sup>a</sup>, Prouds that is so called, is but an imperfect history of the quakers, and though he wrote since the revolution, he classes his History before it commenced. I could if I had Leisure give a pretty correct sketch of its history since 1763. I am Sir

With great esteem  
Your Obed<sup>t</sup> humble Serv<sup>t</sup>  
WM. FINDLEY.

WM. PLUMER, Esq<sup>r</sup>.

Washington, Jan<sup>y</sup> 17, 1812.

Dear Sir,

Your friendly Letter of December 9 I duly received, and have reason to offer an apology for my delay in acknowledging it. I was then and for some time after engaged in more Committees than one, and when this was over I had to attend to numerous Letters from friends which I had neglected, and in addition to this a disposition that I feel grows with age to put off till to-morrow even things of the greatest importance, besides this my hand is got stiff in writing through a weakness in my right wrist occasioned I believe, by an old strain which prevents me from writing long at once and gives a dislike to beginning to it. I however began and made some progress in writing the history of Pennsylv<sup>a</sup>, in my own time, but on considering that the Constitution of the state took its complexion very much from the Colonial Government and that many circumstances could not be explained with-

out a frequent recurrence to it, I laid what I had done asside, and have endeavoured to give the outlines of a history of the Colony till the revolution and conclusion of the quaker Government of the province which I now inclose to you. I design however to follow it with an abstract of the history of the state since that time.

In what I have wrote I had no written assistance but the *historical review* ascribed to Doct<sup>r</sup> Franklin and published in 1759. When he was agent for the assembly, the avowed object of which was to dispose the British Court to purchase Penns Charter and to take the Government under the immediate superintendance of the Crown, therefore though the facts are no doubt correctly stated, yet the object being to accuse the proprietaries and to vindicate the Assembly, it has somewhat less weight as testimony. Prouds history of Pennsylv<sup>a</sup>. published about 12 years ago, long after these struggles had ceased, is I think more impartial with respect to them, but it is not in our library. I have both it and the Journals of the Old Assembly at home, which when I return I will examine and make such corrections as may seem necessary. I did not suppose that in writing a General History you wished to go into minute details respecting particular characters but to give a view of such prominent parts as affected the state of society, otherwise I could have furnished extracts from the numerous criminations and re-criminations by which the Controversy between the Governor and Assembly were carried on, but they are still more full in the Journals than in the review. Neither did I think it necessary to state the character of the men who were most prominent in conducting these controversys of which James Logan during the Government of W<sup>m</sup>. Penn on the proprietary side, and who from other sources of information I believe was not as bad a man as he is represented to be in the review, and M<sup>r</sup> Lloyd, long time speaker of the house and the champion of the opposition I believe was a worse man than he was their represented. Proud the Historjan an old quaker himself I take to be more impartial on this subject. I might have also mentio<sup>d</sup> the settlement of the Swedes previous to Penns Charter, but I can state that better from Proud after I return home.

You will easily observe that having been wrote with many interruptions it abounds too much with repetitions to be published without revision. I design to give you the sequel before I leave this place, and will afterwards expect to be informed of what explanations or additions you think necessary. You will also please to observe that the observations I have occasionally made are subject to your revision, and that where I occasionally introduce myself is not intended for your history. In what is to follow I was more intimately concerned, and though I may in writing the manuscript sometimes mention the part I acted it will not be with a view to have that part mentioned in your history.

Having long observed that a correct history of Pennsylv<sup>a</sup> was much wanted, I thirty years since looked out for the historian that would write it. I not without reason fixed my expectations on Col. Jonathan Bayard Smith of Phil<sup>a</sup>. father of Sam<sup>l</sup>. H. Smith late editor of the National intelligencer. He was an early patriot both in our Committees and Congress and an intrepid Militia officer, a Native of Phil<sup>a</sup>, and the most carefull in selecting and preserving every important record, even down to the lampoons and caracatures during the proprietary struggle, he informed me that he was one of those who armed along with the quakers to fight the Paxton men, merely for ridicule as many others did designing to have applied to him as much more fit than me to assist in your important work I mentioned my design to his son, by whom I was informed that his father had not only given up all design of writing the History he had given me ground to expect, but of even writing Letters or corresponding with his most intimate

friends of which I formerly was one. The other from whom I had expectations was the hon.<sup>ble</sup> Benj<sup>a</sup> Chew who about 50 years since was attorney Gen<sup>l</sup>. of the province and favorite Councillor to the proprietary Gov<sup>t</sup> John Penn and Chief Justice of the province and after the revolution chief Justice of the high Court of errors and appeals for the state. He is now very old and his mind weak. I twenty years since however found that he had been too deeply engaged in the affairs of the province to write an impartial history. That he had excited the Paxton men to come in Military array to Phil<sup>a</sup>. and was the writer of their vindication. Col Smith is but about 67 years of age, two years younger than myself, he is temperate and sober but has become a recluse for near 20 years, 17 years since he absolutely refused to serve in Congress though urged thereto by his numerous friends. It is scarcely necessary to add that I am not possessed of materials for such a history as ought to have been wrote of that respectable and in some respects singular commonwealth, but will endeavour to give you sir all the assistance I can towards a General History. I wish to be informed of your receipt of the inclosed, and am with sincere esteem

WM. PLUMER, Esq<sup>r</sup>.

Yours very respectfully  
WM. FINDLEY.

Washington, Feb'y 25, 1815.

Dear Sir,

Your favour of Dec<sup>r</sup> 5 with the valuable though small pamphlet accompanying it, for which I thank you. The pamphlet has with great satisfaction been read by many members beside myself. It was remarkable for temperance of language as well as for sound argument. Indeed it is not always easy to preserve temperance of language in anamadversions on the scurrilous and unprincipled attacks on the Gov<sup>t</sup>, having nothing of importance to inclose, I send you a publication of my own in a newspaper of the District I represent, I have in it indulged greater severity than usual with me, before the election I took no notice of such publications, but the same writer persevered. I thought if I could not convince the writer I would reach his feelings, which I understand I have done and that he is very angry. He is an elderly man and a Judge of our Court.

I had hoped that the happy return of peace and the astonishing successes of our arms which preceded and accompanied it, would have produced at Least for a time a cessation of newspaper abuse. But the leading opposition paper here censures the Gov<sup>t</sup> for peace as much almost as for war. There is however much more decency on the floor than there was in the early part of the session. I never was so grieved in a public body myself as during this session. Our finances totally deranged our credit shamefully reduced and Congress sitting five months without providing relief. The Majority who are responsible for everything, were on this subject divided into three parties, one in favour of such a financial bank as by having a large stock would assist public credit by taking a large amount out of the market, and likewise to make loans to Gov<sup>t</sup>, another was also in favour a National bank but on other principles, and the opposition were in favour a bank still different from both the others. The fourth and smallest party were in favour of paper money and Legal tenders. Yet though they were the smallest party they in a great measure succeeded, for all the bank systems failing treasury notes were resorted to from necessity, I believe however a national bank would have been at last by a small majority carried into effect had not the treaty of peace arrived when the question was about to be put.

Notwithstanding some misfortunes and mistakes in conducting the war in its conclusion it has happily raised our National character that was much reduced. Britain has met with a double disappointment. Their new Eng-

land friends though criminal with respect to their own Gov<sup>t</sup>, yet they have not been able to drive it from its course, nor to do the British any essential service, they have likewise happily deceived themselves in calculating on the cowardice of the American Character. There is therefore reason to expect that peace will last long, and Britain be so wise as to prefer our friendship and her interest in our commerce to provoking war. Indeed I think the country has a prospect of a long peace not only with the nations of Europe but even the Indian tribes, and of very great prosperity, this can only be prevented by our own indiscretion.

I not only participate In the General Joy for the return of peace, but I rejoice and am thankfull on my own account that being so far advanced in life and having voted for war and that I have lived to see the restoration of a peace, honorable to our Gov<sup>t</sup> and arms, I shall in this respect die in peace of mind.

We appear to have a great diversity of opinion on the question to what degree we shall dismiss the Army, no report is yet made on the Navy.

I am, with sincere esteem

Yours very respectfully

WM. FINDLEY.

Hon<sup>ble</sup> WM. PLUMER.

P. S. I would glad as to know the progress. This war and peace will make an important item in it.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### Notes.

**ARCHIVES OF UNION COUNTY, N. J.**—Mr. Ernest L. Meyer, City Surveyor of Elizabeth, N. J., will, if he receives sufficient encouragement, publish a series of volumes under the above title. He writes: "During a residence of over thirty years in Elizabeth, I have collected many documents and other matter relating to the early history of this county and the genealogy of its settlers which are not to be found in any office of record, and which have never been printed. By patient search I have succeeded in bringing together in a complete form the oldest town books now in existence, which contain a great amount of historical and genealogical information."

The first volume will relate to Elizabeth Town—nearly co-terminous with the present Union County. The edition will be limited to the number of the subscriptions, a list of which will be given in the book. The price of the first volume which is nearly ready will be \$3.00. Subscriptions should be sent immediately to Ernest L. Meyer (City Surveyor), Elizabeth, Union County, N. J., as he should have at once all the encouragement those interested in his undertaking can give him.

**MAINE HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL RECORDER.**—Under this title Mr. S. M. Watson, of Portland, Me., has issued the first number of a quarterly magazine, which will be devoted to the preservation of material relating to the history of the State of Maine and its citizens. The first number contains a sketch of the King family, which is accompanied with a portrait of William King, first Governor of the State of Maine; The Willis Papers;

Marriages in 1800; Obituaries of an early date, gathered from different sources; Kittery Records, and other interesting papers. It is a small 4to. of 32 pages to the number, 60 cts. each or \$2.00 per annum. The Recorder is such a publication as should exist in every State in the Union, and we trust it will meet with every success.

**PENNSYLVANIA CONVENTION OF 1787.**—Can any reader of the Magazine inform us if the manuscript of the Debates in the Pennsylvania Convention of 1787, which considered and approved of the Federal Constitution, is in existence? The report, as printed by Elliot, is very imperfect. A much better one will be found in several papers of the day, and although its publication was continued some time after the convention adjourned, it ends with the proceedings of November 30, 1787. From this fact we are led to conclude that a full report must have been made and its publication suspended, either because the editors of those days thought that, in the language of some of their successors, it smacked too much of "ancient history," or on account of their having been denied the use of the manuscript for some unknown reason.

**HERALDIC HINTS CONCERNING THE COLONIAL GOVERNORS OF PENNSYLVANIA.**—In examining the seals used by some of the colonial governors of Pennsylvania, preserved in the Penna. Hist. Society and elsewhere, the following notes have resulted, which are certainly interesting if not valuable:—

William Markham, several times Deputy Governor, used the following arms upon his seal: "Az. on a chief or a demi-lion rampant issu." These arms are impaled with those of the Thomas family of Dublin. The arms described are the same as those of Markham of Sedgebrooke, County Nottingham, Eng.; a family which derives from Sir John Markham, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, during the reign of Henry VI.; the family obtained a barony in 1642, which became extinct in 1779.

John Blackwell, Deputy Governor 1688–1690, in writing to Wm. Penn from Philadelphia, June 24, 1689, seals his letter with arms described as follows: "Paly of six ar. and az. on a chief gu. a lion pass. guard or. Cresh, A Swan's head and neck erased ar." Burke, in his General Armory, assigns these arms to the Blackwells of Sprouston Hall, County Norfolk, England.

Patrick Gordon, Deputy Governor 1726–1736, had for his seal a shield bearing quarterly the arms of Gordon, Badenoch, Seton, and Frazer, as follows: "1st. Az. three boars heads or, GORDON. 2d. Or. three lions heads, erased gu., BADENOCH. 3d. Or. three crescents within the royal tressure of Scotland, gu. SETON. 4th. Az. three cinque-foils arg. FRASER."

Philadelphia Gordon, daughter of Gov. Patrick Gordon, married in 1733 Abram Taylor, a merchant of Philadelphia, and an active member of the Council of the Colony. Burke, in describing the arms of John Taylor Gordon, Esq., M.D., gives the Gordon arms as above, quartered with the arms used by Abraham and Isaac Taylor (in MSS. Pa. Hist. Soc.) as follows: "TAYLOR, Erm. on a Chevron between three anchors az. as many escallops arg. Crest. A Stork ppr. holding an anchor az."

Burke, in his "General Armory," further says that this John Taylor Gordon was descended from the Gordons of Cluny, through "his great-grandfather Maj.-General Patrick Gordon, Governor of Pennsylvania, who was descended from Alexander Gordon, Laird of Strathaven, 3rd son of Alexander, 3rd Earl of Huntley." The seal of Patrick Gordon was sometimes accompanied by the motto "Par l'epée," and for a crest, "A right arm embowed grasping a sword."

Col. John Hamilton, son of Andrew Hamilton, Deputy Governor 1701–1703, bore the arms of the Hamilton family, viz.: "Gu. three cinque-foils

erm." Gov. James Hamilton used the same arms, differenced with a smaller central mullet. John Blackwell, by the by, in the seal mentioned above, impales his arms with those of the Hamilton family.

Thomas Lloyd, upon a letter dated Philadelphia, 1684, uses as a crest a "Goats head erased," instead of the "goat ppr" shown on the arms in the "Lloyd Genealogy."  
D. McN. STAUFFER.

**THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF WAMPUM.**—We copy the following notice of an interesting address by Horatio Hale, M.A., before the British Association for the Advancement of Science from the *Montreal Gazette*, of August 30, 1884. Mr. Hale said:—

It was a notable fact, he said, that while the partly civilized Indians of Central and South America carried on commerce without money, among those of the United States and Canada a monetary currency was in common use. Their wampum was formed, in the shape of small disks or cylinders, of shells perforated through the centre and strung together on strings of deer's sinew. The system had been found so convenient for purposes of exchange that it had even been adopted by some of the early colonists. In most cases the material was the conch periwinkle, and *venus mercenaria*. The colors were white and purple or black—which was twice as valuable as the white, on account of its rarity. These shell arrangements differed from the cowries of the East Indies. In course of time they came to have a social and political significance. Important acts of state policy were confirmed by the gift or exchange of them. On the occasion of treaties belts of wampum were presented. Each belt had its own device, woven in white on a dark ground or *vice versa*. The rude pictorial emblems generally employed resembled the early Chinese characters. Wampum was also devoted to sacrificial and funeral ceremonies. It had been found in abundance in the mounds of the Mississippi Valley; and, in our own times, was in vogue west of the Rocky Mountains. In traffic, the value was rated sometimes by the length of the strings, sometimes by the number of beads. There was a larger kind, consisting of oblong strips, with holes for stringing. Going far to the westward there was found among the Micronesian islanders an almost similar usage. They made their wampum of the disks of shells, of cocoa-nuts, of the tortoise-shell. In the Loo-Choo Islands the inhabitants had what was known as "cash," small circular copper coins. The Chinese themselves anciently used tortoise-shells. Of the earliest Chinese copper money, some pieces were round, others oblong. The Celestials had also mock-money, made of tin-foil and paper for sacrificial uses, which might be taken as evidence that their money at first consisted of combustible material. The inference to be drawn from the existence of such media of commercial exchange among those oriental peoples was that at some period the idea of shell money had been carried from East Asia or Micronesia to the shores of America. The fact that Japanese junks had been known to be wrecked on the Pacific coast was to the point in the argument. The Micronesians, moreover, were accustomed to make protracted voyages in their well-rigged vessels, and it was not impossible that some of their craft might have drifted to our shores where the occupants would come in contact with the Indians. Whether, however, the use of wampum was derived from the East or not, it could not be denied that it gave evidence of good intellectual powers. It was to be regretted that a subject of such interest had been so long treated with indifference in America. At present there was great scarcity of wampum belts, though some that had been preserved were of deep interest and of considerable historical value. One which was shown to the audience was said to be 160 years old. It was of rare beauty of make and significant design. Four dark squares (the rest being of white beads) were interpreted

to mean four Indian towns. Another which Mr. Hale exhibited was even more remarkable in its structure, displaying emblematic figures. The use of wampum for mnemonic purposes was also explained, and Mr. Hale showed photographs of the chiefs (Six Nations), to whom he was indebted for his interpretation. Interesting to Canadians were some beads found in Orillia County by Mr. Hirschfelder, who believed they had been the property of the Hurons. The paper gave rise to a most animated discussion, in which Mr. Cushing (who had spent so many years among the Zuni Indians), Mr. Erminnie Smith, Mr. Putnam, Major Powell, and Dr. Tylor took part. All the speakers expressed the deep satisfaction with which they had listened to the paper, and their gratitude to Mr. Hale for the light that he had shed on a subject so important.

**LIVERY OF SEISIN IN PENNSYLVANIA.**—Of the following document, the original of which has been presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by Mr. Walter Cresson, Mr. Joseph B. Townsend writes us:—

This document is an attestation of what in the law is called "Livery of Seisin;" that is to say that John Moor, doubtless by separate deed, conveyed the land thereon mentioned to Henry Oburn, and in addition to the delivery of the deed accompanied it with this livery of seisin which is accomplished thus: The grantor and grantee in the presence of two credible witnesses appear on the land sold, and there, by handing over a "twig and turf," the grantor accomplishes delivery of actual possession to the grantee, which act the witnesses attest. This usage, which from time immemorial had prevailed in England, and had occasionally but very rarely been practised in Pennsylvania, has gradually been abandoned since the conveyancing under the Statute of uses has been introduced.

PHILADELPHIA, September 27, 1884.

JOS. B. TOWNSEND.

Be it Remembered That on the Twentieth day of the first month called March in the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred & Twelve Appeared John Moore of Concord in the County of Chester in the Province of Pennsylvania Yeom̄ in his proper person on the Great Road Leading to Chester and where it goes through the Land formerly Gorge Thompsons then John Beazars and afterwards Richard Moors & now in the Possession of the said John Moore And did then & there actually Deliver Possession of all that part of the above s<sup>d</sup> Land Lying on the North East Side of the s<sup>d</sup> Road & Extending to the Middle of the s<sup>d</sup> Road unto Henry Oburn of the Same place & county Yeom̄ by Turfe & Twig in the presence of

matthyes kern

his

John + Palmer

mark

**MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY.**—The October number of this periodical will be found of more than usual interest. The opening article, which is well illustrated, is entitled *Curiosities of Invention, being a Chapter of American Industrial History*, by Charles Bernard. This is followed by a paper on *Monroe and the Rhea Letter*, by James Schouler, an episode of almost-forgotten importance in our national history. The story will be new to many, and interesting to all familiar with the excitement it once occasioned. From unpublished papers in the Gouverneur collection, and from the Diary of John Quincy Adams, Mr. Schouler argues that Monroe's conduct in the matter was above suspicion, and inclines to the opinion "that the whole story was fabricated in or about 1831 by Rhea and others in Jackson's confidence for some political purpose in connection with the Calhoun disclosures which they did not see fit to press."

Our Pennsylvania readers will be interested also in *The Nation's First Rebellion*, by H. G. Cutler, being an account of the Whiskey Insurrection. There is also a tribute to the late *Orsamus Holmes Marshall*, whose scholarly investigations, read before the Buffalo Historical Society, or published in the *Magazine of American History*, have delighted thousands of readers. This paper is accompanied with an excellent portrait on steel. The *Magazine of History* is edited by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, and can be ordered from No. 30 Lafayette Place, New York. The price is \$5 per year, and it is published monthly.

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### Queries.

WAYNE.—Secretary of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Can you give me the following information: When did Anthony Wayne, grandfather of General Wayne, settle in Pennsylvania? Also, what part of England did the family come from, Yorkshire, or near Derby, High Sheen, Stafford? Whom did Anthony Wayne marry before coming to America? E. M. H.

BOND.—Information is desired of the personal (not medical) history, including marriage, children, and descendants of the Drs. Thomas and Phineas Bond of the Pennsylvania Hospital.

240 N. Casey St., Balt., Md.

JNO. R. QUINAN, M.D.

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### Replies.

RUMSEY, NOT RAMSAY (Vol. V. pp. 409, 480).—Mr. George Johnston, author of the *History of Cecil County, Maryland*, writes that we are certainly mistaken in asserting that the Colonel Rumsey mentioned in Montréssor's *Journal* (PENN. MAG., Vol. V. p. 409) was Colonel Nathaniel Ramsay of the Maryland Line. Mr. Johnston refers us to a letter of Benjamin Rumsey to Governor Thomas Johnson (see Scharf's *Maryland*, Vol. II. p. 317), which supports his belief that he (Benjamin Rumsey) was the person alluded to. It shows that he was in the neighborhood commanding a small number of Maryland militia—such a body as Montréssor describes. We have no doubt Mr. Johnston is right, and we would have made this correction sooner, but his letter was accidentally mislaid.

LONG BULLETS (Vol. VI. pp. 255, 376).—This game was very common in Cecil County in the latter part of the last and early part of the present century. If more than two persons participated in the game, each party of contestants was under the direction of a captain. The first choice of the captain's was determined by lot, and any even number of players might take part in the game.



The game was usually played on a road or street, or some place where there was no grass or weeds to obstruct the bullets used in playing it. The game consisted in *jerking* a bullet weighing a pound, or a pound and a half, from a scrawl to or past other scrawls on the ground at the distance of about sixty, eighty, and a hundred yards. The bullets that struck the ground at or beyond the first scrawl counted one, those striking at or beyond the other scrawls counted two and three respectively. In order to accelerate the velocity of the bullets and make the best score possible, the players approached the scrawl at the top of their speed. Sometimes in counting the score the distance the bullet rolled along the ground was taken into consideration.

The foregoing description was obtained from an intelligent old gentleman eighty-seven years of age, who frequently saw the game played when he was a boy. Information derived from other sources leads the writer to believe that the game was sometimes played by *jerking* the bullet three times continuously, the party aggregating the greatest distance after three throws being the victors.

The method of propelling the bullets, which is called *jerking*, consisted in bringing the upper part of the arm by a quick half rotary motion of the shoulder-joint, in contact with the side of the body, and when the upper part of the arm reached a perpendicular position, releasing the bullet from the grasp of the hand, in a manner somewhat similar to, but by no means identical with, the method of pitching a base ball.

GEO. JOHNSTON.

NIXON.—To the first volume of the PA. MAG. OF HIST. AND BIOG. (p. 188), I contributed a memoir of Colonel John Nixon, who, on the 8th of July, 1776, read for the first time publicly to the people the Declaration of Independence. In that memoir I mention an old sea chest, now in the possession of one of his descendants, with the initials and date on the top in large brass nails; and from that argue, that this chest belonged to the emigrant ancestors of the family, and that the initials and date commemorate the period of their departure from their old homes for a new land, and add that "the arrangement of the letters would show that the initials of the surname was 'N,' while 'G' and 'S' represented respectively the Christian names of the emigrant husband and wife." Upon making inquiry in Ireland, I learn from John O'Hart, Esq., of Dublin, the author of the work on Irish Pedigrees, that George Nixon, of the County Wexford, married Susan Sinnott, was a Papist, and was deprived of his property consequent on the penal laws in Ireland; and that he emigrated from Ireland in the latter part of the seventeenth century. These facts, in connection with the initials on the trunk, seem to me very satisfactory evidence that George and Susan Nixon were the parents of Richard Nixon, the father of Colonel John Nixon. The penal laws against Roman Catholics were in force in Pennsylvania as late as 1708, and George Nixon may have conformed to the established church after his arrival here, or his son Richard may have been the first adherent; for, by reference to the memoir itself, it will be seen that Richard Nixon was married and buried in Christ Church, and was also a vestryman of the corporation. I am in hopes that this note may bring some additional light on the subject from other sources.

PHILADELPHIA, August, 1884.

CHARLES HENRY HART.





*Indiana Penn*





THE  
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE  
OF  
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

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PORTRAITS OF SOME OF THE DESCENDANTS OF  
WILLIAM PENN, AND MEMORIALS OF HIM,  
IN THE POSSESSION OF THE EARL  
OF RANFURLY.

BY W. M. CONWAY.

In the month of June last I was permitted, by the kindness of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, to place in their library some negatives, taken from pictures and other objects at Dungannon, which would, it seemed to me and to my friend Lord Ranfurly, be likely to be of more service and interest if deposited there than anywhere else. A brief account of the originals, from which these negatives were taken, and of the other objects of interest connected with the Penn Family in possession of Lord Ranfurly, and preserved at Dungannon Park, County Tyrone, Ireland, may not be unacceptable to members of the Historical Society.

It will be well first to explain how these articles came to their present owner. William Penn's son Thomas married Lady Juliana Fermor, fourth daughter of the first Earl of

Pomfret.<sup>1</sup> Sophia Penn, their daughter, married the Hon. Wm. Stuart, Archbishop of Armagh, and son of John, Earl of Bute. Their daughter, Mary Juliana Stuart, married Thomas Knox, second Earl of Ranfurly, the grandfather of the present Earl.

· Of William Penn, Dungannon possesses certain relics not unimportant. Two of these appear in one of the photographs along with two miniatures which will be referred to later on. The first is labelled "Hair of William Penn, Founder of Pennsylvania, under a diamond." The diamond, which is cut into the form of a heart, is mounted in gold, on the back of which is engraved "W. P. ob<sup>t</sup> 3 July 1718 Æt. 73." The second relic bears the label "A pencil-case, made out of Native Gold taken upon the King of Candy. W. Penn." There is a garnet at the closed end. Only the barrel of the pencil-case is old; the point is of modern construction.

More interesting and valuable than either of the foregoing is a volume in its original binding containing three of Penn's writings. They are "An Account of W. Penn's Travails in Holland and Germany Anno MDCLXXVII For the Service of the Gospel of Christ, by way of Journal. Containing also Divers Letters and Epistles writ to several Great and Eminent Persons whilst there. The second Impression, Corrected by the Author's own Copy, with Answers to some of the Letters, not before Printed. London, Printed and sold by T. Sowle, in White-Hart-Court in Grace-Church-Street. 1695." The second tract is "A Call to Christendom, In an Earnest Expostulation with Her to prepare for the Great and Notable Day of the Lord That is at the Door. By William Penn. The Second Edition. London, Printed & sold by T. Sowle, near the Meeting-house in White-Hart-Court in Gracious-Street. 1695." The third tract is "Tender Counsel and Advice by Way of Epistle to all those who are sensible of their Day of Visitation, And who have received

<sup>1</sup> The original agreement of settlement made at the time of the marriage of Thomas Penn and Lady Juliana Penn is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It covers eight skins of parchment, 26 by 34 inches each.



the Call of the Lord by the Light and Spirit of his Son in their Hearts, to partake of the Great Salvation, wherever scattered throughout the World; Faith, Hope and Charity, which overcome the World, be multiplied among you. By William Penn. The Second Edition." London, etc., 1695. This interesting volume was presented by Penn to his second wife Hannah Callowhill, before their marriage. On the fly-leaf is written in Penn's bold hand:—

“FOR MY DEARE  
FRIEND HAN-  
NAH CALLOWHILL  
JUN.

W. P.”

The book, as a note within it states, was given by the Hon. Mrs. William Stuart to Lady Elizabeth Knox, who placed it in its present home.

At the end of the volume is pasted an autograph letter from Hannah Penn to her husband, which seems worth reproducing entire, in this place.

“WORMINGHURST 27<sup>th</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> 1703.

My Dearest

Thine I had by last and the former post and herewith send thee the best Doe we have, as Parham keeper tells me, at least as good as any; but 'tis so very Indifferent that could I have sent thee an answer any other way I would not have been at this charge, doubting 'twill not answer thy expectation at last, if for any extraordinary occasion. I hope nothing (will by next post) alter thy intentions of setting out 5th day, at w<sup>ch</sup> time I purpose the horses shall meet thee at Darking<sup>1</sup> and hope it will please the Lord to bless us at last w<sup>th</sup> a comfortable meeting. we are at present all pretty well. I shall not be very long now, hoping in a few days to have the happiness of a more intimate Conversation. I hope Johnes bricces (John's breeches) at least, are done, and that thou will bring y<sup>e</sup> coat body for hanna, both w<sup>ch</sup> are very much wanted, as also a firkin of butter for none is yet come

<sup>1</sup> Dorking.



to hand, y<sup>e</sup> sugar, wine, etc. is come; but no German Ball. I am consernd that thou should order me to draw on W<sup>m</sup> Avbrey,<sup>1</sup> but more, that he should be so disrespectfull as to return the bill, I hereby also send him a letter of resentment, and another bill goes from Tho. Woolner (?) the other has been hence 10 days and more, and now returned to his great disapoyntm<sup>t</sup>: and will be to our dishonour if this is not punctually payd, wherefore pray wherever the mony is borrowd, let 30lb be Layd in W<sup>m</sup> Avbrey's hands, to save that muck worm harmless. I am foret to draw at sight or five days, it being from him already due. and on W<sup>m</sup> Avbrey again tho against the grain. that it may not be known here, he esteems our frdship so little, and would rather have it thought 'twas some mistake or oversight than slight, and hope it so too, or else I think 'twas very unkind. Now my dearest accept my truest love and heartiest wishes for thy health and safe return. pray give my dr love to relations, and our landlord and wife. with respects to Lady Barnerd, to whom I own myselfe obliegd for the favours already bestown. and hope to deserve her friendship, and should be sorry to purchase her displeasure; I think her advise kindly intended, and almost resolve to take it, if my husband will live so long and oft in London, but if I could with him Live a retired as well as country Life, I should wish well to my frds there, but say happier still am I. since the above T. W. was with me for the bill and says the carrier will be in early 4<sup>th</sup> day by whom I incline to send the venson directed to W. Weston, to whom I inclose this, and remain in dearest Love and deepest Ties

Thy own aff<sup>t</sup>

H. PENN.

do love to sister Lowther etc.

Daugh<sup>r</sup> and 3 children desire their duty and cous Rebecha her respects, she and w L are of opinion y<sup>t</sup> could he be cleared of the 2<sup>d</sup> part that Wade will assuredly forgive his. E. Blackfern is fully persuaded of it.

<sup>1</sup> William Aubrey, who married Letitia Penn, August 20, 1702.

We very much want a pillion and cloth having none but S. H's and but one side sadle for all these servants. but pray let not this take up thy time or hinder thy return in the least from thine own H. P.

For W<sup>m</sup> Penn Esq<sup>r</sup> at his lodgings near Hide park Gate or elsewhere. London."

The only other autograph of W<sup>m</sup> Penn at Dungannon is preserved in the volume containing the pedigree of the Knox family.

It consists merely of the following words:—

"saith my soul who am  
Your friend and brother in the truth  
Love and patience of the kingdom of Christ  
W<sup>m</sup> Penn."

Of William Penn's son Thomas, who in due time became Proprietor of Pennsylvania, there is at Dungannon a most excellent portrait. It is a small full-length of a perfectly dressed and somewhat precise gentleman in the costume of the middle of the 18th century. He wears an embroidered grayish lilac silk coat and breeches, and a long white satin waistcoat. He stands at the open door of a wainscoted room with uncarpeted wooden floor. Thro' the doorway an anti-chamber can be seen, with a window opening upon a pleasant country view.

A companion picture to this is a similar small full-length of his wife, Lady Juliana Penn. She wears her wedding-dress, which is of white silk, very long in the waist and open down the front, showing a white quilted petticoat. The dress is bolstered out very much on each side (tho' not in front or behind) by a huge crinoline. She stands near the fireplace of a beautifully decorated room, in Lord Pomfret's house, in Albemarle Street, London. The fireplace is occupied by a vase of flowers; on the mantelpiece are oriental and other jars, and above them a picture (of the Claude type) sunk into the wainscot. The rest of the walls are covered with a most handsome green brocaded paper. There is also a bench covered with green leather, and of very graceful

form. The landscape seen through the window is, of course, imaginary.<sup>1</sup>

Both pictures were painted by Peter Van Dyck, in the year 1750, as a memorial of Thos. Penn's marriage. They descended to the Hon. Mrs. Stuart, and were presented by her, in 1835, to Viscountess Northland, afterwards Countess of Raunfurly. The portrait of Thos. Penn was engraved at least twice; the upper part of the figure by C. Turner, probably to illustrate a publication of the Outinian society (an impression of this belongs to the Hist. Soc.), and the bust, engraved in mezzotint (the original plate still exists in America).

Peter Van Dyck, the painter, was born in 1729 (the same year as Lady Juliana), and is said to have been a descendant of the great Van Dyck. Redgrave says that "he was invited over from Holland by Sir Joshua Reynolds to assist him, particularly in his draperies, and remained with him for many years. He afterwards settled at Bristol, where he practised as a portrait painter, and was reputed for his likenesses. He exhibited, with the Incorporated Society of Artists in 1762, a 'Diana,' an historical subject, and a portrait; and in 1764, 'Portraits of a Lady and Child in the Character of the Madonna.' At the Free Society in 1767, he exhibited three whole lengths, and three other portraits. There are portraits by him of the poets Coleridge and Southey<sup>2</sup> in the National Portrait Gallery (London)." The Penn portraits are early works of his, and show him strongly under the influence of the Dutch portrait-painters, and working in somewhat the same style as Hogarth in his family groups. There is no trace of the influence of Sir Joshua Reynolds. Indeed, Van Dyck, being in England (as these pictures show) in 1750, the story about Reynolds bringing him over is probably altogether false. Reynolds very likely

<sup>1</sup> These facts are derived from inscriptions on the backs of the pictures. [The picture of Lady Juliana Penn accompanies this article. In using the negative presented by Mr. Conway, we were obliged to give the portrait to our readers in reverse from the original.—ED. OF MAG.]

<sup>2</sup> They were painted in 1795 and 1796 for Mr. Joseph Cottle, of Bristol.

employed him, as he did Northcote and numbers of others, because he found him ready to hand. In his later pictures, Van Dyck shows the influence of Reynolds, working on a larger scale and in a bolder manner. The new style did not suit him so well as the more modest fashion of his youth, and the later pictures are far less interesting than these two very charming works.

Of Lady Juliana Penn, there are three more portraits at Dungannon. One is a half-figure crayon drawing of great charms, in which the lady is represented looking at the spectator with a most tender and pleasant expression. She wears a light veil over the back of her head, and draped about her shoulders; the low dress is calculated to show off her beautiful neck. This picture was engraved by C. Turner as a companion to the engraving of the husband referred to above. There is likewise a line engraving, either after this picture with alterations, or after some other picture of the same type unknown to me. It is a companion to the other engraving of Thos. Penn previously mentioned. Impressions of both plates belong to the Historical Society.

The third Dungannon portrait is a small ivory bust relief in profile to the left, carved like a cameo, and set in a silver filigree case. It is a very fine piece of work. The lady is represented in classical attire, in the character of Diana, a small crescent being carved above her brow. Her face, with its delicate profile, lends itself well to this adaptation, and the artist has performed his task with skill, showing genuine knowledge and dexterity, especially in the treatment of the hair, and the modelling of the neck.

Lastly, we have a miniature of Lady Juliana in later life, apparently about the age of 50 (she lived to be 72, dying in the year 1801). It marks the further development of a very sweet character, and the increased expressiveness which age usually gives to a face whose leading characteristic is sweetness of expression. This miniature, mounted in a setting of little pearls and dry grass, the whole within an oval black frame, is one of the prettiest pieces of arrangement conceivable. Members of the Historical Society have far better

opportunities than I for forming an opinion as to Lady Juliana's character; but, judging solely from these pictures, it appears to me that she must have been a person of singular gifts and rare fascination. If so, it is a matter for congratulation that so many representations of her exist.<sup>1</sup>

A very handsome chest of inlaid wood, beautifully wrought in the French style of the seventeenth century and of great value, belonged to the famous Louisa Queroualle, Duchess of Portsmouth (who came to England in 1670, and died in 1734). It was given by her to her great-niece, the Countess of Pomfret, Lady Juliana's mother, and may be mentioned here, tho' not properly pertaining to our subject. The same may be said of a miniature of Lady Charlotte Finch, a sister of Lady Juliana's. She became governess to the children of George III., and invented dissecting maps, since grown common enough in nurseries and school-rooms. The original set of such maps is in a little cabinet at Dungannon, a label on which states that "those in this cabinet were expressly made for and always used in teaching geography to George IV., his brothers and sisters." The miniature (one of those photographed) represents a stiff and terrific old woman, whom, one would judge, "George IV., his brothers & sisters" would probably hold in wholesome dread.

Coming down to the next generation, we have two little ivory panels, upon which pictures are wrought in hair

<sup>1</sup> [She was, we believe, such a person as Mr. Conway supposes, and also possessed of remarkably good business abilities, and of a strong character. The collection of "Penn Papers" in the Library of the Historical Society contains many of her letters. Towards the close of her husband's life, immediately preceding the commencement of the Revolution, she appears to have personally conducted his correspondence connected with America, and this during a period of great public excitement. She continued her attention to such matters during her widowhood until the war put an end to all communication between England and the American colonies.—*ED. OF MAG.*]

From Sir J. Reynolds' lists of sitters we find that Lady Juliana sat to him for her portrait in January, 1753, February, 1764, and February, 1767. Where are these three portraits? Perhaps the crayon drawing is copied from one of them.

gummed on the surface of the ivory. On the frame is the inscription, "Done with the Hair of the Children of the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> Tho<sup>s</sup> Penn and Lady Juliana his wife." The work is fine, but curious rather than beautiful.

One of Thos. Penn's daughters married Mr. William Baker. There is a pretty representation of her at the age of eight, in the form of a bust relief in wax by Joachim Smith. A smile, on the childish face, is capitally rendered; every detail is well modelled and the whole is a charming specimen of one of the arts which photography has slain.

Another of Thos. Penn's daughters was Sophia, already mentioned as the wife of the Hon. Wm. Stuart, Archbishop of Armagh. Of her there is one of the most beautiful miniatures I ever saw, probably by Cosway, a bust turned in three-quarters to the right, against a mottled blue-sky background. Her face resembles that of her mother, Lady Juliana, in her youth; the flesh colour is remarkably soft and transparent. The hair is arranged in ample powdered curls, in the fashion familiar to admirers of Sir J. Reynolds' pictures. A pendant to this, painted by the same hand, and in the same manner, only turned in three-quarters to the left, is the miniature representing Juliana Rawlins, daughter of the William Baker above referred to, and therefore granddaughter of Thomas Penn. The face is less beautiful and more pert than that of Mrs. Stuart, but, as a work of art, the painting is no wise inferior.

There remains only to mention a splendid mezzotint by Charles Turner, after a picture by Sir Joshua Reynolds, representing four of the children of Thomas Penn, namely, Juliana (b. 1753, m. 1771, d. 1772), Louisa Hannah (b. 1756, d. 1766), John (b. 1760), and Granville (b. 1761). The original picture was painted in 1764. It is now in the possession of Colonel Stuart, of Tempsford Hall, Sandy, England.

It is one of the artist's most fascinating family groups, and shows him just at the moment when his style was reaching its fullest development. Little John Penn reminds us of the work of Rembrandt, his baby brother recalls many an Italian "Child Christ," whilst the two girls are essentially

362 *Portraits of some of the Descendants of William Penn.*

English. The composition of the group is remarkably good. The engraving, which is dedicated to John Penn, Esq., bears the date of publication, 1819. It was no doubt done at the order of the same John who appears in it as a child.<sup>1</sup> From Reynolds' list of sitters it appears that Master and Miss Penn sat to him again in February, 1767, as did their mother also, but of this picture (if one resulted at all) no trace can be found.

The following letter has just reached me:—

TEMPSFORD HALL, Sandy, Sept. 20, 1884.

Dear Sir,

I have in my possession the picture called the "Penn Family," by Sir J. Reynolds, and portraits of Sir W. Penn (Lely), W. Penn, Thomas Penn, John Penn (Copley), & Granville Penn, also the stump of the Elm under which the Treaty was made with the Indians. Also I have a Punch Bowl made for Sir W. Penn (1653) in Holland, and a picture of the old House at Stoke, with figures of Thomas, Lady Juliana Penn, & some of their children. All these are in my house here.

Yours faithfully

MR. W. M. CONWAY.

W. STUART.

About these pictures, I may be able to send a communication to the Historical Society at some future date.

<sup>1</sup> It is No. 420, page 126, in E. Hamilton's "Engraved Works of Sir J. Reynolds," 2d ed., London, 1884.

[Since the above article has been electrotyped we have discovered an error for which we are accountable, and not Mr. Conway, as his statement was based on information furnished by us. The mezzotint bust of Thomas Penn, mentioned on page 358 as being after Van Dyck's picture, although very like it, is after one by Davis, 1751. It is engraved by Martin. The line engraving of Lady Juliana Penn, mentioned on page 359, is engraved by Robert Panker, after Cath. Read.—ED. OF MAG.]

BENEDICT ARNOLD'S REGIMENTAL MEMORANDUM  
BOOK.

WRITTEN WHILE AT TICONDEROGA AND CROWN POINT IN 1775.

[Benedict Arnold's Regimental Memorandum Book, written while at Ticonderoga and Crown Point in 1775, was some years ago in the possession of a lady living in the western part of Pennsylvania. Since that time it has been lost, but before this happened, Prof. W. H. B. Thomas transcribed it, and we are indebted to him for the use of his copy for publication.

The events of which it treats are among the most important in the annals of the Revolution, while the subsequent career of its writer gives a mournful interest to all connected with that portion of his life in which his devotion to his country was unquestioned. It has been said that depriving him of command on the lakes "was the first of a series of acts of injustice which resulted in his inexcusable crime." We cannot agree with this conclusion. His own self-wilfulness was the cause of his removal, and led eventually to his everlasting disgrace. It would be an act of insignificance to reflect on one who has fallen so low in human estimation as Arnold has, were it not that the brilliant qualities he at times displayed are calculated to make us lose sight of a violent and unprincipled nature, which would cause the downfall of any man who possessed it, and attribute his shortcomings to disappointments engendered by the injustice and narrow-mindedness of the authorities he served. That our readers may understand the circumstances under which the following memorandums were written, we will as briefly as possible review those which led Arnold to Ticonderoga and to his removal from command.

Immediately after the battle of Lexington, he marched from New Haven for Boston with a company of militia he commanded. On the way he met Samuel Holden Parsons, who was returning to Hartford from Oxford, Mass. The latter was deeply concerned, regarding "the defenceless state" of the camp at Cambridge, and the want of heavy cannon for the siege of Boston. Arnold gave him an account of the state of Ticonderoga, and told him "that a great number of brass cannon were there." It does not appear from the evidence we have that either party then proposed that an attempt should be made to capture these stores. It would be fair to presume from what we know of Arnold that he would have coupled such a proposition with the information he communicated to Parsons, and in the absence of anything to the contrary the credit of having done so should be accorded to him. He never, however, claimed having first conceived the idea, and Parsons wrote on June 2, 1775, after describing his interview with Arnold, in the words we have quoted: "On my arrival at Hartford, Col. Sam. Wyllys, Mr. Deane,



and myself *first* undertook *and projected* taking that fort [Ticonderoga], and with the assistance of three other persons procured money, men, etc., and sent out on this expedition without any consultation with Assembly or others." This party was organized the latter part of April. As soon as Arnold arrived at Cambridge, he proposed to the Massachusetts Committee of Safety a scheme similar to that which Parsons had set upon foot, and on May 3d was commissioned as colonel with authority to enlist a body of men not exceeding 400 in number to carry out his designs. These troops were to be raised in the western part of Massachusetts and the neighborhood, and Arnold at once repaired to Stockbridge. There he learned that the Connecticut leaders had gone forward to surprise the fort, with the intention of calling to their assistance the inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants. Leaving an officer to enlist men, as directed by the Massachusetts Committee, Arnold pushed on and overtook the Connecticut party at Castleton. It then consisted of a small number from Connecticut, a portion of a Massachusetts regiment under Colonel James Easton, and the Green Mountain Boys under Ethan Allen. Arnold exhibited his commission, and in an imperious manner claimed command of the expedition, informing the officers that they "had no proper orders." The men heard of the dispute, and threatened to return home if their leaders allowed themselves to be superseded. Their conduct had the effect of quieting Arnold, and he accompanied them as a volunteer. After the fort was taken he again pressed his claims, but they were disregarded, and the Connecticut Committee gave Allen command of the fort. The first entry in the Memorandum Book evinces the chagrin Arnold felt at the treatment he had received. In his letters to the Continental Congress and to the Massachusetts Committee of Safety, he intimated that he had agreed with Allen that all orders should be issued by them jointly, but the testimony of the Connecticut Committee is overwhelmingly to the contrary. They wrote to the Massachusetts Congress that he caused them much difficulty. That while he claimed authority to command he had not enlisted one man, nor did they know that he could do so. Arnold's pretensions seem to have been based upon prospective grounds. He appears to have thought that the troops which would surely follow him should entitle his commission to an immediate recognition. This might with some reason have been expected from Easton and his men who were from Massachusetts, but why troops from Connecticut and the New Hampshire Grants, paid by Connecticut, and engaged in an expedition against a fortress in New York, should feel called upon to acknowledge a Massachusetts commission we are unable to understand. But Arnold was a man who, throughout his whole life, interpreted the circumstances with which he was confronted so as to make them accord with his own views.

Four days after the capture of the fort a small body of men, who had been enlisted under the authority given to Arnold, arrived at Ticonderoga. They came by way of Skenesborough, and brought with them a captured sloop. With this little force he fitted out an expedition against St. John. There

he secured some valuable stores, and destroyed a number of batteaux. His command was subsequently increased until it numbered one hundred and fifty men. With these he took post at Crown Point, which had been captured a few days after Ticonderoga, organized a fleet and began to send cannon to Cambridge. As his importance rose Allen's waned. The Green Mountain Boys soon returned to their homes, and on May 27th Arnold wrote that Allen "had entirely given up command."

Arnold's exertions at this time were certainly of great value to the cause of Independence. He was not only carrying out the chief objects in view when the expedition against the fort was projected, but was strengthening all the posts taken to prevent their being recaptured. The expediency of an expedition against Canada was also suggested to him, and emissaries were engaged to learn how far the inhabitants of that province sympathized with the colonies represented in Congress. Had he had authority for what he was doing, or had he acted upon his own judgment in the absence of any authority to the contrary, nothing but credit could be awarded to him. But the more closely the reader examines into the subject, the more thoroughly will he be convinced that Arnold's conduct amounted to insubordination, and that had all who chanced to find themselves situated as he was—removed from the immediate presence of their superiors—acted with like independence, all organized opposition to Parliamentary oppression would have crumbled into dust.

The capture of Ticonderoga, indeed, appears to have startled the country as much as did the battle of Lexington, and what to do with the prize was a question of serious importance. As soon as the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts learned that it had been effected by troops in the pay of Connecticut, they surrendered all jurisdiction in the matter to that colony, and in a letter to its Assembly asked that any cannon that could be spared should be sent to Cambridge, suggesting that Arnold should be appointed to bring them, as that would likely settle any dispute that might have occurred about rank. To Arnold they sent a copy of this letter, and on the 22d of May told him that their attention was so occupied with affairs at Boston, that they had asked Connecticut to attend to those at Ticonderoga.

The members of the General Congress at Philadelphia approved of the capture when they heard of it, but as they had not then taken any steps towards the formation of the Continental Army, they recommended the authorities of New York, in whose territory the fortress stood, and who had applied to them for advice, to take charge of it, and to ask what assistance was necessary from the neighboring colonies. New York, not feeling that she could give the matter the prompt attention required, asked the Government of Connecticut to garrison the post and appoint a suitable person to command until she could furnish the necessary troops. Acting upon this invitation, Governor Trumbull directed Colonel Hinman to proceed to Ticonderoga with one thousand men. When Hinman arrived there, Arnold would not yield up his command, but compelled him to receive his orders

through a Captain Herrick that he had put in charge of the fort, while he (Arnold) remained at Crown Point.

Up to this time Arnold had retained the confidence and respect of the rulers of Massachusetts and Connecticut. It was not possible, however, for the Congress of Massachusetts to overlook his wilful disregard of their wishes that affairs on the lakes should be under the direction of Connecticut, and a committee was appointed to proceed to Crown Point, with power to inquire into his conduct, examine his accounts, discharge him from the service if it saw fit, and to insist upon his serving under Hinman if his commission was continued. "When the Congress of the colony of Massachusetts Bay," wrote Walter Spooner to Governor Trumbull, "were informed that your Government had sent Colonel Hinman to Lake Champlain with a thousand men to defend the important posts there, it was with the deepest concern that they saw that he was not commander-in-chief of those fortresses and their appendages, and immediately dispatched a committee whereof I have the honor to be chairman to let the commander of their forces know, that it was the expectation of our Congress, that the commander-in-chief of the Connecticut forces should be over our officers and privates."

When the committee showed their instructions to Arnold, he was, to use the moderate language of their report, "greatly disconcerted, and declared he would not be second in command to any person whomsoever, and after some time contemplating upon the matter resigned his post . . . and at the same time ordered his men to be disbanded." His letter of resignation was, to say the least, disrespectful in the extreme, and, if we are to believe the testimony of the committee and others, his conduct was deserving of the most severe censure. It is stated positively that Arnold and some of his men got on board of their vessels, drew out into the lake, and fired upon the committee as they were returning from Crown Point to Ticonderoga, and that officers who went from the latter place to endeavor to persuade the men to re-enlist, were by Arnold's orders confined on the vessels and guarded by men with fixed bayonets for half a day.

The entries in the original manuscript are not in all cases in chronological order. That they may be better understood, we have printed them so, and have indicated by footnotes the position of each part in the original. —ED. OF MAG.]

*May 10th.* When Mr. Allen, finding he had a strong party, and being impatient to control, and taking umbrage at my forbidding the people to plunder, he assumed the entire command, and I was not consulted for four days, which time I spent in the Garrison.

*N. B.* As a private person often insulted by him and his officers, often threatened with my life, and twice shot at by his men with their Fuseses.

This day Colonel Eaton<sup>1</sup> taking umbrage at my refusing his Lt. Colonel's . . . [commission?] set off for the Congress with an announced intention to injure me all in his power.

*Sunday 14th.*<sup>2</sup> The Schooner Liberty arrived at Ticonderoga from Skensbo.<sup>3</sup> with Captain Brown Oswald<sup>4</sup> and about 50 men enlisted on the road. We immediately fixed her with four carriage, and six-swivel guns, and proceeded to Crown Point with 50 men in the Schooner, and one Battoe with two Swivels where we arrived the 15<sup>th</sup>.

*N. B.* Dispatched Mr. Brown to Albany, and sent forward provisions, &c.

*Tuesday 16th.* Left Crown Point for St. Johns with a head wind, and beat as far as Split Rock that night.

Next day.

*Wednesday 17th.* Wind being fair proceeded within 30 miles of St. John at point Au Fare, when, being cautioned, we maned out two Battoes with 35 men, and after rowing all night arrived at St. John's Six O'clock Thursday morning, where we surprised and took a Sergeant and his party of 12 men the Kings Sloop of 70. tons 6. brass six-pounders, and seven men. 9. large Battoes, 4 of which, being out of repair we destroyed, the others brought away. The wind springing up fair at 9 Oc'k weighed Anchor and stood up the Lake, and at noon met Colonel Allen, and his part of 100 mad

<sup>1</sup> James Easton.

<sup>2</sup> Arnold wrote, under this date, to the Massachusetts Committee of Safety: "Mr. Allen's party is decreasing, and the dispute between us subsiding. I am extremely sorry matters have not been transacted with more prudence and judgment. I have done everything in my power, and put up with many insults to preserve peace and serve the public. I hope soon to be properly released from this troublesome business, that some more proper person may be appointed in my room." His letter will be found in Force's *American Archives*, 4th series, vol. ii. 584.

<sup>3</sup> Skenesborough. It is spelled in a number of ways throughout the manuscript.

<sup>4</sup> Captains Brown and Oswald. The former was probably Jonathan Brown. See Arnold's letter of May 19, *American Archives*, 4th series, vol. ii. 645.

fellows going to take possession of St. Johns, and not being able to persuade him from so rash a purpose, supplied him with provisions &c.<sup>1</sup>

1775. *Friday, May 19th.* At 4. A. M. crossed Cumberland Bay with the Sloop and Schooner, and at 8. A. M. anchored at Crown Point two hours, and proceeded to Ticonderoga where we arrived at 5. P. M., and, having saluted the Fort, came to Anchor.

*Saturday 20th.* Were employed in fixing and arming the Schooner.

*N. B.* Dispatched Capt. Oswald, to Connecticut, and Captain Brown to Cambridge with advice, taking the Sloop, &c.

*Sunday 21st.* Rode out two miles to the mills to engage a quantity of plank for carriage boards and Battows to carry the cannon over Lake George. When at the landing received advice of Colonel Allen's Depot at St. Johns, and return with a loss of three men, which in least did not surprise me, as it happened as I expected.

Returned to the Fort, and made preparation to forward to Crown Point.

*Monday 22d.* Proceeded from Ticonderoga to Crown Point, with the Sloop and Schooner, and about eighty men, where we arrived before night.

*Tuesday 23d.* All hands employed at fixing the Sloop, Schooner &c putting them in the best posture of defence. About noon had intelligence from one Butterfield of Colonel Allens party, who was left behind, that he left St. John's the 19<sup>th</sup> inst. where there was then 300 Regulars, Canadians &c making *all* possible preparation for crossing the Lake, on which I sent Expresses to Fort George and Skensborough for the people to muster and join us. At 6. P. M. Mr. Adams who left St. Johns the 19<sup>th</sup> inst. arrived and says there was only 120 men who attacked Allen, and then same day

<sup>1</sup> Arnold's letter, written from Crown Point, May 19, to the Mass. Committee of Safety, gives a full account of his expedition to St. John's. It was carried by Captain Brown, as mentioned in entry of the 20th.

marched to Chambly.<sup>1</sup> When they were repairing the Fort, on this intelligence, I sent forward to countermand my former Orders. N. B. Wrote to the General Assembly of Connecticut, and Committee Safety, Cambridge.

*Thursday 24th.*<sup>2</sup> All hands employed in arming the Sloop, and Schooner. Arrived here Col. Webb, Mr. Dean, Capt. Bull, and sundry gentlemen and seamen from Hartford.

[*Thursday*] *25th.* Mr. Dean, Col. Webb, &c set out for Tic. Wind proving contrary they returned. We were busy getting down some caannon, Mortars, &c clearing out the N. E<sup>t</sup> Redoubt, &c and arming the vessels.

*Saturday 27th.*<sup>3</sup> Were joined by 20 men enlisted by Col. Allen at the request of Col. Webb, these are the whole of his party, all hands employed on Guard, fixing Sloop, Schooner, &c and getting down Cannon.

*Sunday 28th.* Employed on the Sloop Schooner, Guard, char<sup>s</sup> Stores, &c &c.

*Monday 29th.* Employed as the day preceding.

*Tuesday 30th.* Employed as the two preceding days Received my . . . Bill of an £150. from Thomas Wells Dickerson, and drew on the Committee Safety for the balance due me £77 13, 4.<sup>4</sup>

1775. *May 31. Wednesday.* All hands were employed on Guard, fixing the vessel &c 30. men of Capt. Bulls Company arrived from Stillwater including officers.

<sup>1</sup> All preceding this is on the first page of the original manuscript. The first entry in it is that dated May 19th, and the manuscript continues from there as printed to where the reference to this note is inserted. The entry dated May 10th begins at this point, and what follows is in the order given above. The last entry on the page is that of the 17th, and after it a page is said to be missing in the original. The last paragraph of the first printed entry is all that is dated May 10th. What precedes it in the original closes that of the 23d.

<sup>2</sup> The 24th came on Wednesday. In Arnold's letter of the 26th, he writes, eight gentlemen having arrived from Hartford, who are seamen, etc. etc. See *American Archives*, 4th series, vol. ii. p. 714.

<sup>3</sup> In the copy from which we print, this entry is dated Thursday 26th and Saturday 27th. The former is obviously an error.

<sup>4</sup> End of page 2 of manuscript.

*N. B.* Sent a Boat with Sergeant Armstrong with 5 men on a Scout to St. Johns.

*Friday*<sup>1</sup> 1st June. Arrived here part of Capt. Wells Camp, 20 men from Cambridge with 20. men including officers. Arrived here Mr. Henry J. Bogert sent by the Committee of Safety at Albany to take charge of their Stores of Provisions at Fort George, and an inventory of Cannon &c here, sent a boat to Raymonds Saw-mills for Boards to repair the Barracks &c, a number of men employed getting down Cannon 15 men were employed digging in the ruins of the old Fort who got out near one ton of Lead and Iron Ball, sent a Battoe Tic with Mr. H. J. Bogert, Mr. Elphinston the Conductor his wife and seven men Captain Henicks<sup>2</sup> Camp.

*Friday* 2d June. 20 men employed in getting down Cannon and as many digging for Ball &c Our Seamen busy in making Sails and fixing Battoe Sent a Battoe to Onion River, arrived here Lieut. Garrison from Saratoga with 10. men.

*Saturday* June 3d. 20. men employed getting down Cannon, digging ball &c fixing Battoes and 8. Carpenters employed in repairing the Barracks received 2 m feet Boards from Raymonds mill 441<sup>a</sup>. 10. d. nails from Annis,<sup>3</sup> and sent 224<sup>a</sup> to Tic and 600 feet of Board to repair the Barracks, Took into service a large new Battoe of Fensis and sent her to Tic for men and provisions. Col. Allen left this and went to Tic, arrived Sergeant Jonah Sanborn who was sent out on a Scout to reconoiter the 28<sup>th</sup> of May who when about two miles below Ile Anow<sup>4</sup> was chased and fired on by an number of people in two Battoes, say 20, and obliged to run on Shore. The enemy took the Cannon, and he was relieved and brought in by the Canadians. Sent Capt. M'Kenzie in his Battoe to Raymonds mill for Boards.

Received on Board 4bbls: Pork for Tic, and sent 2 into Store, received ——ld Nails of Watson.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thursday.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Herrick.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Alvis.

<sup>4</sup> Isle Aux Noix.

<sup>5</sup> Probably John Watson, half-brother of W. Gilliland, a large landholder in the neighborhood.

*Sunday 4th June.* All hands employed in fixing boats to proceed down the Lake. Received and borrowed of McIntosh a barrel of New Rum. Took on board from the store 6. Barrels of Flour, and One Barrel of Peas. Sent a Boat to Raymonds for Ash for Oars and Troughs for the Guns. At 10 A. M. the Wind sprang up to the Southward, the whole Garrison were paraded, and 40 men were drafted out to ——— Garrison, the remainder immediately embarked to No. 155 men on Board the Sloop Schooner and three Battoes, including the Seamen, Mariner's &c, on board before. At 3 P. M. weighed Anchor and proceeded down the Lake with a small Breeze. Sent on shore one cask of Powder to be divided among at night. Anchored at Button Hole Bay 10 miles from C—— Point, where we lay all night.

*Monday June 5th.* At 4 A. M. weighed anchor, and proceeded down the Lake, at 10. went on Shore at ——— Bay at Hay's Plantation. Examined his large Battoe which I found very badly built, small Timbers, weak and unfit for any hard service, though I found two small Craft, which I dispatched the day before in quest of one.

1775. *June 5.* One Capt ——— Grant who, though under his Parole of Honor, had left Crown Point the day before, they informed me, they had got 10 Leagues the Start of them, and they could not possibly come up with them. There I met with one Host, an Indian Interpreter, whom I had sent with some Stockbridge Indians to Kauknowaughua, as an Interpreter, he informs being near St. Johns the Indians insisted on going directly there, and, being fearful of being taken prison, was put on shore and proceeded to Kauknowaughua, where there was search made for him by Gov. Carlton, and he narrowly escaped being taken, and says the French informed him the Stockbridge Indians were imprisoned at Montreal, but on the intercessions of the other Indians were set at liberty. That Gov. Carlton was at Montreal, and threatened the inhabitants that unless the merchants would defend the place he would burn it, and retire to Quebec. The Canadians and Indians utterly refused join-



ing the Kings troops, and that there was 300 Regulars at St. Johns ——— &c at 7. P. M. anchored opposite point Aroach.<sup>1</sup>

*Tuesday June 6th.* At 4. A. M. weighed Anchor, at 8 passed Point Asen,<sup>2</sup> at 10. AM. Anchored off Hospital Island 62 Leagues from St. Johns, sent a Battoe, 20 men, in search one swivel, &c &c Cannon 8 men, the two latter as advanced Guard to the Aux Noix with directions to get all possible intelligence, and in the night to proceed within two miles of St. Johns, and, if possible to take any party sent out from there. Employed a number of hands on shore baking bread at night, but of Capt. Varnums with 4 men to go on the east side of the Lake opposite St. Johns and discover the ——— town of ———<sup>3</sup>

1775. *Wednesday June 7.* Motions of the enemy at 4. P. M. The large Battoes returned from there, the small canoes having proceeded within one mile of St. Johns. Was informed there was 300 Regulars and soon after they were chased by a Battoe and obliged to return. And they also informed us that the Regulars were determined to pay us a visit the next day, sent out 3 small boats, different scouts, for intelligence and put ourselves in the best position of defence.

*Friday<sup>4</sup> June 8th.* At 8 A. M. our small yawl came in from St. Johns and informed us that they lay three hours opposite the barracks, where the Regulars to the number of 300. men were entrenching. Our people fired two shot at them which was returned by the whole body.

*N. B.* Wind has been strong to southward for three days.

All hands employed baking Bread, getting Timber for Oars, &c, N. B. Gave one bbl: of Flour to Monsieur Conderet who brought a party of our men to C'n Point, who had their boat taken away.

*Friday June 9th.* At 5. A. M. weighed anchor for C'n Point, Schooner & two large Battoes. Left one battoe with one sergeant and two men to bring off a French Family. At 9. met Capt. Brown from the Congress, Lt. John Graham with 12. men from Saratoga, the remainder of his party left

<sup>1</sup> de Roche Fendu.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly Isle Ash in the river St. Johns.

<sup>3</sup> End of page 3 of manuscript.

<sup>4</sup> Thursday.

at Sea Point. Fair wind at 4. P. M. One of the three brothers at night anchored above Highland Bonnet.

*Sat. June 10.* At 4. A. M. weighed anchor, and at 5. P. M. anchored at C'n Point, and found that Col. Allen, Col. Easton, and Major Elmore<sup>1</sup> had just arrived, and had called.<sup>2</sup>

Called a Council of their officers and others not belonging to my Regiment, and sent for Major Elmore, who excused himself, on which I wrote the Counsell that I could not consistently with my duty suffer any illegal counsells, meetings, &c,<sup>3</sup> as they tended to raise a mutiny, that I was at present the only legal Commanding Officer and should not suffer my command to be disputed, but would willingly give up the command when any one appeared with proper authority to take it. This had the desired effect, and they gave up their expectation of Commanding.

*Sunday June 11.* Went on shore early, and gave order to have the Guard doubled to prevent any mutiny or disorder. Col. Allen, Major Elmore, Easton and others attempted passing the Sloop without showing their pass, and were brought to by Capt. Sloan, and came in show [shore] and when in private discourse with Elmore intruded and insulted me. I tooke the liberty of breaking his head, and on his refusing to draw like a gentleman, he having a hanger by his side, and case of loaded Pistols in his pocket, I kicked him very heartily, and ordered him from the point immediately.<sup>3</sup> Several parties left the Point this day for Ticonderoga, having orders from the Committee of Albany for that purpose.

*Monday June 12. 1775.* People employed in building Baracks, digging &c. Sent a scout of 5 men to St. Johns, the

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Elmore of Connecticut.

<sup>2</sup> End of page 4 of manuscript.

<sup>3</sup> The language used here is calculated to leave the impression that it was Major Elmore who was assaulted by Arnold, and who acted with so much pusillanimity. A letter written from Ticonderoga, June 25th, and which we believe emanated with Arnold, says, I had the pleasure of seeing him [Easton] heartily kicked by Colonel Arnold, to the great satisfaction of a number of gentlemen present, although he was armed with a cutlass and a pair of loaded pistols in his pockets.—See *American Archives*, 4th series, vol. ii. p. 1087.

Albany Company of men received Orders from the Committee to return to Fort George, and accordingly embarked. I went to Ticonderoga. Sent a Boat to the mill for Boards.<sup>1</sup>

1775. *June 13. Tuesday.* Sent Capt. Oswald expressed to the Continental Congress.<sup>2</sup> The Boat returned from the mill with boards, sent her to Ticonderoga. The people employed getting Oars, refitting Barracks. Sent a Boat with Skens Negroes to dig ore. Sent a Boat and 20. men to Hay's place to bring up his large Battoe.

*Wednesday June 14th.* Men employed digging Ball and getting Timber, & making Oars and Tents. I went [sent?] to Cows Mill a Battoe on the E side of the Lake to cut Timber and hunting. The Gunners employed in searching and sealing the small guns, Carpenters making Carriages. Sent two Boats to Ticonderoga with Capt. Buell, and Lieut. Garrison.

*N. B.* Blows extremely hard, N. N. E.

*Thursday June 15th.* Blowing at N. N. E. & N. E. at 8. A. M. Sent a Boat across the Lake for Scout<sup>a</sup> Party. Sent there before. People employed in getting Timber and mounting some Lumber. Sent a Party out hunting.

*Friday 16th.* Three Boats with all the Carpenters on the other side of the Lake, getting Timber for Skids, Ores, Wheelles &c. Sent to Raymonds Mills for Timber and provisions for Skine's Negroes. Received a Whale Boat from Mt. Usher. Capt. Winnean [Benjamin Hinman] and Major Elmore arrived from Ticonderoga. Sent to Capt. Herrick to send all the damaged Powder to Albany to be wrought over anew.<sup>3</sup>

1775. *Saturday June 17.* The Garrison employed in getting Timber, fixing Barracks, making Oars, and digging. Colo' — [Hinman] made a demand of the command here, but as he produced no regular order for the same I refused giving it up, on which he embarked for Ticonderoga.

<sup>1</sup> End of page 5 and beginning of page 7 of manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> On July 11 Arnold wrote to Congress from Albany that he had received no answer to this letter. See *American Archives*, vol. ii., p. 1647.

<sup>3</sup> End of page 7 and beginning of page 6 of manuscript.

*Sunday 18th.* Blows heavy from the northward. The Garrison employed as the preceeding day.

*N. B.* The only show of Rain this two weeks.

*Monday 19th.* The wind continues blowing northward, and very cold. Sent Capt. Brown in a Petranger<sup>1</sup> to take for [us] as many Gun carriages as the Boat will carry. Five returned from a Scout to St. Johus and says there is 300 Regulars there, with three pair Cannon, and two Mortars, entrenching &c, which is confirmed by Mr. Udney Hay who arrived from there this morning.

*N. B.* The Garrison employed as usual. Published an Ordnance for the better regulation of Suttlers and retailers of Liquors, as they were heretofore sold at an extravagant price.<sup>2</sup>

1775. *Tuesday June 20th.* The Garrison employed in building a Guard House, fixing the barracks, and helving Axes Hoes, &c *N. B.* This day lined out an entrenchment across the point where I propose mounting 15. 9½ Pounders, which secures the redoubt and rampart for 2000. men.

*Wednesday 21st.* The Garrison employed in fixing Barracks getting down and mounting Cannon, the Carpenters at work on a Guard House, Wheels, &c and at 6. P. M. Major Elmore arrived here with three Companies of men from Ticonderoga, arrived Mr. Nicholson, from Philad<sup>a</sup>, Mr. Price,—the latter a gent from Montreal.

*Thursday. 22d June.* People employed as on the previous day. Carpenters turning Carriage Wheels, getting Timber &c.

Arrived here three gentlemen from the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts Bay, viz. named Wm. Spooner, Sullivan.

*Friday 23d.* Carpenters employed as usual, People on duty and sealing Guns. Arrived here the gentlemen from the Congress of the Massachusetts Bay Walter Spooner Jedidiah Foster, & James Sullivan Esq. to whom I have resigned my commission, not being able to hold it longer with honor, accordingly wrote Capt. Herrick to give up the command to

<sup>1</sup> Perianger.

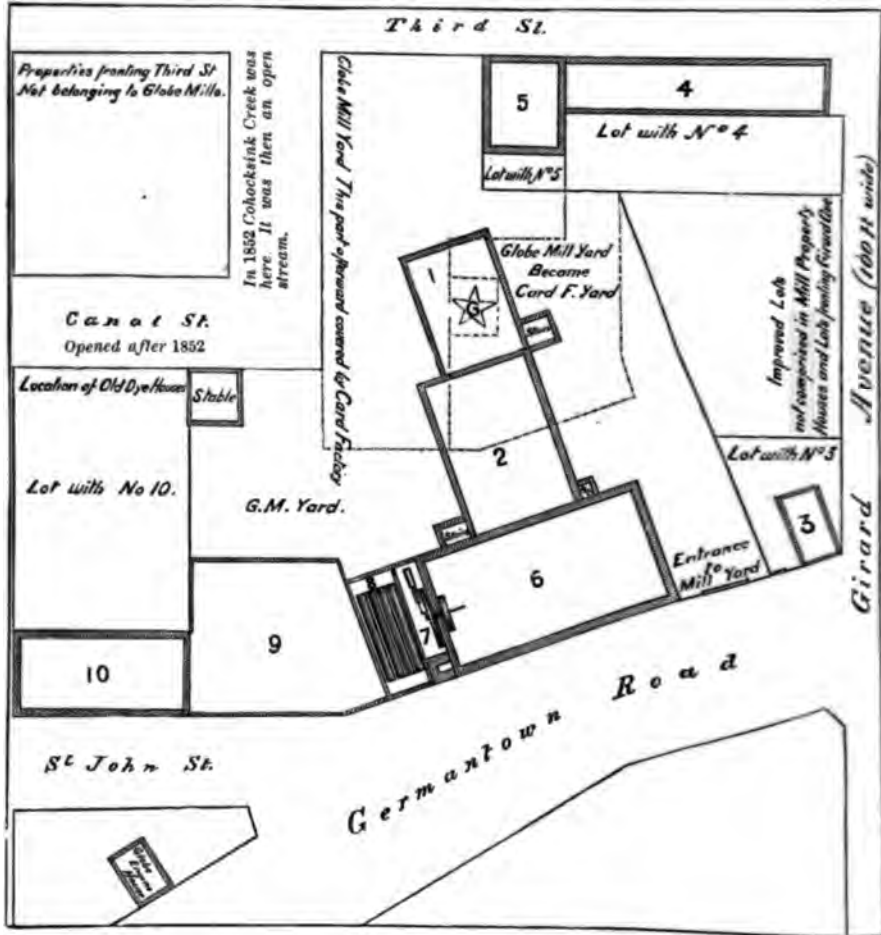
<sup>2</sup> End of page 6 and beginning of page 8 of manuscript.

Col. Winnan [Hinman]. Arrived here the 3. Miss Skeins, Capt. Elisha Sheldon, Capt. John Bigelow, &c.<sup>1</sup>

1775. *Saturday June 24th.* Applied to the Committee from the Massachusetts Bay for Cash for Regiment which they refused. I am reduced to great extremity, not being able to pay off the people who are in great want of necessaries, and much in debt. This gives me great trouble to pacify them and prevent disturbances. At noon went on Board to Dinner, and while at dinner I was confined in the great Cabin by People who manned and sent a Boat after the Committee from the Congress, who had left this place for Ticonderoga about 2 hours before. I complained much of the insult offered me, and received for answer that they—personall ill will, but were determined to stop the Committee and oblige them to pay off the Regiment or at least some part as will enable them to go home to their families with honor. At 4. P. M. arrived Capt. Mathews with 5. bbls. Pork from Ticonderoga. At night came on board Capt. Sheldon and Capt. Bigelow to see me, had a rumor of an engagement at Cambridge between the Regulars and the Provincials in which it is said there is many thousand killed on both sides.

<sup>1</sup> End of page 8 of manuscript.

1



GROUND PLAN OF THE GLOBE MILLS, 1852.

The dotted lines show the exterior of a Card Factory, to accommodate which the rear buildings of the old mill were demolished.

THE GOVERNOR'S MILL AND THE GLOBE MILLS,  
PHILADELPHIA.

BY SAMUEL H. NEEDLES.

(Concluded from page 299.)

The Globe cotton mill enterprise, though of modest commencement, yielded surprising results. Truly momentous to the United States was the decade 1800–1810, for then were being made most strenuous efforts to introduce cotton manufacture by machinery, newly invented, rude in construction, and jealously guarded by the British government.<sup>1</sup> Cotton

[Based on Penn's writing in 1701, "Get my two mills finished," that year has been generally accepted as the date of erection of the Governor's Mill (see page 280); but it is possible the time should have been ten years *earlier*. If this be so, Penn must have referred to repairs only, or possibly to finishing Schuylkill Mill. I find in the First Tax List of Philadelphia County, date September 26, 1693 (PA. MAG. OF HIST., VIII. page 95), the name of "Ellis Jones Govern<sup>r</sup> Mill;" estimate of property £72, and tax 6 shillings. This is among other Northern Liberty properties, such as those of D. Pegg, President More's estate, and Robeson and Sander's Mill (Wissahickon Creek); and is followed by properties in Oxford Township, among which appear Thomas Parsons, "½ of Mill" (Frankford Creek), tax three shillings four pence, and Samuel Carpenter, ¾ of same mill, tax five shillings. It is not possible now to discover what relation Ellis Jones held to the Governor's Mill (Griffith Jones was a member of the Provincial Council in 1688), but the mention of such a place in the Northern Liberties seems to prove its existence at and previous to the date of said tax list.]

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* 21 Geo. III. c. 37, in 1782, also another restrictive Act, 1783.

In 1786, a brass model of Arkwright's spinning machinery, made for Tench Coxe, Philadelphia, was confiscated in England on the eve of shipment. In 1787, two carding and spinning machines, imported at Philadelphia, were bought by English agents and reshipped to Liverpool. At the small cotton factory, Beverly, Mass., there were, in 1789, one cotton card and a "spinning jenny," which had cost fully £1100 sterling. Bishop, *Hist. of A. M.*, i. 399, 418.

In 1791, Whitney invented the cotton-gin—without which cotton machinery was of little value—but it was stolen, his rights disregarded, and he and his heirs *never compensated* by Congress for the national benefit from his invention.



carding and spinning machinery, however, such as it was, had been made in 1791 by John Butler, 111 North Third Street, Philadelphia; and in 1803, "Billies" of 12 spindles at \$48, for family use, and larger "Jennies" and "Mules" were made by Joseph Bamford, at 5 Filbert Street, and also by a Mr. Eltonhead. The latter sold "carding engines" at \$40, drawing and roving frames \$200, and mules of 144 spindles at \$300.<sup>1</sup> Robert Lloyd patented February 8, 1810, an improved loom for weaving girth cloth; and the important invention of machine-cards by Elizur Wright, Walpole, Mass., also dates from 1810.

In 1804 cotton manufacturing became successful in Connecticut; and in 1805 Messrs. Almy, Brown & Slater, of Rhode Island, whose mill, and the attempts of Almy & Brown dated from 1790, had 900 spindles at work. Woolen carding and spinning by machinery, for fine goods, was also being attempted at this period by Wadsworth, at Hartford, Connecticut. Although some excellent cotton goods had been manufactured before 1800 in Philadelphia and a few other places, it was Samuel Slater who first made the business permanent and profitable. American efforts at cotton and woolen spinning by machinery were wonderfully stimulated by the non-intercourse with England, just previous to and during the war of 1812-15;<sup>2</sup> this was the main reason of success which attended the Globe Mills.

It thus plainly appears that the small commencement about to be recorded was *in the van* of cotton manufacture in the United States, and well deserves historic notice, had there been no other interesting connection. By deed dated

<sup>1</sup> Bishop, *His. of A. M.*, ii. 167, 188.

<sup>2</sup> "In 1803, there were only four cotton factories in the United States, but when the period of restriction began, in 1808, the importation of foreign goods was first impeded, and soon entirely prevented. In 1804-8, much more activity prevailed, for in the latter year 15 mills had been built, running 800 spindles. In 1809, the number of mills rose to 62, with 31,000 spindles [only 500 average, however], while 25 more mills were in course of erection."

Taussig, *Protection to Young Industries*, p. 25.

April 4, 1809,<sup>1</sup> witnessed by Turner Camac, Benjamin R. Morgan conveyed to Adam Seybert, Seth Craige, Charles Marquedant, and Thomas Huston, in equal parts: "All that certain mill called or known by the name of the Governor's or Globe Mill, and the lot or piece of ground on which the same is erected." This conveyance comprised the mill-pond and dam (2 acres and 49 perches), a strip of land 44 feet in width along and including the mill-race, and extending to the mill lot, besides several other adjacent lots. Southward the property reached the open space called "Bathtown," and northward to the intersection of Third Street and Germantown Road. On the east, the street last named was the boundary, and Third Street the principal limit on the west; "Being," as recited in the deed, "the same Lot of Ground allotted (*inter alia*) to Sarah Masters," etc. The deed further says, page 333 of record: "Together, also, with the free and exclusive use and privilege of the mill-race from time to time, and at all times, until the above-described lot of ground and every part thereof shall absolutely be abandoned as a scite for any mill and Water Works, and of the waters thereof leading from the Mill Pond on the second above-described lot [marked No. 2] or piece of ground to the aforesaid mill, and of the following described strip or piece of ground through which the said race passes" [44 feet in width, as above mentioned]. On page 334 of record, the mill-dam is mentioned, privilege given to take water from adjacent lots "formerly of William Masters," and right to keep the mill-dam *logs* "at the present [1809] height."

The course of the race was slightly S. W., not far north from the creek; and the former, crossing Third Street a short distance above the present Girard Avenue, not then located, turned directly south when about half-way between Germantown Road and Third Street, immediately in the rear of a lot where John Holmes afterwards erected a double brick house fronting Germantown Road. Traversing the space, later Franklin Street, and still later, as widened,

<sup>1</sup> Deed Book I. C., No. 1, p. 331.

Girard Avenue, the race delivered water to an overshot wheel, "under the floor" at east end of the old mill. The water then flowing 100 feet further south, entered the Cohocksink Creek, which passed through the vacant lots of Bathtown, where, for many years, was a refreshment house and public garden. The position of the water-wheel is worthy of notice, it being usual in almost all the older water-mills of the 18th century to place the wheel outside. It also shows more plainly, that originally the slope southwest from the present level of Germantown Road to the creek must have had an elevation of 15 or more feet.

The intention of the parties was to use the wheel and its appurtenances, and erect a new brick factory on the firm old foundations, which was eventually done, making the height  $3\frac{1}{2}$  stories on the north, and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  stories on the south side. This was the smaller of the two *rear buildings*, as they will be hereinafter designated. The unusual thickness of the ancient walls and large size of the stones therein made their demolition difficult. This is attested by one still living, who, as a youth, aided in the work.<sup>1</sup>

Doubtless many unforeseen difficulties and much delay arose, for, on June 26, 1809, Adam Seybert sold, without profit, all his right in the property to Seth Craige,<sup>2</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Since publication of part first of this paper, I have had reason to consider the Governor's Mill as of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  instead of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  stories. This is confirmed by the only person I know who saw the old structure, and it explains the wheel being "under the floor," i. e., under the floor of the main story. There was a low basement with windows and a door looking southward, while the north wall was blank against the steep hill. The principal story was more lofty than the basement; and into the former was the chief entrance, in the north side, from the sloping bank.

Not far from the south front was a fine spring of water, carefully walled around with large stones.

<sup>2</sup> In Mr. Thompson Westcott's brief notice of this effort (Scharf & Westcott, H. of P., i. 522) there are several inaccuracies. The date is 1805, Seth Craige the only proprietor, contracts stated as made with a saddlery firm at 110 Market Street (actually the city office of the Globe Mill), and Mr. Houston and John Holmes taken as partners in 1816. It further erroneously says that woolen goods were made by Craige, Holmes & Co.

retired from what might reasonably have been considered a most doubtful enterprise. Dr. J. Redman Coxe—whose brother, Tench Coxe, the distinguished statistician, along with Alexander Hamilton early and ably advocated American manufactures—is *said* to have been interested in this venture. White's Memoir of Slater, page 187, remarks: "As early as 1808, \$80,000 were invested in the Globe Factory, Philadelphia, in which Dr. J. Redman Coxe was concerned." It appears, therefore, that in more ample capital, the first firm, Craige, Marquedant, and Huston,<sup>1</sup> had great advantage over some parties who early attempted cotton manufacturing in the United States without success. Dr. Coxe could not have been interested in the real estate, as his name does not appear in any recorded transactions, nor in the various agreements, etc., afterwards made, as far as I can discover.

The brief of title of the Globe Mill property—commencing with 1723—says in one place: "And the said Seth Craige, Charles Marquedant, and Thomas Huston have erected a factory on the undivided part of the said last-described lot of Ground." This was the small mill building already described, size 40 × 56 feet, three stories with attic; and, by reference to plan hereto annexed, its centre is shown as coinciding with that of an outside stairway to the latest extension of A. M. Collins, Son & Co.'s card-board factory, further mention of which is to be made.

Mr. Westcott (iii. 2317) thought Alfred Jenks, who had worked with Samuel Slater, and came to Philadelphia in 1810

<sup>1</sup> Huston, viewing the former constant misspelling of names, resembles too much that of John Hewson (yet to be mentioned as located at the Globe Mill in 1803), to permit much doubt that Thomas Huston was related to, if not the son of the said John Hewson. Conjecture is reasonable that Thomas Huston had by some mode obtained knowledge of cotton manufacturing, without which probably the venture would not have been made. Seth Craige was largely in the saddlery and saddlery-hardware business, Huston was one of his journeymen, and Seybert and Marquedant are described in the deed of April 4, 1809, the former as doctor of medicine, and the latter as merchant.

with drawings of cotton machinery, built the first machinery for the Globe Mill. This, however, was not the fact; it was made by several independent but good mechanics, one a carpenter for the wooden frames, under direction of a person (name forgotten) located near the central part of the city. The sheet cards were imported. Mr. Jenks afterwards made a large quantity of improved cotton machinery for the 2d, 4th, and 5th extensions of these mills.

The second rear building, much larger than the first, being 50 × 67 feet, five stories in height, besides basement, and with two attic stories in the lofty hipped, shingle roof, was erected in 1813, during the "prosperous time" of the war. At its west end was placed an upright steam engine, having cylinder boilers of 45 horse-power, all constructed by Daniel Large,<sup>1</sup> a noted Philadelphia machinist, located at 513 (old number) North Front Street, and foundry Otter Street below Germantown Road.

The 2½ story brick house, still at S. E. corner of Girard Avenue and Germantown Road, occupied since 1856 as a store, was also erected in 1813. For some years it was office, ware-room and sales-room; afterwards for 38 years a dwelling, and long occupied by the superintendent. By legal partition, January 19, 1813, the several interests of the mill proprietors were rearranged; and by deed dated December 22, 1813, Charles Marquedant and wife conveyed one-quarter interest in the premises and business to John Holmes.<sup>2</sup> The mill property thus became owned one-half by Seth Craige

<sup>1</sup> Daniel Large was the youngest apprentice of the first steam-engine firm, Boulton & Watt, of Birmingham, England. Some of the frame buildings, formerly portions of his shop, are still standing in the rear of Front Street above Laurel.

<sup>2</sup> As previously stated, the firm had been Craige, Marquedant & Huston. From 1814 to 1828, there was the plated saddlery firm of Craige, Huston & Co.—store 110 Market above Third Street—concurrent with the cotton manufacturing firm of Craige, Holmes & Co. at the Globe Mill, and sales-rooms also at 110, and awhile at 287 (old numbers) Market Street. In 1832, the firm last named became Craige, Holmes & Craige, but after a few years was changed back to Craige, Holmes & Co.; the city office in 1847, and until liquidation, was at 12 North Fourth above Market Street.

(the grandfather of the final owners), one-quarter by John Holmes, and one-quarter by Thomas Huston.

During the war of 1812-15 the firms named started a calico-printing department in a frame dye-house hereinafter mentioned, using wooden blocks; Francis Labby, a Frenchman, was manager.<sup>1</sup> Printing cloths were in part purchased, and in part woven on hand-loom in several small 2½ story buildings on the mill lot, 150 feet, or more, north from the mill—spooling and warping being done in their lower stories. Large quantities of heavy woolen felted goods were purchased and printed in imitation of leopard-skin, for army use. This printing business was very profitable for several years, but excessive importations almost ruined it soon after peace was declared.<sup>2</sup>

The narrow three-story building, still at S. E. corner of Girard Avenue and Third Street, now a children's coach factory, was erected in 1816 to accommodate weaving of

<sup>1</sup> Scharf & Wescott, *His. of P.* iii. 2317, record that Francis C. Labbe started calico printing at 206 Cherry Street in 1812, and after four years discontinued it to become a dancing master. It is quite probable, however, that soon after commencement, from want of capital, he and his works were transferred to the Globe Mill. I think my aged informant, who is the only relic of the print works employes, could not, independently, have come so near the name first above given unless the fact was as already stated. Although printing cottons by machine from copper cylinders was adopted, with imported machinery, by Thorp, Siddall & Co., at their works near Germantown, Philadelphia County, in 1809, it was ten or more years before much progress was made in the United States in introducing this great improvement.

<sup>2</sup> The advantages of home production and the circumstances of war to certain kinds of business, are exhibited in Grotjan's Philadelphia Sales Reports, published during 1812, '13, and '14 at 58 Walnut Street. In September, 1813, ordinary sizing flour (sour) was \$7.00, and good flour \$8.00 per barrel, and Upland cotton 14½ cts. 60 days. At same date the commonest calico sold for 23 to 24 cts., fancy at 50 to 60 cts., and super calicoes at 57 to 68 cts. per yard, all at 60 days. On December 5, 1814, while flour had advanced but little, and Upland cotton to 23 to 27 cts. per pound, commonest calicoes sold at 56 cts., good and super calicoes 76 to 83 cts., and ¼ muslin at \$1.17½ per yard, while narrow cotton tape was \$5.50 per gross, all at 60 days.

saddle girthing, tapes and fringes on hand-loom. This also, had been a most profitable department during the war; and the girthing and tape did not suffer as much as some other textile business on the advent of peace. Some of the tape looms then wove 6 to 10 pieces at once. T. Wilson, in "Picture of Philadelphia in 1824," says, of the Globe Mill: "It employs about 300 hands, and manufactures gingham, drillings, checks, shirtings, and sheetings, has 3200 spindles, and uses 5400 lbs. cotton weekly." All the check goods then made were woven on hand-loom—power looms with revolving or rising boxes, to change shuttles, not having been introduced into the United States cotton mills until about 1830.

In 1828 Craige, Holmes & Co. made their fourth extension by erecting a substantial 2½-story brick building, with basement, fronting 30 feet on Third Street, 40 feet in depth; it communicated directly with the narrow building previously mentioned. In the basement were placed boilers and an upright steam engine of 48 horse power, the engine being made by John Walshaw in the machine shop located in basement of rear buildings. This new portion was connected by a shaft with the first rear building, to supply power when water failed, which began occasionally to occur.<sup>1</sup> The first story of this extension was used for office, sales and store-rooms, the second story for girth looms removed from the narrow building, while in the latter was placed additional cotton machinery.

There had been built, date now unknown, but probably 1812, a frame dye-house near where the race entered the creek, and not far from a small brick stable, shown on the accompanying plan. Here, besides that worked in the mill, dyed cotton yarn was woven by outside hand-loom weavers; and the business last named became in time a very important

<sup>1</sup> Some years previous an overshot waterwheel, of same size as the original wheel, but with independent shaft, had been placed five feet distant from the old wheel, and so arranged as to be connected therewith when water was abundant. The crowding in of much machinery had begun to seriously tax the water-power, and the latter was also diminishing.

partment. A portion of this dye-house was of slats, there being connected with it a warp sizing room. Water was conducted from the elevated race and distributed by open wooden troughs; later, small leather hose was partly adopted. Edward Healey, an Englishman, for more than 30 years chief dyer of the Globe Mills, lived 25 years in the ancient 1½-story stone building mentioned as once fronting on Germantown Road. For several years after the commencement, all the assistants on yarn dyeing, about six in number, were *women*.

The cotton carders at this factory were: (1) William McRobb, of Scotland, who was entirely deaf and dumb; (2) James Low, England, and (3) John Stafford, England. During the war of 1812-15, a considerable quantity of No. 100 cotton yarn was spun on one mule. It was used for "tambour embroidery," and sold for \$5.00 per pound.

In the *Philadelphia Gazette* of April 22, 1829, Craige, Holmes & Co. advertise that they have completed the enlargement of their factory, and offer "Globe Mill cotton yarn" at their store, No. 110 Market Street. Under date, March 30, 1832,<sup>1</sup> Craige, Holmes, & Craige, replying to special industrial queries, sent in the interest of home production, by Mathew Carey and C. C. Biddle, stated, *inter alia*, that they employed a capital of \$200,000;<sup>2</sup> had three buildings erected in 1810, 1813, and 1816, with two steam-engines and a water-wheel; 47 looms for saddle girth, and 9126 spindles for cotton yarn of numbers 14 to 20. They used 518,000 lbs. cotton in 1831, also 52 bbls. flour, and 3120 lbs. tallow in

<sup>1</sup> "Statistics of Manufactures of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. Collected 1831, 1832," page 215.

<sup>2</sup> The proprietors of the Globe Mills had always ample capital, not only to make but to distribute their goods. The dry goods commission business, prominent for the past 50 years, had an early example, if it was not the actual commencement, in "The Domestic Society," incorporated at Philadelphia, March 11, 1805, to encourage the starting of manufactures by making loans on security, and advancing money upon dry goods to half selling prices, charging 6 per cent. interest, and 5 per cent. on sales. Transactions of the society were not large, but for some years it paid 6 to 8 per cent. dividends. Office was at 6 South Third Street. (See advertisements in *Philadelphia Gazette*, January 13, and March 11, 1809.)



sizing warps. They employed 114 men and women, the former averaging \$8.50, and the latter \$2.62½ per week; also 200 boys and girls, whose wages averaged \$1.37½ per week. The firm remarks: "Apprentices [the number was generally twelve] have one quarter's schooling annually."<sup>1</sup> It is singular that this reply did not mention the fourth extension, 1828, herein given as date of the latter, is correct. After 1832, besides yarn and various other goods, the firm made a large quantity of cotton fringe on hand-loom, one person to each loom. It is asserted that this was the first place in the United States where fringe was formed upon looms.

Mr. Townsend Ward, in a short account of the Governor's Mill, says:<sup>2</sup> "The dam appears to have been standing as late as 1830." The above record shows it was used in 1832; and, I am informed, the water flowed from the race into the dye-house for several years after the wheel was disused. It is probable that the mill-dam and race only ceased as a water power in 1839, consequent on the opening of Franklin Street through the mill lot. A wide street must have been anticipated here in 1813, judging by the location of the 2½-story office (No. 3) then built. Upon December 19, 1838, certain property owners petitioned the Court of Quarter Sessions that Franklin Street might be opened from Second to Fourth Street, "through land of Thomas H. Craige and others." A jury being appointed by the Court rendered a report February 13, 1839, awarding damages for land taken from the Globe

<sup>1</sup> It is of interest, as showing the great improvement, of late years, in the condition of factory employes, that until nearly 1840, the hours of work in these and other textile mills were from sunrise to sunset in summer, and from 7 A. M. to 8 P. M. in winter, with half an hour for dinner. This averaged 13 hours daily; and the present half holiday was unknown. The proprietors of the Globe Mills were not more blamable than others for such long hours; it was the custom, and there is evidence, beyond that above given, of much kindness and consideration towards their apprentices and other mill hands. The working hours of the Lowell cotton mills about this period were even longer—13 to 14 hours—according to a paper recently published by Mr. Edward Atkinson, of Boston, entitled "What Makes the Rate of Wages."

<sup>2</sup> PA. MAG. OF HIS., vol. v. pp. 3, 4.

Mill premises and from other parties (probably also for loss of water-power, though it is not mentioned) the amount for the mill land, etc., being \$12,050.<sup>1</sup> In 1855, Franklin Street was widened from 32 to 100 feet for part of its length and called Franklin Avenue, then Girard Avenue; and in 1858 the last-mentioned name was extended to the whole street.

In 1840, the very substantial 5-story factory, 54 × 100 feet, fronting on Germantown Road, with attic and basement, was erected—the second rear building being directly connected by openings, for which purpose the east wall was taken down. There were also at same time built an engine-room and 2-story boiler and drying house, with a massive but not lofty stack; also an extensive 1½-story dye-house, and a 4-story building, 34 × 69 feet, with basement, the latter structures fronting St. John Street. These additions were all made by Messrs. William Einwechter & Sons, for many years noted builders in Kensington.

A powerful horizontal steam-engine, of unusual stroke, cylinder about 15 × 60 inches, and cutting off steam at  $\frac{2}{3}$ , was purchased from Smythe's great distillery,<sup>2</sup> once located near the Schuylkill below Callowhill Street. Engine and boilers were rearranged and placed by James T. Sutton & Co., then at Howard and Franklin Streets. There was connection by a *square* 2½-inch iron shaft, from engine to large mitre wheels in the centre of main basement, and thence to rear buildings. Power was transmitted to second floor of main mill by massive spur cogwheels of eight and three feet diameter with 5-inch faces, one of the large wheels being on the main shaft of engine projected through the end wall; and when working this gearing made a loud, unpleasant clanging. A wooden drum on the north wall of rear buildings furnished, by belting, most of the power to that portion of the mills. This engine proved sufficient for the whole establishment, and was very economical. It was replaced in 1876 by one of

<sup>1</sup> Road Docket Rec. of C. of Q. S., vol. xii. 433, 435.

<sup>2</sup> This establishment will be recollected by many as having been *sui generis*, without successor in Philadelphia.

cylinder 18×36, made at the People's Works. The new dye-house received water from city pipes, but distributed it in open wooden troughs, an arrangement which remained in use until 1852. City illuminating gas was introduced into all parts of the establishment as soon as this fifth improvement was finished.

The first story of the St. John Street factory was used for awhile as office and sales-room, and for storage of yarn and goods; into the upper stories were removed the girth looms from the Third Street mill and some hand-looms for piece goods. In the 4th and 5th stories of the main mill were placed in 1843-4 a large number of power looms, mostly plain, driven from long wooden drums of 12 inches diameter fixed on rough iron shafts. These looms were made partly by Thomas Wood, Philadelphia, and partly by Alfred Jenks, Bridesburg.

As already intimated, the basement, or lower story on the south front of the rear buildings, had for many years been occupied as a machine shop and place for repairs—having a number of lathes, and sundry machine tools. A square 2½-inch iron shaft ran through the centre, and upon it were pulleys made entirely of wood; and such use of this portion of the works continued until 1851.<sup>1</sup>

In 1849, the St. John Street factory was rented to James Lucas, who afterwards bought it and herein for nearly 12 years did considerable business, obtaining cotton yarn from the Globe Mills and elsewhere, and distributing it principally for dyeing and for weaving on outside hand-looms. He also rented for a few years some of the power looms in the

<sup>1</sup> About 1830 leather belting began to be more common in factories for the main and other principal portions of power. There were at that time no regular belting factories, and the belts were of rather rude construction. The connections from main driving power in cotton mills were then, and remained for some years, chiefly heavy upright iron shafts and all-iron cog-wheels, after the prevailing English mode. John Craige furnished belting for the Globe Mills for nearly 40 years. His saddler shop was in a small 2-story house, still standing at 1306 Germantown Avenue above Thompson Street.

main building, but ceased business in 1861, when several reasons rendered his modes impracticable. He was of rather eccentric character, and one peculiarity was covering his bills, notes of hand and labels of goods with aphorisms. Previous to 1849, and from about 1838, he had been a "trader" of cotton goods by means of wagons through Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware; and by this primitive mode was distributed a considerable portion of the Globe Mill hand-loom piece-goods. He died about 1872.

During the 42 years of cotton manufacturing at the Globe Mills, deeds, transfers, agreements about annuities and dowers, releases of dowers, etc., were very numerous. Several owners died intestate, increasing the legal papers; and there was a second legal partition in 1832. On the dissolution of the last firm of Craige, Holmes & Co. in 1851, Seth Craige and Thomas H. Craige, sons of Seth W. Craige, together owned one-half, the estate of John Holmes one-quarter, and minor children of a deceased Craige one-quarter. Thomas Huston's interest, he being deceased, had previously been purchased by some of the above-named owners. During 1851 various deeds and agreements, and a public sale in partition, January, 1852, rearranged the whole property, Seth Craige becoming (including his former right) possessed of over three-fourths thereof. Early in 1852, Thomas H. Craige and Mrs. Holmes transferred to Seth Craige their interest in a strip 32 feet wide on the plan for partition, and intended for a street, running from Canal Street to Girard Avenue, etc.; and Seth Craige became sole owner of the premises.

In April, 1852, Mr. Craige sold the narrow building on Third Street to W. W. Fouché, dentist; and in May of said year (all cotton machinery being removed) the buildings and premises, excepting the St. John Street factory, were leased to Samuel H. Needles, woolen manufacturer, then located at the Star Mill, Howard and Jefferson Streets, who soon started 13 sets woolen machinery, including 120 four-box power looms and finishing arrangements for fancy cassimere, thus changing the establishment to a woolen mill, which

general character it has since retained.<sup>1</sup> In the winter of 1855 this occupant removed; and rooms in the various buildings were gradually rented with power to textile manufacturers, at times exceeding ten in number.

Two generations have now passed away since the demolition of the Governor's Mill and tentative commencement of cotton manufacturing on the exact site. A third generation is fast progressing, nearly half of the factory has disappeared, and the remainder—a woollen mill—may at any moment be destroyed by fire. It is certainly, therefore, proper that two such establishments, each a large contributor to the early industrial development of Philadelphia, should receive due historic notice.

<sup>1</sup> Said Needles made various alterations, viz., two stories added to dry-house, new area and area windows, and high paling to main front, outside stairway to rear buildings, w. cs. to five stories, underground shaft to Third Street mill, cast-iron spur wheels removed, and water-pipes and steam fixtures placed in dye-house.

GENERAL JOSEPH REED'S NARRATIVE OF THE  
MOVEMENTS OF THE AMERICAN ARMY IN  
THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF TRENTON  
IN THE WINTER OF 1776-77.

[The original of the following narrative is in the handwriting of General Joseph Reed, and is in the possession of one of his descendants. It was used by the late William B. Reed in preparing the life of his grandfather, and is the basis of Chapter XIV. vol. i. of that work. It contains some interesting facts which were omitted by Mr. Reed, and others which, from the style of composition he adopted, leaves the reader at a loss to know from whence the information was derived. Its abrupt ending shows it to be but a fragment, but it is nevertheless an interesting and valuable document well worth preserving in its original form.—Ed.]

The Army under Gen. Washington having compleated the Surprize of the Hessians at Trenton, a Consultation of Officers was held in which it was resolved to march the Prisoners off & cross the Delaware & return to Pennsy<sup>l</sup> these Reasons were assigned—

1. That the Enemy was in force both above & below viz. at Princeton & Bordentown—for at that Time it was not known, that a great Part of the Enemy's Force was gone down to Mount Hollow 25 Miles below Trenton.

2. There were great Quantities of Spirituous Liquors at Trenton of which the Soldiers drank too freely to admit of Discipline or Defence in Case of Attack.

3. The Stroke being brilliant & successful it was not prudent or politick even to risque the Chance of losing the Advantages to be derived from it.

On the other Hand it was argued that.—Successes & brilliant strokes ought to be pursued—that History shewed how much depended upon improving such Advantages—& that a Pannick being once given no one could ascertain the beneficial Consequences which might be derived from it if it was push'd to all its Consequences. However the former Opinion prevailed. The American Army having secured the Prisoners,

& sent them off under a proper Escort march'd about 8 Miles cross'd the Delaware and returned to its former Quarters.

Here we ought to take a View of the Enemy at Borden Town & Mount Holly & also of our own Force at Philadelphia, Bristol & the lower Parts of New Jersey. Previous to the Attack of Trenton Col. Griffin had pass'd over to New Jersey with 2 Companies of Virginia Troops & was join'd by the Jersey Militia so as to make his Numbers about 500. Gen<sup>l</sup> Puttnam was at Philad<sup>a</sup> receiv<sup>s</sup> the Pennsylv. Militia & collecting what he could from the Counties of Gloucester Salem & Cumberl<sup>d</sup> in West Jersey.

The Adj<sup>t</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> of the Continental Army (Col. Reed) cross'd the River at Burlington & went at night to M<sup>t</sup> Holly to see what Force Col. Griffin had & what Assistance the Attack then meditated on the Enemy's Cantonm<sup>ts</sup> could derive from him, but he found Col. Griffin in bad Health & was inform'd that his Force was too weak to be depended on either in Numbers or Discipline, that all he expected was to make a Division & draw the Notice of the Enemy before whom he proposed to retire if they should advance in any Force. The Adj. Gen<sup>l</sup> returned that Night to Bristol & informed Gen. Washington by Letter of these Circumstances. This Manœuvre tho' perfectly accidental had a happy Effect as it drew off Count Donop who then commanded at Bordentown with his whole Force to M<sup>t</sup> Holly which he entered a few Days after & accordingly Col. Griffin retir'd skirmishing with the Enemy a few Miles with little Loss on either side & bringing off his Artillery with him.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Galloway, in his pamphlet on the conduct of the war in the middle colonies (p. 159), published in London, in 1780, says, 'To draw Donop from Bordentown, and prevent his supporting Rhal (Washington) sent 450 militia, many of them boys, picked up in Philadelphia, Gloucester, and Salem counties, not to fight, but to fly as soon as they had misled Donop. The plan succeeded; Donop marched against this insignificant rebel party with his whole corps, 80 left at Bordentown excepted, down to Mount Holly, twelve miles from his own post, and eighteen from Trenton, the post he ought to have been at hand to support. The rebels dispersed on his approach, yet, instead of returning to support Rhal, he loitered two days about Burlington without an enemy to oppose.'—*Reed's Reed*, vol. i. p. 273.

As it was deemed a most important Circumstance to draw of the attention of the Enemy from the Place of Attack, on the Night of the 24<sup>th</sup> December the Adj. Gen. went to Philad: to urge Gen<sup>l</sup> Puttnam if possible to reinforce Col. Griffin & engage the Attention of the Enemy in that Quarter during the Attack now fixed for the 25<sup>th</sup> but he found Col. Griffin had returned very ill, that the two Companies of Virginians had also returned leaving their two small Pieces of Iron Cannon & a few Militia at Morris Town & Haddonfield. Gen<sup>l</sup> Puttnam tho' anxious to do something found that the Shortness of the Time & the unprovided State of the Militia would not admit of the Corporation design<sup>d</sup>, & after resting a few Hours the Adj<sup>t</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> returned to Bristol. At this Place lay the Pennsylvania Militia chiefly composed of the City Battalions, very well provided for the Field & also about 500 Rhode Island Troops a part of the Detachm commanded by Gen. Lee before his Capture under the Command of Col. Hitchcock,<sup>1</sup> without Shoes or Blankets & otherwise in wretched Plight for a Western<sup>2</sup> Campaign. The whole making about 1500 Men & under the Command of Gen<sup>l</sup> Cadwallader appointed a Militia Brig<sup>ade</sup> a few Days before. With this Force it was resolved to cross the River & attack Count Donop then at Mount Holly with ab<sup>o</sup> the same Number of Men & to make the Attack as nearly as possible at the Time of that on Trenton, viz. on the 26<sup>th</sup> Decem<sup>r</sup> in the Morning.

To prevent as much as possible any Notice to the Enemy it was concluded to take a Circuitous March by Dunkes's Ferry rather than cross at Burlington where it was supposed the Enemy had too many Friends—besides which tho' the Distance was about 5 Miles farther the Country thro' which we were to pass was woody & uninhabited. Accordingly about Sunsett the Boats moved down from Bristol & at Dark the Troops began their March the Light Infantry & Militia in Front & the Continental Troops in the Rear, when they arrived at the Ferry. The Light Infantry push'd over in

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Daniel Hitchcock, of Rhode Island.

<sup>2</sup> Winter ?



the first Boats & landed on the opposite Shore in a few Minutes, the Weather being fine tho' cold. It had been attempted to keep the Troops from kindling any Fires on the shores before they embark'd but this was found impossible & we were obliged to take our Chance of giving the Enemy the Alarm. The Adj. Gen' & two or three Field Officers of the Militia cross'd over to forward the Landing of the Men, but to their great Surprize & Mortification they found the Ice had drifted in such great Quantities upon the Jersey Shore that it was absolutely impossible to land the Artillery. An Attempt was made by them to land their Horses which was effected with such Difficulty as excluded all Hope of debarking the Field Pieces.<sup>1</sup> Advice of this being sent over to the other Shore—The Troops which by this Time were nearly all transported were ordered to return.

They accordingly began to reembark with great Reluctance, by this Time the Ice began to drive with such Force & in such Quantities as threatened many Boats with absolute Destruction. To add to the Difficulty about Day Break there came on a most violent Storm of Rain Hail and Snow intermixed in which the Troops march'd back to Bristol except a Part of the light Infantry which remained till next Day.<sup>2</sup> It being impossible for us to cross with our Horses we went up to Burlington where we were concealed in the House of a Friend—That Part of Jersey being then considered as entirely in the Enemys Possession:—And the first Objects that presented in the Morning were two Hessian Dragoons riding down to observe the River.

About 7 oClock in the Morning the Firing was heard at Trenton & we remained in great Suspence & Anxiety for the Event of an Enterprize on which the Fate of America then seemed to depend.

In the Course of the Day a Report was spread of its Success which so animated the Troops at Bristol that it was concluded to cross the River again the next Morning & pro-

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Coperthwaite said that they had to walk one hundred yards on the ice to get on shore.—See Reed's *Reed*, vol. i. p. 276.

<sup>2</sup> See Journal of Sergeant Young, *supra*, 258-9.

ceed to Borden Town & from thence endeavour to join Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington then supposed to be at Trenton—accordingly Orders were given for the Troops to refresh & be in Readiness to march next Morning. At Sunrise the Company of light Infantry proceeded about 2 Miles above Bristol & embarked, they were soon followed by the Battalions the Rhode Island Troops being delayed to receive some Cloathing which had arrived from Philad. the preceding Night. About 1 oClock when the Militia had all landed & the Rhode Island Troops were about to embark a certain Account arrived of the Success at Trenton & also that Gen. Washington had recrossed the River with his Prisoners. This unexpected Circumstance threw us into the greater Perplexity & occasioned a Variety of Opinions. It was contended by those who proposed returning that the Motives which had caused this Movement had now ceased—that there were no Troops to support us—that Count Donop was equal if not superior in Numbers & might soon march back from Mount Holly that a Retreat over the River would be impracticable & the Consequences fatal. Col. Hitchcock of the Continentals was strongly of this sentiment & urged the Return not only on Acc<sup>t</sup> of the State of his Troops but the Hazard of continuing on the Enemy's Shore with such a Force & such raw Troops. On the other Hand it was urged that the Militia being taken from their Families & kept out a long Time without Action began to grow uneasy that this was the 3d Time they had been drawn out & if they should again return without attempting any Thing a general Desertion might be apprehended. That our Affairs required Enterprize & tho' the Success at Trenton might be brilliant its Effects would depend upon being followed up. That the Shock to the Enemy must be very great & if they were attacked before they recovered the Panick, no one could say to what Extent the Success might be push'd. The Glory & Honour of emulating the Troops at Trenton was also urged & the Necessity of recovering Jersey to save Philad<sup>a</sup>. Long & pretty warm Debates ensued & of those who were against returning some were for proceeding to Mount Holly to attack the Hessians

who were supposed to be there to which Gen. Cadwallader inclines others to march on to Bordertown which might be expected to be weakly provided with Troops in Donop's Absence. At length as an Expedient to reconcile those who were for returning proposed that the Troops should proceed to Burlington where they could wait farther Advice & proceed to Borden Town or Mount Holly as the Intelligence might direct—or if necessary embark & return to Bristol. This was approved & just as the Orders were given an intelligent Officer who had rode forward a small Distance returned with an Account that he had seen some of the Enemy's Yaugers. This was so important as well as surprizing a Piece of Intelligence that it was necessary to ascertain it immediately. I proposed to Col. Cox & Col. Copperthwait<sup>1</sup> to accompany me we accordingly set out reconnoitred the Woods where it was expected they were & to our great Satisfaction found the Report was groundless—we immediately sent an Acc<sup>t</sup> to Gen. Cadwallader who ordered the Troops to proceed.

We then push'd on towards the Enemy's Out Posts which were about 4 Miles from Burlington, halted at a small Distance from the Place where their Picquets usually kept, & seeing no Smoak or Appearance of Men advanced to it & found it evacuated. upon interrogating the Neighbours it appeared that on the Advice of the Disaster at Trenton Count Donop immediately began his Retreat in the utmost Pannick and Confusion, calling in his Guards & Parties as he proceeded & that the Guards in this Neighborhood had gone off precipitately the preceding Evening. Advice of this Evacuation was immediately sent to Gen. Cadwallader, but by this Time the Day was spent the Troops having been under Arms all Day required Rest & Food—they were near Burlington where they could be provided with both & were accordingly march'd to that Place with Orders to be under Arms at Daybreak the next morning. In the mean Time the above Gentlemen proceeded to Borden Town where

<sup>1</sup> John Cox and Joseph Coperthwaite of the Pa. Militia.

they learnt that upon the Runaways from Trenton coming in the 26th, The Hessians & their Followers the Refugees fled in great Confusion leaving their sick behind them. It was observed that almost every House on the Road had a red Rag nailed up on the Door which the Inhabitants upon this Reverse of Affairs were now busily pulling down. Bordentown bore all the Marks of a savage Enemy. The poor terrified Inhabitants effectually broken & hardly resembling what they had been a few Months before. Col. Copperthwaite returned from this Place to Burlington to give Gen. Cadwallader a State of Affairs & urge him to push on the Troops. After getting some Refreshment we push'd on to Trenton which we found evacuated in like Manner not a single Soldier of either Army being there & the Town in a still more wretched Condition than the other. From this Place I wrote to Gen. Wash'g by Express informing him of the State of Things of the Progress of Gen. Cadwallader's Division & the Retreat of the Enemy & urging him to cross the River again & pursue the Advantages which Providence had presented, representing also that there was a great Prospect of overtaking Donop before he could reach Princetown or Brunswick where the Enemy were yet in Force. Some Doubts it is said arose in the General Council on this Occasion some of the Members who disapproved the Enterprize advised the sending Orders to the Militia to return, but the General & some others declared that tho' they would not have advised the Movem<sup>t</sup> yet being done it ought to be supported & the Orders were accordingly issued for the Troops to prepare to cross the River. Majors Clark & Bush with two Parties of light Troops were first detached & march'd into Trenton about 2 o'Clock when they received their Directions from me & proceeded in pursuit of Donop with Orders to harass his Rear & if possible detain him till the other Troops could come up. Gen. Cadwallader on the same Morning had put his Troops in motion & came to Borden Town that Day from whence he detached Col. Matlack<sup>1</sup> of the

<sup>1</sup> Timothy Matlack.

Militia with a select Party of Rifle Men to endeavour to overtake the Enemy. The Pursuit was so grateful that notwithstanding the Severity of the Weather, Badness of the Roads, being also unprovided with Tents or any other Covering they push'd on that Night to Allentown. Here they learnt that Donop had divided his Forces ordering a Detachm<sup>t</sup> to Princetown by a Cross Road & proceed to Brunswick with the Remainder. Col. Matlack press'd so close that next Morning early he surprized a Party of the Refugees who by this Time supposing themselves out of Danger had stayed a few Moments behind the Troops. Six or Seven among whom were some new made Officers were Prisoners & one Pearson a Man of Substance and Influence but a bitter Enemy to his Country attempting to escape & refusing to stop when called to twice was shot dead on the Spot,<sup>1</sup> a Circumstance which struck the Tories with more Dismay than 20 Executioners by Law would have done.

The Parties pursued as far as Cranburry when find<sup>t</sup> the Enemy so far advanced & also being informed that our Main Body had halted at Crosswicks they returned to Allen Town. In the mean Time Gen. Washington was bringing over his Troops with all Expedition. It may not be a disagreeable Digression to observe that Col. Rhall who had commanded the Hessians at Trenton & was mortally wounded in the Affairs of the 26<sup>th</sup> died on the 27<sup>th</sup> & his Papers being brought to me it appeared that he had received Notice from Gen. Grant at Princeton of the intended Attack which was very exact as to the Time tho' mistaken as to Circumstances supposing it to be Detachment under the Command of L<sup>d</sup> Stirling. However there was so much Information as would have put a prudent Commander on his Guard. Nor in this did Rhall fail but an Accident truly casual or rather Providential baffled his Vigilance. A Scout<sup>s</sup> Party returning from the Jerseys to Pennsylv<sup>a</sup> fell in with the advanced Picket & gave an Alarm about 2 Hours before the real Attack which being mistaken for that mentioned in Grant's

<sup>1</sup> This incident is mentioned by Sergeant Young, see *supra*, 260.

Letter threw them into a State of greater Security than ever—the Storm also induced them to get under Cover & lay aside their Arms especially as the Day was considerably advanced before the Attack began. On the 28<sup>th</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington cross'd the River himself & came to Trenton & soon after all the Troops under his immediate Command rendezoued at that Place Gen. Cadwallader remaining at Crosswicks.

In this Pause no Plan of farther Proceeding being settled & Intelligence being very obscure & doubtful, the General observing to the Adj. Gen<sup>l</sup> who was a Native of that Place & well acquainted with the Inhabitants & Country around that some Intelligence must be procured if possible & that the great Vigilance of the Enemy had deterr'd Spies from venturing or at least they were of little Service.

The Adj. Gen. proposed taking such of the Philad. Light Horse as could be spared & proceeding to the Neighbourhood of Princeton where either by Prisoners or otherwise the desired Intelligence could be had accordingly he proceeded with 7 Gent whose Names for the Gallantry of the Action which followed deserve to be remembered viz: Mess. Hunter, Dunlap, J. Caldwell, Pollard, Peters. They met with very little Success on their Way or in the Vicinity of Princeton to which they had approached within the Distance of 8 Miles. The Arms and Ravages of the Enemy had struck such Terror, that no Rewards would tempt the Inhabitants tho' otherwise well disposed to go into Princeton on this Errand. But it being fully resolved not to return while there was a Chance of Success, it was concluded to pass on & even to go round Princeton expecting that in the Rear they would be less guarded. as they were passing slowly on almost within View of the Town a British Soldier was observed passing from a Barn to the Dwelling House without Arms, it being supposed to be a Marauder two of the Party were sent to bring him in, but they had scarcely set off before another was seen & then a 3d when the whole was ordered to charge which they did without the least Hessitation & surround<sup>d</sup> the House 12 British Soldiers

equipped as Dragoons & well armed, their Pieces being all loaded, & having the Advantage of the House surrendered to 7 Horsemen of whom 6 had never before seen an Enemy. The Sergeant only escaped out of a back Door & represented at Princetown that he had fought his Way thro' 50 Horse which was as readily believed.<sup>1</sup> Besides these Prisoners a Commis<sup>r</sup> was also taken & from the whole a very perfect Account was obtained that L<sup>d</sup> Cornwallis with a Body of pick<sup>d</sup> Troops & well appointed had the Day before reinforced Grant at Princeton & that this Party was pressing Waggon<sup>s</sup> to begin their March the next Morning in order to dislodge us from Trenton. That their whole Force could not be less than 7 or 8000 but if it had been less it was still much superior to our whole Force. It was then considered whether we should join Gen. Cadwallader at Crosswicks 7 Miles distance or order him to join the main Body at Trenton or keep the Troops divided & order the Division under Gen. Cadwallader to fall upon Brunswick by Way of Cranbury at which Place it must be supposed they were very weak by the Draught of the Troops to Princeton; the Troops at Trenton to govern themselves by Events follow Gen<sup>l</sup> Cadwallader if he should proceed or if he did not, the whole to retire before the Enemy untill they could be covered in their embarkation across the River by the Gallies which more moderate Weather now permitted to act again. The Danger of acting in Detachment ag<sup>st</sup> the whole Force of the Enemy, the Possibility of cutting off the two Bodies from each other while acting separately & the Necessity of supporting the Militia with more regular Troops were offered as Reasons for ordering a Junction, on the other Hand the taking the Enemy in an unguarded & unexpected Point capturing their whole Baggage & releasing Gen. Lee then a Prisoner at Brunswick were offered as Reasons for the March to that Place, but the former Opinion failed & Orders were sent to Gen. Cadwallader on the last of December to join the main

<sup>1</sup> This exploit took place about a mile southeast of Clarksville, see note, *supra*, 261.

Body at Trenton as soon as possible. The calling in his Out Posts & advanced Guards from Allen Town & elsewhere took up some Time, but on the 2<sup>d</sup> Jan<sup>r</sup> they march'd into Trenton by which Time the Intentions of the Enemy were fully ascertained & small Portion of their Horse appeared on the Road between Princeton & Trenton. On the 2<sup>d</sup> Jan<sup>r</sup> in the Morning certain Advice came of the Approach of the Enemy. The main Body of the Army then laying in Trenton & the advance in a Wood a few Miles on the Road tow<sup>d</sup> Princeton with a Creek called the Shabbacunk in Front. It then became necessary to consider whether to wait for the Enemy on the high Ground near the Town or retire over the Bridge in the Town & take the advantageous Ground on the East side of the Assanpink a Creek which runs thro' the Town & over which is a narrow Stone Bridge the Water for some Distance above this Bridge not being fordable & the high Ground on the East Side below the Bridge giving the Advantage of Ground to the Defendants. Before this was determ<sup>d</sup> as I was perfectly acquainted with the Country I suggested to the General that should the Enemy divert us in Front & throw a Body of Troops over the Assanpink a few Miles up where there were several Fords the American Army would be completely inclosed with the River Delaware in their Rear over which there would be neither Time nor Means of crossing this Intelligence appeared so important to him that he directed me to proceed to that Quarter with all possible Dispatch & assuring me that he would immediately dispatch a Body of Troops to act as Occasion might require. The Danger of the left Flank being turned by the Enemy now in great Force & the superiour Advantage of the Ground on the East side of the Bridge with the Creek in Front induced Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington to fix upon that as the Ground where he would meet the Enemy if they advanced. About 12 oClock the Enemy made a Halt on the North side the Shabbacunk about 3 Miles from Trenton but soon after pressing on [with] great Rapidity they cross'd the Creek driving our Riffle Men & small Parties before them, untill they reach'd the high



Ground near the Town where several of the Battalions were drawn up & check'd their Advance. In the mean Time the Militia & principal Part of the Army had cross'd the Bridge the Enemy evidently attempting to out flank our left & pressing on with great Force, our Troops gradually yielded the Ground keeping up a regular Fire of Musquetry & Artillery with some loss on both sides.<sup>1</sup> The German Battalion being then just raised & commanded by an Officer who had never been able to divest himself of the Ideas he had acquired in the British Army gave way with very little Resistance & the Colonel suffered himself to be taken Prisoner when he might easily have escaped by remaining with his Troops the Countenance & Favour afterwards shown this Person by the Enemy fully confirmed the Suspicions then form'd of him. It may be proper now to see what was passing on the Right of the Army. The Adj' Gen: having proceeded with the few Philad Light Horse to examine the Fords found the one at Henry's Mill two Miles from Trenton scarcely passable for Horses the Water being rapid & high. At Philips's Mill about 1 Mile higher the Ford was in very good Order & had the Enemy taken the Opp<sup>ty</sup> of passing it the Consequences would probably have been fatal.

<sup>1</sup> Sergeant Young describes this conflict in his journal, see *supra*, 263.

THE FAMILY OF DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

COMMUNICATED BY JOHN M. COWELL.

[The first portion of this letter, dated London, September 6, 1758, will be found in *The Works of Franklin*, edited by Dr. Sparks, vol. vii. p. 177, and in the Philadelphia edition of his *Works* (1817), vol. xi. p. 36. In both cases it ends with the word Benjamin, which occurs on the seventeenth line, as printed below. The editor of the Philadelphia edition says in a note, that the remainder of the letter has been torn from the book. That portion in brackets we have copied from *The Works of Franklin*, edited by Dr. Sparks. All which precedes it treats of Franklin's tour in England, and particularly of his visit to Eaton, where he met with members of his father's family. All after the word Benjamin, line seventeenth, is new, and furnishes interesting information regarding the relatives of Mrs. Franklin. Unfortunately it does not give the maiden name of her mother.—ED.]

[From Eaton we went to Northampton, where we stayed part of the day; then went to Coventry, and from thence to Birmingham. Here, upon inquiry, we soon found out yours, and cousin Wilkinson's and cousin Cash's relations.]

“First, found one of the Cashes and he went with us to Rebecca Flint's, where we saw her and her husband, she is a turner, and he a button maker, they have no children, were very glad to see anybody that knew their sister Wilkinson, told us what letters they had received and show'd us some of them and even showed us that they had, out of respect, preserved a keg, in which they once had a present of some sturgeon. They sent for their brother Joshua North, who came with his wife immediately to see us, he is a turner also, and has six children, a lively, active man. Mrs Flint desired me to tell her sisters, they still lived in the old house she left them in, which I think she said was their father's, from thence Mr North went with us to see your Cousin Benjamin Fillers, where we supp<sup>d</sup> that night, he is a button maker, employs a great number of hands and lives very genteely, his wife is a very sensible, polite, agreeable woman, but they have no children, he told us Oliver had lived at Canterbury, married

a second wife and was in good business, getting money apace, but died eight years since, his eldest brother John was living and had one son, his brother Joseph also living, had three children and his sister Sarah married to Mr Salt, had one child, Samuel, was in the Army and had no child, I think they said he was among the forces taken at Oswego and had not since heard of him. They invited us to dine with them another day, which we did, when all the brothers and sisters were met together with one *Mrs Guest*, another own cousin of Mother Read's her maiden name was Mary Taylor, she had a sister whose name was Sarah and a brother Abraham, she is a grand daughter to Abraham Cash, a widow about 68 years of age and has only one son, she remembers father Read and mother; mother and she are sister's children. She is a very sensible, smart, old lady, reads a great deal and is well acquainted with books, and her conversation very agreeable, she seems to be the scholar of the family, she made me a present of a pencil case and a Clezzel (?) for Sally. Mrs Salt is a jolly, lively dame, both Billy and myself agree that she was extremely like you, her whole face has the same turn, and exactly the same little blue Birmingham eyes. I think her name is Sarah, and she has one daughter named Deborah, about 12 years old. We had a very genteel dinner, and were very cherry, drinking mother's health, yours, Sally's and all our relations in Pennsylvania, they talk of the presents they had received from mother, of buckskins and the like and one had still preserved, a pair of gloves, sent them thirty years ago. I breakfasted twice at Mrs Salt's and was to have dined there but had not a spare day, being engaged at different houses, we spent a week in and about Birmingham, continually on the foot, from one manufactory to another and were highly entertained in seeing all the curious machines and expeditious ways of working. Every morning we were visited at our Inn by some or other of the relations, whose names I entered in my book. There were two own cousins of Caleb Cash being the sons of Isaac Cash, the eldest Thomas has had twelve children, seven of whom are alive, the other named Caleb Cash has four children, the eldest remembers our kins-

man John North before he went to Pennsylvania, they are button makers and sent a present of their work, there was also Mrs Mary Edes, Cousin Wilkinson's eldest sister, she is a widow, has but one child who lives in London, there was also Mary Emery, eldest daughter of Isaac Cash who was brother to old Mr Cash that went to Philadelphia, with her came Caleb Cash her brother, who had been with us before, they and their brother Thomas are all in the button business, four of the brothers of this family are dead. There was also Sarah Jones the daughter of Sarah Wheat, who was the daughter of John Wheat, who was brother to Caleb Cash's wife, that went into Pennsylvania with her daughters Mary and Betty. Also there came a daughter of Sarah Jones, she has five children living, has had fourteen and seems very poor at Cousin Tilers [Fillers?]. We heard of Rachel Sotty, but did not see her, she is the daughter of Ann Cash, who was the daughter of Benjamin Cash, who was the son of Abraham Cash, her husband is a merchant at Rotterdam, in good circumstances—when we were coming away they brought us their letters, and little presents of their workmanship for their relations, all the letters and presents are in a little box and two parcels which I send under the care of Mr John Schutz, Conrad's brother. There are some for Sally, so if mother is well enough to get all the relations together some day to dinner, let Sally read part of this letter to them, and drink the health of your Birmingham friends, for we often drank at Birmingham our friends in Philadelphia. From Birmingham we went into Worcestershire to see Hagly Park, long Lyttleton's and some other fine streets and gardens and returned through Birmingham we went to Warwick to see old Guy's Castle &c—and while we were here John North came from Birmingham, twenty miles on foot to see us, a little angry with his Uncle Joshua for not informing him of us when we were in town, he is the son of Thomas North who is a brother to John North of Pennsylvania, he has two sons William and John and a daughter Mary and is a button maker, he seems an honest hearty fellow, did not hear of us till we were gone and then followed us, being resolved, he

said, to have his name put down in my book among the rest of the family, they are industrious, ingenious, working people and think themselves vastly happy that they live in dear old England.”

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NOTES.

[With the foregoing, Mr. Cowell handed us the following Notes, which explains how the letter came into his possession.—ED.]

*On page 33, Book F. in Register of Wills Office—may be found the will of Caleb Cash, the Caleb Cash referred to in the Franklin letter, as follows: “There was also Sarah Jones the daughter of Sarah Wheat who was the daughter of John Wheat, who was brother to Caleb Cash’s wife that went into Penna.”*

The said will was dated Jan. 16, 1732—probated April 26, 1737.

Witnesses at Signing—*Benjamin Franklin—Stephen Potts—Sarah Read.*

*Mary Cash, in the fourth generation from Abraham Cash, on the 10th October, 1782, married Doctor John Cowell, a Surgeon in the general Military Hospital Dept. of the United States, and in active service during the War of the Revolution—they had two children—the late John V. Cowell, an old and honored merchant of this city—and a daughter, Maria M. who was the wife of the late Thomas Mitchell, a conveyancer of this city.*

John V. Cowell was my father, and from his papers I obtained the extract of the Franklin letter. I saw the letter some forty or forty-five years ago; and mother Read’s connections, etc., have always been known in our family, although never made a public matter. I have private letters from my grandfather, Dr. Cowell, to his father, written during the Revolutionary War, carried by Mr. Franklin (Gov. N. J.), as appears by indorsement on back.

THE PENNSYLVANIA ASSEMBLY IN 1761-2.

A MEMORANDUM KEPT BY SAMUEL FOULKE.<sup>1</sup>

CONTRIBUTED BY HOWARD M. JENKINS.

*An Account of the proceedings of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania Commenc'd Oct. 14. 1761 with Some remarks on Such Occurrences as were most worthy of notice, Written for my Own satisfaction & Retrospection hereafter.*

Oct. 14<sup>th</sup>. Went to Town in Company with my respected Friend & Kinsman Row<sup>d</sup> Evans,<sup>2</sup> and in y<sup>e</sup> Afternoon, of ye Same day, with Several other New Members, made our first appearance in the House, where I was particularly Complimented & Welcomed by ye Chiefe Justice of the Province, who arose from his Seat to Meet me & taking me by the Hand, very kindly Invited me to take my Seat; this Extraordinary behaviour of So great a man to me who was an Entire Stranger to him, I look'd upon as an Artifice to draw me over to his party.

In ye Evening a Quoram of ye house being met proceeded to Chuse a Speaker when Isaac Norris was Unanimously Chosen and handed into ye Chair by 3 or 4 of the Senior

<sup>1</sup> This is the opening of what was doubtless a continuous and complete journal, kept by Samuel Foulke, of Bucks County, during his service as member of the Colonial Assembly, from 1761 to 1768. A fragment of the journal relating to sessions in 1762-3-4, was published in the *PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE*, Vol. V. pp. 60-73. Since then the fragment now printed has come to light.

<sup>2</sup> Rowland Evans, a native of Gwynedd (now Montgomery Co.), was a member of the Colonial Assembly, from Philadelphia County (his residence being in Gwynedd, and later in Perkiomen), from 1761 to 1771, excepting 1764. He removed to Philadelphia in 1784, and in September, 1785, was appointed one of the commissioners of the general loan office of the State, which place he held until his death in August, 1789. His wife, Susanna Foulke, of Gwynedd, was first cousin to Samuel Foulke, of Richland, who kept the Journal.

Members. and after ye Sherrifs Indentures from ye respective Counties were read and the repr<sup>r</sup> Called Over the House Adjourned to next [day] at 10 o'Clock.

Oct. 15. The House being met Sent notice thereof to ye Governor, who was pleased to give his Attendance about 12 o'Clock in the Council Chamber, of which he Sent ye House Notice by the Secretary—the House then went up in a body to wait on ye Governor and presented their Speaker, were favourably & politely received, and after ye Usual Ceremonies mutually passed, were respectfully Dismissed by ye Governor.

In ye Afternoon the Speaker laid before the House the business depending, & left Unfinished by ye preceding Assembly (I had like to have forgot that ye members were first Qualified & ye Officers of the House appointed, viz<sup>t</sup> Treasurer, Clerk, Sergent at Arms, & Door keeper.)

16. The House Agreed to Continue Benjamin Franklin Esq. their Agent in Great Britain which was obstreperously opposed by Wm Allen without a Second.

Then Came under Consideration the case of the New recording office which had lately been repealed by ye Crown & Some Affairs relating to it left unsettled by ye last Assembly, who had agreed to pay the Officer J. Hughs 1350 pounds for his Service, on his delivering up all the Books & papers belonging to the Office, which he had refus'd to do, thinking he had a right to keep 'em 'till a Law Should be made to dispose of 'em for ye use of ye publick—he Still persisted in his refusal, which produced warm Altercations between him & Judge Allen who violently Opposed his own noise to Hughs's Eloquence with very poor Success;—it seems a little strange that notwithstanding Hughs's Arguments were really unanswerable Yet a Majority of ye House Insisted on his Delivering up his Books, not without Some Implied threats of wresting them out of his hands by force in Case of his non Compliance, which however he was far from being Intimidated by, being of opinion that as they were put into his hands by the joynt Authority of both Branches of ye Legislature, no less authority Cou'd Legally take 'em from him; So ye affair was left in Suspence for ye time the House

turned to some other affairs Comming of Course under consideration Such as Appointing Standing Committees for ye year &c.

Oct. 17. The House resum'd the affair of the recording Office, when J. Hughs, to ye Agreeable Surprise of many present, yielded up ye point in dispute he having been Treated with in ye preceding night by J. Galloway & R. Evans two members of ye House who, he was Convinc'd acted from motives of true Friendship and publick spirit in ye case; they prevailed on him to Condescend to the House 'tho' they were of the Same Opinion with him, respecting his right to keep ye Books of his Office 'till a Law Should be made to render them Useful to ye publick, Yet as they Saw no Inconveniency that wou'd arise to ye publick from such Condescension Advised it, rather than to waste Time by Continuing a fruitless Debate in the House, he therefore acquainted ye House, he was ready to deliver up the Sd. Books to Such a Committee as they Shou'd please to appoint to receive them—A Committee was then appointed to rec'. & Secure them and to prepare a Bill against next Session for Authenticating the Same which last measure was Obstinate and unreasonably Opposed by Allen Alone. Here I may observe that I was not a little Chagrined to See in that Honorable House so great a departure from that decency Decorum & Solemnity which I expected to have Seen Inviolably adhered to in So August an Assembly, but instead of Emulating One another in such Conduct and behaviour as wou'd be most Conducive to preserve & Maintain the Dignity & Authority of the House, too many of the Members seem'd to forget where they were situated and what their Country Expected of them by placing them in that Station. I must however Confess, I was perfectly pleased with the Good Conduct & Capacity of the Speaker, his abilities and Qualifications to Act in that Important Station Exceeded my Expectation. Except his Indulgence to Some Irregularities, too prevalent among the Members; Yet there are Several Worthy Members in the House, to whose Conduct I have no Objection but, that they too tamely Suffer the Misconduct of others.



Having gone thro the Business which then appeared necessary the House Adjourned to the 4<sup>th</sup> Day of January.

Jan 4 1762. The House met pursuant to their adjournm<sup>t</sup> and proceeded to business.

5<sup>th</sup>. A Bill brought in for regulating the Supream Courts, and another for Erecting a recording Office for warrants & Surveys &c and for authenticating the Books Compiled by John Hughs in pursuance of a late Act repealed by y<sup>e</sup> Crown which were deliberately Consider'd and with moderation Debated for Several days.

8<sup>th</sup>. upon Considering Some part of y<sup>e</sup> former Bill a warm debate arose between Allen and Galloway, when J. Hughs, with much Candor & Ingenuity acted the part of a Mediator but upon Allen's making Some Sarcastic remarks on his Speech, Hughs in return with Equal Ingenuity and Spirit paid him his Own with Interest.

In the Course of this Debate Galloway remarkably displayed his Talent of Eloquence & an Extensive knowledge of the Laws of England and of ye fundamental principles of the British Constitution, and the judicial processes Used in our Mother Country.

9<sup>th</sup>. The House resolved that instead of the Supream Judges riding the Circuit a Sett of Judges be appointed in each County holding Commissions during good behaviour, which being determined by Vote the whole House rose Except ye C. Justice who remained Single in the Opposition.

In the Debate upon this measure a Violent Storm arose in ye House Chiefly between Allen and Galloway, which broke Over all bounds of Decency, in which the Speaker Unhappily join'd and shew'd not only marks of great impatience but even rage, which however was of no long Continuance, but Subsided by means of ye kind & generous interposition of those two publick Spirited Gentlemen John Hughs & Jno. Banton.

12<sup>th</sup>. The House was Inform'd that Sundry Persons of the Female Sex had been wounded in a very barbarous and unheard of manner, as they were going about their Lawful Occasions along the Streets of ye City in ye Evenings of

Several of the preceeding Days—the House after taking measures for obtaining fuller information of the facts, resolved to lay the case before the Governor requesting him to Use all the means in his power to detect the Inhuman perpetrators of the horrid Villainy and to offer a reward of 50 £ for apprehending them.

15<sup>th</sup>. from the 12<sup>th</sup> to ye 15<sup>th</sup> nothing remarkable happen<sup>d</sup> when a Bill for ye better repairing the Highways &c was brought in & Considered on which a tedious debate Ensued, between Allen, Morton, Waine, Potts, &c. of One Side and Fox, Galloway Smith, Ashbridge, Wright, Webb, &c of ye Other Side which Continued till Night.

16<sup>th</sup>. proceeded on ye Same Bill, and after an obstinate dispute with indecent invectives & bitter altercations Chiefly between Galloway and ye C Justice, the latter with 3 other members stood up & moved that ye Question Should be put whether Highways &c should be repaired by a general Tax, Galloway with 3 more stood up in Opposition & moved for the previous Question which had like to have produced a storm, but a Certain Country Member interposing, proposed a medium for Conciliating the parties, by Changing the Mode of the Question, as he presumed there was not a member in ye House but would readily agree to Such a Tax as would be necessary for redressing ye Grievances mentioned in the preamble of ye S<sup>d</sup> Bill—the motion was approved & presently agreed to by the house and the Question being put whether a Tax should be raised for those purposes, the whole house rose to it Except 2 members of Chester County then the question being put whether ye money so to be raised should be for purchasing materials Only, the house was equally divided & ye Speaker gave it a Cast in the negative.

From the 16<sup>th</sup> to ye 26<sup>th</sup> nothing remarkable happened but go thro' ye Court Bill & proceeded on ye road Bill.

26. The House finding Occasion to wave ye Road Bill, took up that for the recording Office which was read & debated with great Moderation and Calmness 'till Night, when the Ch. Justice shewed a particular pique against the late Officer John Hughs, by tenaciously arguing for imposing a second

Oath upon him for authenticating the work he had Done upon Oath in which Unreasonable proposition he was not seconded by any one.

27<sup>th</sup> In the morning proceeded to Consider the Clause in the 8<sup>d</sup> Bill for appointing an Officer on which a long & tedious Debate arose, & a Certain great or rather big man, notably display'd his Talents as a Statesman, Politician, Orator! (alias) brawler, bigotted propertarian &c &c obstinately Contending that the Governor Should have the appointing a person to Officiate in Case of a Vacation untill the House quite wearied out with his noise moved for ye Question which being put whether the Clause should pass as it then Stood, the whole House 'rose to it but himself alone, who seemed to be proud of thus distinguishing himself on behalf of the proprietary prerogative, tho' he was pleased to Call it that of the Crown. Exulting to find himself the only member of so large a Legislative Body that had the penetration to See the matter in its proper light, but in the afternoon appear'd by the pensiveness of his aspect to have taken another turn of thought, probably reflecting on the impotence and unsuccessfulness of his Endeavors to Carry his point, and after while privately withdrew.

28<sup>th</sup> The Governor by his new Secretary Shippen returned the Court Bill with Such amendments or alterations as to a majority of the House appeared Enormous, which occasioned a virulent Dispute between the Ch. Justice and a Gentleman of the Law, but which got ye better, is a point difficult to decide.

From this day to the 1<sup>st</sup> of February nothing remarkable.

Feb. 1<sup>st</sup> An address from the Mo<sup>vr</sup> Meeting of Friends in Philada Earnestly recommending to ye Care of the Legislature to Check the increase of vice occasioned by the Enormous increase of Taverns & Tippling Houses in Town and Country, Lotteries & Stage plays &c which was Seriously and and solemnly Considered and well spoke to by several of the members, of whom Joseph Galloway appeared to be the most zealous.

2<sup>d</sup> The House resumed the Consideration of the Road Bill, which took up the whole day—it seem'd impossible to frame it in such manner as to Conciliate the different opinions & notions of the members. In the Evening after a long & laborious Debate which was Conducted with a good Degree of decency & moderation, the Speaker upon motion of ye House put the Question whether the Bill, as it then stood Corrected should be Transcribed for a third reading, which was Carried in the affirmative by a majority of Two Voyces.

From this Day to the Fifth inst, nothing remarkable happened.

**A HISTORY OF THE UPPER GERMANTOWN  
BURYING-GROUND.**

**GERMANTOWN AVENUE (MAIN STREET) ABOVE WASHINGTON AVENUE.**

**BY PETER D. KEYSER, M.D.**

At the time of the settlement of Germantown (1683-1695) there were really but two religious bodies or sects among the people—the Mennonites and the Quakers.

Their meetings for worship were for some years held in the houses of their members, and from what we can glean from the history of the place, the two sects are supposed to have at times worshiped together in the same house, until their separate meeting-houses were built.

During this time it is not known that any special plot of ground was laid out for the burial of the dead ; and no doubt the bodies of those who died were deposited in their own grounds.

On the erection of the Quaker or Friends' meeting-house in 1705, and the church of the Mennonites in 1706, each building had its graveyard attached for the burial of its members.

After the year 1700 people of other denominations, such as Dunkers, Lutherans, etc., began to settle in the town and vicinity, and as there was no place in the upper part of Germantown as an open ground for any one of different religious views who wished to be buried in a regular graveyard, Paul Wulff, in 1724, granted one-half of an acre of ground situated at the upper end of Germantown, on the Main Street, above the Road to Abington or Keyser's Lane, to the corporation for a burying-ground.

Having received the lot, it was deemed necessary to put a stone wall along the front of it, and to meet the expenses of the same a subscription was taken among the inhabitants in money, labor, stone, etc. It was conditioned that all subscribers were to receive the right to bury in the graveyard at any time.

It was called the "Upper Germantown Burying Ground."

The front wall, on the main road, was begun in May, 1724, by Dirck Johnson and John Frederick Ax, and finished with the assistance in labor, money, or stone by Anthony Klincken, Henry Sellen, John Doederer, Paul Engel, Jacob Sellen, Elizabeth Kasdorp, Peter Sellen, John Cunrad, Margaret Tissen (Teisen?), Hans Reyner, Christian Bernman, John Strepers, Anthony Tunes, Garret Rittinghausen, Hans Sheele, Johannes Jansen, Wm. Delvees (Dewees), Michael Shell, Daniel Hower, Johannes Ravestock, Thomas Tibbens, Mathias Hoven, John George Pop, Dennis Cunrads (Tunis Cunders), John Am Wegh, John Carl Gress, Henry Holtzapple, Johannes Gumry, Claus Rittinghausen, Peter Keyser, John Gorgas, Hans Jerk Haas, Garret Peters, Cunrad Cunrads, John Nagly (Nagle?), Peter Shoemaker, Enken Koopman, Griffith Jones, Walter Simons, George Warmer, Claus Tomson, Catherine Hagman, Samuel Kastner, Christian Warmer, Christopher Witt, Sam<sup>l</sup> Guldin, Christopher Bastian, William Palmer, Bernhard Cepler (Kepler?), Frantz Neff, John Potts, Daniel Potts, Jonathan Potts, John Witt, Bastian Raefsnider, Hermanes Kuster, Adam Sell, Henry Leen (Löhn?), Johannes Vossen, William Jansen, Margaret Knecht, Conrad Kuster, Dirck Clever, Jos: Famer, Johannes Leen (Löhn?), Benjamin Morgan, Jacob Schimer, John Johnson, Daniel Geisler, Peter Leen (Löhn), Caspar Simon, Beulah Coates, Hans Jerk Trout.

"The sum of all the charges for the work comes to £40 8s. 4d."

There is no account to be found of the burials in this ground from this time up to 1756, when a regular book was opened for the record of the same. Only seven tombstones are to be found of persons buried during this time.

- 1726. Catherine Machinetin.
- 1735. A. M.—geboren 1679—gestorben 1735.
- 1744. William Dewees.
- 1745. Mary, daughter of Catherine and Godfrey Lehman.
- 1747. William Palmer.
- 1747. Elizabeth Palmer.
- 1749. Christiana, wife of Wm. Dewees.

It seems that the plot of ground was given without survey or registered lines and boundaries, and as Dirck Keyser, who owned the land on either side above and below, had purchased the remaining Wulff tract behind that given by Paul Wulff for the burial ground, it was necessary to get the correct lines, so the 9th day of April, 1753, by the consent and approbation of the Freeholders of Germantown, the ground was properly surveyed and laid out, to remain forever, by Christian Lehman, the Surveyor of the Corporation, in the presence of John Frederick Ax, Ludwig Engelhardt, Conrad Frick, Dirck Keyser, John Channell, Richard Johnson, Richard Robb, Christian Warmer, Cornelius Engel, Peter Hensler, the committee of Freeholders appointed to witness the survey.

The back part of the lot was now enclosed by a post and rail fence, and the ground and accounts given in charge of John Frederick Ax as formerly, he having had the care thereof since the wall was built in 1724.

His first account of the funds from 1724 to 1756 was presented at a meeting of the subscribers held June 7, 1756. The sundry receipts and expenditures amounting to £7 7s. 10d. The account was audited and signed in the presence of Paul Engle, Christian Warmer, Rich<sup>d</sup> Johnson, & Christian Lehman.

John Frederick Ax becoming too old and feeble to attend to the ground and accounts any more, the subscribers at this meeting appointed Ludwig Engelhardt and Richard Robb to take charge and care of the same. It was during this time while under the care of Jno. Frederick Ax that the ground received the name of Ax's Burying Ground. This no doubt came from the association of his name as the superintendent, as well as being shorter to say Ax's burying-ground than Upper Germantown burying-ground.

At a meeting of the subscribers held May 30<sup>th</sup>, 1757, Ludwig Engelhardt and Rich<sup>d</sup> Robb presented and settled their account for the year, amounting to £0 12s. 0d. It was then concluded by the committee Peter Leibert, George Schreiber, Jacob Mayer, and Rich<sup>d</sup> Johnson, that Engelhardt and Robb

should continue to have the charge and care of the same graveyard for another year. On the 15<sup>th</sup> of May, 1758, Ludwig Engelhardt on behalf of himself and his companion settled the last year's account of the Upper Germantown Burying Ground, amounting to £1 6s. 0d., in the presence of Christian Lehman, Peter Leibert, John Keyser, and Peter Keyser. As Rich<sup>d</sup> Robb had removed from Germantown, George Schreiber was appointed to supply his place, who with Engelhardt, were to take charge of the ground for the next ensuing year. The continual repairs of the wooden fence on the back part of the lot were of such a character that the necessity of enclosing the whole in a stone wall was made manifest, and culminated in the following petition to the public:—

“Whereas necessity as well as saving a constant charge of supporting a wooden fence or Inclosure requires the entire closing in of the Upper Germantown Burying Ground with a stone wall round the back part thereof equal with the other wall of the same, and as the said work is for the benefit of the Publick, and requires a sufficient sum of money for that purpose should be raised, We the subscribers do therefore hereby our subscriptions promise and bind ourselves severally to pay each of us on demand towards the said work each his subscription money or sum as is subscribed to our respective names when demanded by the collector of the same for the purpose aforesaid.—Dated, Germantown, April 11<sup>th</sup>, 1760.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Leonard Stoneburner	1	0	0	Baltzer Trout	0	5	0
Ludwig Engelhardt	1	0	0	Christian Lehman	0	7	6
George Schreiber	0	10	0	Simon Litzenberger	0	10	0
John Keyser	0	10	0	George Pickkes	0	15	0
Peter Leibert	0	10	6	John Unverzagt	0	10	0
Peter Ax	0	7	6	John Bowman	0	12	0
John Engel	0	5	0	Martin Beck	0	7	6
John Keyser	0	10	0	Peter Keyser	0	5	0
David Sutton	0	4	0	Hans Nieslie	0	5	0
Chas. Wedderholt	0	3	0	Christopher Sower	0	15	0
Justus Fox	0	5	0	Alexander Mack	0	15	9
John Lehman	0	10	0	Philip Weber	0	10	0
Jeremiah Trout	0	5	0	Laurentz Sweitzer	0	5	0



418 *A History of the Upper Germantown Burying-ground.*

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Henry Slingluff	0	6	0	Anna Meyer	0	5	0
Henry Weber	0	10	0	Adam Shissler	0	5	0
Henry Schneider	0	5	0	George Werner	0	5	0
Richard Robb	0	5	0	Christian (?) Duy	1	0	0
Cunrad Frick	0	7	6	Ulrich Podmer	0	5	0
John Knorr	0	2	0	Melcher Meng	0	2	6
Jacob Knorr	0	3	0	Christopher Buist	0	5	0
Peter Schmidt	0	2	6	Casper Schreiber	0	10	0
Henry Sharpneck	0	2	0	George Schwartz	0	5	0
John Kock	0	10	0	Jacob Dietrich	0	10	0
Jacob Schneider	0	10	0	Ulrich Sollinger	0	5	0
Henry Benzell	0	7	6	Paul Engel, Sr.	0	7	6
Simon Siron	1	10	0	Jacob Trout	0	3	0
Elizabeth Barns	0	10	0	John Neus	0	5	0
Jacob Engel	0	7	6	Peter Straub	0	7	0
Benj: Engel	0	10	0	Rudy Gettinger	0	4	0
John Engel	0	7	6	Mathias Nunnemaker	0	7	0
Cornelius Engel	0	5	0	Jacob Herrman	0	5	0
Rich <sup>d</sup> Johnson	0	10	0	Baltzer Essig	0	5	0
Gottfried Bush	0	10	0	Conrad Good (Guth)	0	7	0
Christopher Jacoby	0	4	0	Adam Gellinger	0	3	9
Killian Wice	0	7	6	Christian Warmer	0	2	6
George Hensler	0	5	0	Johannes Stoer	0	7	0
Jacob Gensell	0	7	6	John Nicholas Henry	0	7	0
Thomas Duke	0	7	6				
Christian Schneider	0	5	0	Ammounting in all to	£29	13	0
Henry Meyer	0	5	0				

All settled Oct. 4<sup>th</sup>, A. D. 1760.

All of the above-named subscribers of two shillings and upwards have a right of burial in the said Burying Ground for themselves and their family, so that they always contribute towards the necessary repairs of the enclosure and appurtenances of s<sup>d</sup> Burying Ground."

At a meeting of the Freeholders and Inhabitants of Germantown, held at the house of George Schreiber the 4<sup>th</sup> day of Oct. 1760, the wall was viewed, accepted and accounts settled. The total cost of which was £33 4s. 10d.

The care of s<sup>d</sup> Burying Gr<sup>d</sup> was for the ensuing year again committed to the s<sup>d</sup> Ludwig Engelhardt and George Schreiber. It was thought fit by those so met, that strangers who have no right in the s<sup>d</sup> Burying Ground and are in circumstances able to pay shall pay three shillings for each grave, but those

who have the care of the ground shall be the judges of the circumstances of the person, and it is left to their discretion either to take pay or not. All monies thus rec<sup>d</sup> to be applied towards the keeping the ground, walls, &c., in repair. No colored person had as yet been buried in this ground, and the feelings of the subscribers upon this subject was very promptly expressed at a meeting held March 24<sup>th</sup>, 1766, occasioned by the request of Christian Warmer to bury his dead negroe child in the said burying ground.

“It was unanimously Resolved by the said Inhabitants: That as a separate lot of land of sufficient largeness situate on the Northwest side in Bowman’s Lane in Lower Germantown, has several years ago by the whole Germantown Inhabitants been purchased on purpose for and as a separate and distinct Burying ground for all Strangers, and negroes and mulattoes as die in any part of Germantown;—

“That therefore henceforth no Negroe or Mulattoes shall be buried or suffered to be buried in the said upper Germantown Burying Ground nor on any part thereof on any pretence whatsoever,—nor any stranger but what by the overseers of the said Burying Ground for the time being shall in their judgment and discretion shall be judged suitable and be admitted to be buried in the said upper Germantown Burying Ground.”

It must not be forgotten that slavery was at this time in Pennsylvania.

“At the same time Ludgwig Engelhard and George Schreiber (who these several years past, since the year 1760, have been the overseers of the said burying gr<sup>d</sup>) were now unanimously again elected to be and continue to act as overseer of s<sup>d</sup> gr<sup>d</sup> until others are chosen in their stead.

That they and all succeeding overseers of s<sup>d</sup> By<sup>l</sup> G<sup>d</sup> shall have full power to direct the order of graves, where to be dug of such as have as yet no particular Family spot or place in s<sup>d</sup> g<sup>d</sup> in order that a due and decent regulation of the rows and the order of graves in the s<sup>d</sup> ground may be preserved.

Ent<sup>d</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> Day of March 1766 by order of the Inhabitants.

CHRIST<sup>n</sup> LEHMAN,  
Clerk.

420 *A History of the Upper Germantown Burying-ground.*

“The above was agreed on as above s<sup>d</sup> as witness our hands.”

Johaunes Koch	George Schreiber
John Lehman	Ludwig Engelhardt
Jacob Traut	John Knorr
Jacob Engle	John Keyser
Peter Keyser	John Bowman
Jacob Knorr	Peter Leibert
Leonard Stoneburner	Conrad Guth
John Engle	

The front wall having by this time, after fifty-two years, become so badly in need of repair, it was deemed best to take it all down and build an entire new one. To meet the necessary expenses a subscription was made May 20<sup>th</sup> 1776, as follows:—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Leonard Stoneburner	1	10	0	Chas. Engle		6	—
Ludwig Engelhardt		15	—	George Palmer		5	—
Henry Slingluff		10	—	John Leibert		7	6
Philip Weber		7	6	John Johnson, Jr.		7	6
Geo: Schreiber		15	—	Christian Schneider		4	—
John Koch		10	—	John Adolph		2	6
John Engle		12	—	Killian Wice		10	—
Peter Keyser		10	—	Michael Lippert		7	6
Peter Cave		15	—	Jacob Hall		10	—
Jacob Knorr		7	6	AJexander Mack		5	—
Justus Fox		7	6	John Clark		7	6
John Knorr		10	—	Edward Langstroth		5	—
Jacob Moyer		10	—	John Rex		7	6
Nathaniel Schreiber		7	6	Wighart Miller		10	—
Melchin Meng		5	—	William Houlgate		7	6
Julius Kerper		2	—	Albrick Zollinger		10	—
Christopher Ottinger		15	—	George Walter		5	—
John Ottinger		10	—	Michael Keyser		7	8
Rudolph Ebright		7	6	Jacob Engle		10	—
Abraham Rex		10	—	Martin Beck		5	—
Rudolph Gettinger		7	6	Peter Leibert		7	6
Paul Engle		10	—	Christian Huber		5	—
John Frees		7	6	Joseph Ferree		5	3
Christian Duy		5	—	Thomas Langstroth		5	—
Samuel Mechlin		5	—	John Palmer		5	—
Simon Vogelgesang		5	—	Jacob Trout		2	1
Jacob Schneider		5	—	George Werner		5	—
Chas. Bensel		5	—				
John Johnson Sr.	1	10	—				
Mathias Knorr		5	—				
					£23	16	6

The above amount of £23 16s. 6d. was collected by John Knorr and Justus Fox the appointed collectors, and paid into the hands of George Schreiber and Peter Keyser who were appointed overseers and managers of the Burying Ground, &c.

These gentlemen, Messrs. Schreiber and Keyser, having received the money went on with the building of the wall, and on the 28<sup>th</sup> day of July, 1777, a settlement was made of their account after the wall was finished, in which it appears that there was a balance in the hands of said accountants of £1 5s.

The settlement was made in the presence of

Ludwig Engelhardt	Jacob Engle
Philip Weber	Christian Duy
John Knorr	Jacob Knorr.

From this time, 1777, up to the present day, there has been no change or improvement in the ground. Burials still go on, and many removals have taken place. The management has been kept by the descendants of the old members, with additions of new purchasers of lots; and overseers have been appointed as the old die off or move away; and at present, as well as for the past few years, it has been in charge of Samuel Nice and Joseph Channon, both descendants from the old line.

From the register that is now in the hands of these overseers, no account of the burials previous to 1756 is to be found, although the records of the organization and meetings and accounts are in good preservation.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century a stone school-house was built in a triangular lot adjoining this ground on the southwest line, which was called the Concord School-house. From the proximity of this house to the ground it came to be called the Concord Burial Ground. Which name it popularly bore for many years.

In 1756 George Schreiber commenced a regular account of the names and dates of the burials as they took place thereafter. His first entry is on the 28th of June, 1756, with a child of Jacob Traut. During that year ten bodies were buried therein, all children but one, the wife of George Palmer. He was not particular to get the names of the wives and children, and entered them as so and so's wife or child

422 *A History of the Upper Germantown Burying-ground.*

as it may be. For instance, June 20, 1756, the Catholic man's son.

Up to about 1800 the erection of tombs was not frequent; only a few families who seemed to care or deemed it proper to mark the last resting places of their departed ones. Many have been buried whose place has become obliterated, and at present no one can say where they rest.

From this list in the book I find the following record of burials each year, and the names of those over whom no stone is found to mark the grave. Those having tombs will come in the regular alphabetical list attached hereto as taken from the stones.

In 1757—12 bodies interred among which

Feb'y. 1. Henry Friederich.                      Oct. 16. The Catholic Man's wife.  
Aug. 18. Jacob Meyer.

1758.—*Eleven burials.*

Jany. 6. The Catholic Man from Chestnut Hill.      Feb'y. 23. John Frederick Ax.<sup>1</sup>  
" 16. The wife of Dr. Otto.                      " 26. Christina Hassin.  
Feb'y. 20. Catherine Diemerin.                      Apr. 22. Margaret Sellin.

1759.—*Fourteen burials.*

May 26. George Ax.                                      Oct. 29. Susanna Bussertin.  
June 19. Geo. William Unverzagt.                      Nov. 27. Phillipina Dietrich.  
Aug. 28. Henry Straub.

1760.—*Thirteen interments.*

Two women, the rest children.

1761.—*Seven burials.*

Feb'y. 12. "Shoemaker" Sontag.                      Sept. 8. Henry Frederick's wife.  
Mar. 13. Henry Mejer's wife.                      Oct. 8. Ist der alte Knor begraben.

1762.—*Fifteen burials.*

Jany. 11. John von Erden.                                      Nov. 22. Baltzer Traut.  
June 24. William Ottinger.                                      Dec. 3. Casper Schreiber.  
July 5. Simon Siron's wife.

1763.—*Ten interments.*

Jany. 20. John Channel.                                      Feb'y. 8. David Sauter.

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<sup>1</sup> The first superintendent.

*A History of the Upper Germantown Burying-ground.* 423

1764.—*Twenty-one burials.*

15 children—6 women.

1765.—*Seven burials.*

Aug. 7. Lorenz Belitz.

Sept. 30. Henry Schneider.

Oct. 7. Bartholomew Benning-  
hausen.

1766.—*Sixteen interments.*

Aug. 28. Henry Meyer.

Sept. 25. Henry Schneider's wife.

1767.—*Four burials.*

1 woman and 3 children.

1768.—*Ten burials.*

Feb. 29. Frederick Ax.

June 14. George Bickes.

Oct. 25. Christopher Wiedman.

1769.—*Thirteen burials.*

Oct. 15. Paul Engel's wife.

" 26. Henry Schlingluff's wife.

Dec. 4. William Palmer, Jr.

1770.—*Fifteen interments.*

Feby. 21. William Palmer.

Aug. 10. John Weber.

Nov. 6. Peter Ax.

1771.—*Fifteen burials.*

Jany. 7. Adam Schreiber's wife.

Feby. 24. John Wills' wife.

June 19. Elizabeth Raabin.

Nov. 7. Christian Edel.

1772.—*Fourteen burials.*

Jan. 7. Johannes Debis' wife.

" 10. Frantz Grass.

July 14. Johannes Kehrbach.

" 14. Leonard Schweitzer.

Aug. 5. John Engel's wife.

Sept. 2. Jacob Dieterich.

Nov. 2. Ist der alte Kraut begraben.

1773.—*Thirteen burials.*

Mar. 31. John Lehman.

May 11. Anna Ebrecht.

July 21. John Unverzagt.

Nov. 25. Anton Schneider.

1774.—*Nineteen interments.*

Jany. 30. Berbel Hinnen.

Feb. 16. Julianna Machinetin.

May 21. Henry Wilhelm.

Aug. 20. William Fuchs.

Nov. 1. John Brotthaus' wife.

1775.—*Twenty-one burials.*

Jany. 24. Lorentz Belitz.

May 14. Albert Debis' wife.

June 21. Jacob Kincker.

Oct. 20. Ulrich Zollinger's wife.

Dec. 1. Johannes Baumann.

424 *A History of the Upper Germantown Burying-ground.*

1776.—*Seventeen burials.*

Jan. 27. Gottfried Bush.	Apr. 30. Lorentz Schweitzer (aged 95 yrs. 8 mos. 5 days).
Feb'y. 12. Hans Nüssli's wife.	Oct. 1. John Schlingluff's wife.
Mar. 6. Jacob Bossert.	

1777.—*Twelve burials.*

Jan. 17. George Schönich.	Sept. 3. Peter Schlingluff.
Feb'y. 9. Martin Schnabel.	" 16. Hans Nüssli.
Mar. 31. Patrick Bryon.	Oct. 5. John Lehman.

1778.—*Seventeen interments.*

Jan. 9. John Hartrampf's wife.	Oct. 8. John Dengler.
" 18. Daniel Henrich's wife.	Nov. 6. Patrick Bryon's wife.
" 23. Garrett Deerstiess.	

1779.—*Fourteen burials.*

Feb'y. 5. John Neisen's wife.	Aug. 8. Christian Huber.
June 23. Nittschert Raab.	Dec. 15. Henry Schlingluff.

1780.—*Nine burials.*

Feb. 24. Conrad Guth.	Sept. 14. Abraham Kerper.
July 18. Ludwig Engelhart's wife.	

To this date the record was kept by George Schreiber, who wrote only in German, and the German names are spelled in their proper manner. He no doubt giving it up on account of age and debility, for he died two years after this, and is buried in this ground with his co-overseer for so many years, Ludwig Engelhard, who died the same year.

After this the register is kept in English, and we begin at once to see the changes in the spelling of the old German names.

1781.—*Nine burials.*

Jan'y 8. Paul Shryber (Schreiber?)	April 23. Old Aplona out of the poorhouse.
April 15. George Palmer.	Sept. 12. Henry Dewees, Jr.'s wife.

1782.—*Six interments.*

July 17. John Lowry.	Nov. 13. Ulrich Zollinger.
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1783.—*Fourteen burials.*

Feb'y 28. Ludwig Engelhart.	Oct. 24. Daniel Bowman's wife.
July 30. Melchior Meng's wife.	" 24. Betzey Houlgate.

*A History of the Upper Germantown Burying-ground.* 425

1784.—*Nine burials.*

Mar. 2. Jacob Clime. Sept. 22. John Schneider.  
Sept. 21. Jeremiah Trout (Trant).

1785.—*Fourteen burials.*

July 11. John Bowman's widow. Nov. 18. John Schlingluf.  
Sept. 26. Barbara Knorr.

1786.—*One interment.*

Mar. 12. William Engle's wife.

1787.—*Fifteen burials.*

Feb'y 24. Christian Dny's wife. June 21. James Mathew.  
June 19. Winard Ax. Dec. 27. Mathias Diel's wife.  
" 20. Abraham Paul.

1788.—*Eleven burials.*

Jan'y 1. Hannah Lehman. Feb. 26. Chas: Francis' Father.  
" 5. Jacob Engle's son Edward. Mar. 8. Abraham Paul's wife.

1789.—*Ten interments.*

Mar. 28. Mary Busert. Dec. 1. John Sabin.  
Dec. 1. Gideon Bright.

1790.—*Twelve burials.*

Feb. 12. John Nice Coyer. July 9. Fred<sup>t</sup> Thomas.

1791.—*Eighteen burials.*

Feb'y 17. John Palmer. Aug. 22. David Evans.  
May 22. Simon Fogelgesang. Dec. 4. John Lehman's wife.  
" 30. John Kerbach.

1792.—*Nine burials.*

June 14. Sophia Fisher. July 21. Daniel Horn's wife.  
July 1. Henry Plain's wife. Nov. 4. James Starn.

1793.—*Fourteen interments.*

Jan'y 22. Peter Stroup. June 7. John Gibb's wife.  
Feb. 5. Philip Weber's wife. Sept. 4. Cunrad Schweitzer.  
" 5. Juliana Poet. " 14. Christian Grosscop.  
" 20. Rudolph Kittinger. " 23. W<sup>m</sup> Mullenex's wife.  
June 1. Thomas Canel's wife. Dec. 22. Jacob Schneider.

1794.—*Eight burials.*

July 12. Hannah Colladay.



1795.—*Eight burials.*

Sept. 14. Philip Weber.

Oct. 11. Rudolph Kittinger's wife.

1796.—*Thirteen interments.*

April 1. Edward Bright's wife.

July 9. Hannah Jones.

" 24. Albert Davis' wife.

" 24. Michael Dicker.

1797.—*Twelve burials.*

Apr. 22. Christopher Brust.

Oct. 19. Hugh Stephens.

Oct. 8. William Engle, Jr.

1798.—*Thirteen burials.*

Aug. 21. Mr. Davison's wife.

Sept. 25. Christian Duy.

1799.—*Nine burials.*

Feb. 2. William Saxton's wife.

April 17. Israel Englis.

## FRANKLIN AND THE STAMP ACT.

[When the Stamp Act was passed, Franklin wrote to Charles Thomson : " Depend upon it my good neighbour, I took every step in my power to prevent the passage of the Stamp Act no body could be more concerned in interest than myself to oppose it sincerely & heartily. But the Tide was too strong against us. The nation was provoked by American Claims to Independence & all Parties joined in resolving by this act to settle the point. We might as well have hindered the sun's setting. That we could not do. But since it is down my Friend and it may be long before it rises again, let us make as good a night of it as we can. We may still light candles. Frugality and Industry will go a great way toward indemnifying us. Idleness and Pride tax with a heavier hand than Kings and Parliament. If we can get rid of the former we may easily bear the latter." When he wrote this he certainly had no idea of the storm that the " Act" would raise in America and accepted it as a Law which *must be obeyed*. The frugality and industry he proposed to practise are set forth in the following letter to his partner David Hall, dated about one month after his letter to Thomson.—ED.]

LONDON, Aug 9, 1765.

DEAR MR. HALL :

I received yours of June 21 & 22. I have wrote my Mind fully to you in former Letters relating to the Stamp Act, so that I have but little to add except what you desire

to know about the 2/ on Advertisements. It is undoubtedly to be paid every Time the Advertisement is inserted. As to the Paper sent over, I did it for the best, having at that time Expectations given me that we might have had it Stamped there, in which case you would have had great Advantage of the other Printers, since if they were not provided with such Paper, they must have either printed but a half Sheet, common Demi, or paid for two stamps on each Sheet. The Plan was afterwards alter'd notwithstanding all I could do, it being alledged that Scotland & every Colony would expect the same Indulgence if it was granted to us. The Paper must now be sent back again. But I hope you will excuse what I did in Good Will, tho' it happened wrong. The Molds I still think you should have, as you see that Paper from hence is much Dearer than we can make it, with all the Charge of Carriage, but that I hope to get off.

I would not have you by any means drop the Newspaper, as I am sure it will soon recover any present Loss and may be carried on to advantage if you steadily proceed as I proposed in former Letters.

I am, yours affectionately,  
B. FRANKLIN.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The original of this letter is in the possession of George M. Conarroe, Esq.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## Notes.

**SOMETHING ABOUT BELLS.**—In a recent communication to *The Press* of this city—"An ancient Philadelphia Church bell found in Allentown"—I find it stated that: "In razing the old academy building to the ground a bell was found in the steeple, whose history goes back over a century. Prior to 1777, it occupied a place in the steeple of Christ Church, on Second Street, Philadelphia. In that year, when the British took possession of Philadelphia, it, with another bell from the same church, was brought to Allentown to prevent their being seized by the enemy. Remaining uncalled for at the end of the war, they were put to use here, one being placed in the steeple of the Academy and the other hung in the belfry of an old school-house, which is now the site of a large manufacturing establishment. It remained there for many years, and was then put in the steeple of Zion's Reformed Church, where it remained until six years ago, when it was sold to a church in Berks County. The inscription on the old academy bell reads as follows: 'Matt. Townscap, Bethlehem, for Leon Harbatel, v. Salomea, Berlin, 1769.'" Permit me to premise by correcting the interpretation of the inscription on the "old academy" bell. For "Matt Townscap," read Matthias Tommerup of Bethlehem; that he cast the bell, in 1769, for Leon Harbbatel and his wife Salome, whose maiden name was Berlin. This bell was never the property of Christ Church. The two bells used before the chime was brought from England are still in the Parish, one at the chapel, Pine above 19th Street, the other at Christ Church Hospital. The former weighs 215 lbs., and bears the date 1711; the other weighs about 700 lbs., and was received in 1712. Independence bell, with those of Christ and other churches of Philadelphia, passed through Bethlehem on September 23d, 1777, *en route* for Allentown, that town being considered less liable from attack by the British than Bethlehem. The wagon on which the first-named bell was loaded broke down on descending the steep hill by the present "Seminary for Young Ladies," and had to be unloaded while repairs were being made. On October 18th, 1761, there arrived at New York on the "Hope" (one of the four vessels owned by the Moravian Church between 1742 and 1764, for the transportation of her members from Europe to her settlements in Pennsylvania), Matthias Tommerup. He was born June 21st, 1725, near Holstebro, in Jutland, and when in his eighteenth year was apprenticed to a brazier and bell-founder of that town. Uniting with the Moravians in Saxony in 1758, he was sent to the New World, and reached Bethlehem in November of 1761. Some time after his arrival Tommerup opened a foundry and workshop in the Single Brethren's House (the middle building of the Young Ladies' Seminary), where for fifteen years he followed his trade. The first bell he cast, on April 5th, 1762, weighed *nineteen pounds*, and was destined for Bethabara, the first settlement made by the Moravians on their large tract in (then) Rowan County, North Carolina. On July 29th, 1768, he successfully finished a bell for the Court House at Easton, weighing 236 lbs. The last large bell that he cast is the one which, since July of 1776, has hung in the turret of that wondrous pile of stone buildings, gabled, trip-roofed, buttress'd, and sun-dial'd which is built around the three sides of a rectangle with its frontage on Church Street, in the borough of Bethlehem. The only

inscription it bears are the figures 1, 7, 7, 6. These are but a small number of those cast by the old Jute, in his subterranean foundry.

When the house of the Single Brethren was vacated by them in September of 1777, preparatory to its being used by the Continental Hospital, Tommerup moved to Christian's Spring, a settlement of his church on the Barony of Nazareth, nine miles northwest from Bethlehem. Here he died February 22d, 1778, and was buried at Nazareth. But not one of the many bells he had cast tolled for him, for the bell in the turret of Nazareth Hall, with its pious ascription, *Deo soli gloria*, was none of his handiwork.

The first bell used by the Moravians of Bethlehem was on July 6th, 1742, "hung up in the tree nearest the Congregation House" (corner of Church and Heckewelder Streets, and was the second building erected), and "Bro. Joachim Senseman was appointed time keeper, Uhrsteller," whose duty it was to designate the hours by the stroke of the bell. He begins to strike "at 5 A. M., when the night-watch is at an end, and so till evening, when the night-watch begins; they will keep it up until 12 P. M." The second bell was cast in 1746 by Samuel Powell, a member of the Moravian Congregation in Philadelphia. He came from White Church, Shropshire, England, and was by trade a bell-founder. In September of 1762 he died, and was buried in the Potter's Field, Washington Square. The Powell bell, which weighed 116 lbs., was recast by Tommerup in 1776, and is still in use.

In April of 1746, Augustine Neisser of Germantown (Moravian) was engaged to build "ye great clock" for the congregation for which 58½ lbs. of brass-work costing £18 4 had been some time before purchased. This he completed in February of 1747, receiving £8 for his compensation.

Bishop Cammerhoff, writing to Zinzendorf in March of 1747, states: "We have a fine brass clock and three bells, of which one strikes the hours, and the other two in pleasant euphony strike the quarters."

JOHN W. JORDAN.

UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF WILLIAM PENN.—(From the original in the possession of Dr. Wm. Camac.)

London 9. 9. 98

Dear Friends  
S. Car. E. Sh. T. Duc.  
S<sup>c</sup>R. A. M. &c!

I have but just time, by this oportunity, to salute you by this friend Thos. Story, who, with his honest companion, J S drawn forth to visit you. He was one of myn in Ireland, a<sup>s</sup>o<sup>s</sup>ber discreet, & good man, of Considerable Abilities, as well as of Integrity. He will be perticular to you in w<sup>t</sup> else I might write, had I time, tho I hope for a further occasion by him, the winds being westerly, tho faire to fall down, & y<sup>e</sup> master ready to call him. I came heither late last night, & hoped for a fuller oportunity. Only this, y<sup>e</sup> Secretary of y<sup>e</sup> Council of Trade has sent me a letter from the Lords about your new lawe for tryalls, & some naval matters y<sup>t</sup> they are much desturbed at. The Com<sup>r</sup> of the Admiralty, and Customs also have duplicats of them, and I shall have all to qualify if I can do it. Dr. Frds I fear there are some that undermine you, designedly, or by being influenced by those that are enimys, to putt rubs & blocks in my way. My Irish Journy is over, where I am a looser 9706 pounds by y<sup>e</sup> troubles, & my son in 6 weeks more will be married, & y<sup>e</sup> Lord wiling, in six more I am in hopes to be on bord of ship; and now intend to secure my passage, while in y<sup>e</sup> City, & divers good frds with me. I shall add no more, haveing writ about six weeks to Sam Carpenter, & hoping for a fresh oportunity, but my Dr Love in the Lord to you all, & y<sup>t</sup> I am your Frd & Bro<sup>r</sup>.

W<sup>m</sup> PENN.

Jo. Vaughton, J. Field, & John Butcher, Salute you & frd<sup>s</sup>.

BOOKS TAKEN FROM DR. FRANKLIN'S LIBRARY BY MAJOR ANDRÉ.—(From a memorandum left by Mrs. Deborah Logan.) M. du Simitiere's statement of books taken from Dr. Franklin's library by Major André.

"In conversation with the late Charles Thomson, Esq., at his seat at Harriton some years before his decease, and whilst his mind was yet unimpaired by age and infirmity, he told me the following anecdote, which I here extract from my diary for 1817:—

"When Major André was with the British army in Philadelphia during the Revolutionary War he was quartered at the house of Dr. Franklin who had left in it much furniture and also his library. When the enemy were about to evacuate the City M. du Simitiere, a well known Italian gentleman attached to science and the fine arts, and well acquainted with André, waited upon him to take leave and to solicit his interest in their prevention if any irregularities should ensue upon their leaving the City. He found the Major in the library busily employed in packing up some books and placing them among his own baggage, particularly a very scarce and valuable work in French, a present, if I rightly remember, from Louis XVI. King of France, to the Philosophical Society, of many volumes in 12 quarto. It was the Jesuits' Account of China, and their translations of Chinese literature published after their expulsion from China and return to France. Du Simitiere said he was shocked at the procedure, and told him, in order that he might make the inference, of the strictly just and honorable conduct of the Hessian General Knyphausen with respect to General Cadwalader's house and property which had been in his possession. He [Gen. K.] had sent for the agent of General Cadwalader, and giving him an inventory which he had caused his steward to make out upon their obtaining possession desired him to observe that all was left as they had found it, even to some wine in the cellar, every bottle of which was left, and he also paid the agent rent for the time he had been in the house. But the recital of the German General's honesty made no impression on the Major as he carried off the books."

Mrs. Logan adds: "I understood the books had been sent to Dr. Franklin's care, and had not yet been placed in the Library of the Philosophical Society. He said between 30 and 40 vols." W. B. R.

JEFFRY HAWKINS.—For a copy of the following interesting and curious document we are indebted to William J. Buck, who has recently discovered it whilst engaged on other researches:—

These are to certify all Friends in Truth and others whom these concern, that Jeffry Hawkins of Norton-Bavant in the County of Wilts being desirous to Transport himself beyond the seas with his wife and six Children, hath behaved himself honestly and that he is under no engagement of Debts nor any other Misdemeanour as far as we know. In Testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hands this 12th day of the 6th month, 1682.

Will. Chandler	John Benet
James Hodges	Tho. Holt
William Forrest	Overseers
Richard Hedge	Timothy Thorne
John French	William Vew

I being in the Country and having made inquiry into the Truth of the Contents of the above written Certificate, I do not find anything Contrary thereunto.

LAWRENCE STEEL.

Tho. Holmes let the within named Jeffry Hawkins have his head-rights set out to him with what speed can be.

13th 8 month '82.

WM. PERRY.

**WASHINGTON IN PHILADELPHIA.**—Thomas Wallace, who died in this city about 1876 or later, at the advanced age of 91 years, told my brother of his recollections of Washington. Young Wallace went to the Presbyterian Church at the southeast corner of Market and Bank Streets. The congregation was always dismissed in time for the lad to repair to Second Street, and there to stand in the line formed in front of the gate through which the General passed on leaving Christ Church.

Once, as Wallace remembered, Washington walked among the fish stands at the foot of Market Street. "Auntie, that is a fine shad you have there," pointing to a fat one in the fishwoman's basket. "Yes, General, and let me send it home for you." "No," said he, "put a string through its gill. I reckon a man can carry his own grub home." The good woman therefore tied a string through the gills, and off the General started with his fish in one hand and his cane in the other. And as he passed along towards his home at Sixth and Market Streets, he found for once that he had undertaken almost more than even he could well accomplish; for at every step a hat would be raised in his honor, and of course the General's was to be removed in response. This he found no easy task, but he soon solved the difficulty by placing his hat under his arm, and was thus enabled to bow bare-headed to those who saluted him.

T. W.

**RHODE ISLAND FAMILIES.**—The publishers of the *Rhode Island Historical Magazine* desire us to announce that they have opened a Register wherein to record the addresses of all persons who have records of Rhode Island families. This they will be glad to show to any person who may call at their office. They have also for the examination of students copies of the Town and Church Records of Newport, and records of other Rhode Island towns. They will be glad to receive for preservation accounts of family reunions and genealogical works. Letters should be addressed to R. H. Tilley, Newport, R. I.

THE FOLLOWING LETTER was written by Robert Morris:—

MR. I—— H——.

PHILAD'A, July 22, 1777.

SIR: I have yours of the 19th, whereby observe you are acquainted with what has passed in Virginia respecting the salt, and I shall not enlarge on that subject, and as you intend this way with the Goods ordered to the head of Elk, I shall have the pleasure of seeing you, and need not take up your or any time on that article.

If Capt. W. you mention is in the Continental service, and has acted the part you mention, it may be in my power to mark him, but then I must be well ascertained of the man and of his conduct.

I cannot say anything about the Cable you mention; indeed, I thought you had made the needfull enquiries on that score when here. You should not write to me in your private letters on any public business you want done, but address the Marine Committee respecting the Brig. you are building, and her captain, for I cannot attend to it. I will render Mr. Barney the service you desire if I can.

I am, sir,

Your Obedt. H'ble Servt.,

Pork from £14 to £15 pr. bbl.

ROBERT MORRIS.

**TORY POETRY.**—We are indebted to Mr. D. McN. Stauffer for a copy of the following Poetical Proclamation. The original in his possession is in the handwriting of Edward Penington, but it does not follow that it was his own production. The committee here satirized was the Committee of Inspectors of Philadelphia, whose duty it was to see that the articles of

association agreed upon by the Continental Congress were carried into effect. Christopher Marshall was one of its members, and under date of March 6, 1776, recorded in diary : Near seven went to the Committee Room, called by ticket, to consider means to prevent the high price of sundry kinds of goods, viz., Rum, Sugar, Molasses, Coffee, Pepper, Salt, Cocoa, Chocolate, &c. Come home past ten after passing sundry resolves.

These resolutions fixed the prices that the items mentioned should be sold for. This action resulted from the depreciation of the Continental money which was then beginning to be felt, but the committee supposed that the trouble arose from speculators who were forcing up values. If any persons should ask more than the prescribed price the committee declared that they would expose them by name as "sordid vultures who are preying on the vitals of their country in a time of general distress."

To all the Subjects of our Nation.  
 We Issue this, our Proclamation :  
 In hopes to Establish, by this measure,  
 On Basis firm, our will and pleasure.  
*Whereas*, to us, t'is represented,  
 That certain persons, discontented  
 With a late Statute, wisely made,  
 By us ; to regulate our trade :  
 Who avaricious and designing,  
 By various Arts, are undermining  
 Our Pow'r ;—Endeav'ring to Elude  
 This Statute pass'd for Public Good.  
 Fixing the prices of Mollasses,  
 Rum, Sugar, Coffee ; O ! the Asses.  
 Had they like Subjects, Faithful, true,  
 Passive Obedience paid—where due ?  
 No cause there could be, to complain ;  
 Save they must sell for loss—not gain.  
 And this, by Dutiful Petition,  
 In terms denoting due Submission  
 For Subjects meet our wills were such.  
 We would have helped ;—very much.  
 But being Obstinate and Stubborn,  
 And rather difficult to Govern,  
 Fit measures with them shall be taken,  
 And see who dare to save their Bacon.  
 We meet the Twenty-ninth, at night,  
 To hear Complaints, and do what's right,  
 At Philosophic Hall, place meet  
 For us wise men, in Second Street.  
 Thither Informers come, and tell us  
 All that you know of those Base Fellows.  
 Who Our Dread Sovereign Pow'r withstand  
 And Disobey our first Command.  
 Attend in person and declare,  
 If you know, who the offenders are ;  
 Or if, *Good Men*, you like it better,  
 Convey your Knowledge in a letter.  
 The Vultures soon shall feel the measure  
 Of Our resentment and displeasure.  
 We'll bring them to their marrow-bones,  
 Witness our Vassal—Bobby J——s.  
 Committee Chamber, March, 1776.

WILLIAM THORNTON ON ROBERT FULTON'S PATENTS.—The following letter has been communicated by Mr. John A. McAllister. The superscription on the back of it is: William Young, Esquire, No. 10 South Third St., Philadelphia, or Mr. Graham. Franked by J. Q. Adams, Department of State.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

SIR:—

PATENT OFFICE, 29th Oct. 1820.

I received your letter relative to the late Robert Fulton's Patents, and the extracts which you mention are in the *Explanations* of his *Drawings*, but he cannot have any claim to boats above fifty tons, for the Patent Law expressly excludes proportions, as they may be varied *ad infinitum*, and his opinion stating that Boats could not run more than five miles an hour, is in perfect concordance with many other of his opinions, not only arising from an ignorance of what *might* be done, but what actually *had been* done; for Fitch's Boat, of which I was one of three Directors, went at the rate of eight miles an hour in 1789. Mr. Fulton's Patents are founded upon the Inventions of others, & not his own Inventions or Discoveries; for he never made a single Improvement of any kind that originated in himself. The Extracts are *not* in his *Specifications*, which form parts of the Patents.

I am, Sir, respectfully,

WILLIAM YOUNG, ESQR.,  
OR MR. GRAHAM.

WILLIAM THORNTON.

BUST OF THOMAS PENN BY PATIENCE WRIGHT, 1773.—In Holt's New York Journal or *General Advertiser* for October 14, 1773, is the following:—

"We hear from Philadelphia that Lady Julia Penn hath lately presented the Assembly of that Province, with a very elegant bust of the Honourable Thomas Penn, Esq., her Husband and one of the Proprietors, performed in Wax Work by Mrs. Patience Wright, an American born, and late of that city which has been much admired by their Majesties and most of the nobility of England, and may be justly esteemed the Performance of a most extraordinary Genius."

WILLIAM JOHN POTTS.

JOHN FILSON.—The first historian of Kentucky. An account of his life and writings, principally from original sources, prepared for the Filson Club, and read at its meeting in Louisville, Ky., June 26, 1884. By Reuben T. Durrett, president of that club. Louisville, The Filson Club. Cincinnati, Robert Clarke & Co. 4to. pp. 132.

This is the first of a series of publications to be made by the Filson Club, an association organized for the purpose of collecting and preserving original historical matter relating to the Early History of the Central West, and especially to Kentucky. In 1784 John Filson, a native of Chester County, Pennsylvania, who lost his life while in the neighborhood of Cincinnati, of which city he was the founder, published a History and Map of Kentucky, which were not only the first of that State, but the initial chapter in the annals of the valley of the Mississippi.

It has been denied by many that Filson ever issued a map with his history, though it is specially mentioned. This fact is at last settled by the discovery of one in the library of Harvard University, a photo-lithographic facsimile of which accompanies this volume.

Before this publication was issued all that was known about Filson might have been told upon one of its pages; but here we have an elaborate account of his life and writings, with alternating paragraphs of history and romance, poetry and anecdote, pathos and humor, that must prove entertaining, not only to the historian but to the general reader. It shows much historic



research, and presents original matter of an interesting character. It is a work which every student of Western history should possess, and without which no historical collection can be considered complete. A very limited number of copies have been placed in the hands of the publishers, Robert Clarke and Company, for sale at \$2.50 each, for which it will be sent by mail, prepaid.

THE OFFICIAL RECORDS OF ROBERT DINWIDDIE, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1751-1758, now First Printed from the manuscripts in the collections of the Virginia Historical Society, with an introduction and notes by R. A. Brock, Corresponding Secretary and Librarian of the Society. Vol. II. Richmond, Va. Published by the Society, 1884.

Important as the contents of this volume are, they are no more so than we were led to expect from its predecessor. It without doubt throws more light on the condition of affairs in the Middle Colonies during the French and Indian War than any single volume ever printed. We are at a loss how to convey to the reader an idea of its valuable contents. The name of Dinwiddie's correspondents will in a manner suggest this. Among them we find those of General Braddock, Governors Shirley, Dobbs, Glen, Sharp, Morris, Belcher, and De Lancey, of Colonels Washington, Byrd, Fitzhugh, Innes, Dunbar, Stephen, Spotswood, and Lewis, of Sir Peter Halket, Sir John St. Clair, Lord Fairfax, Lord Halifax, Sir Thomas Robinson, Earl Granville, Lord Loudon, Chief Justice William Allen, of Pa., Capt. Robert Orme, Secretary Richard Peters, of Pa., and, in fact, of nearly every prominent man in British America at that time, and of all those in England connected with the administration of the colonies.

The present volume opens with letters dated March 17th, 1755, and the correspondence ends with one of Nov. 1758. The first part treats of Braddock's expedition, and every reader will be impressed with the indomitable energy of Dinwiddie. No stone was left unturned on his part to make the enterprise a successful one. He importuned the Assemblies of the several Colonies for assistance, and rated those soundly who withheld the sought-for aid. No intestine quarrels between Governors and Assembly regarding salaries, or between Proprietor and settlers about quit rents, could in his mind justify such conduct when the King's interests were at stake. "The money sent me is [so] nearly exhausted," he wrote on March 17th, "that I am obliged to call the Assembly the first day of May next, to endeavour to get further supplies. But I dread success, as our neighbouring Colonies have been so indolent refractory and inconsistent with their own interests and His Majesty's commands as not to grant us any Assistance either in Money, Men, or Provisions, except New York about 3000£ sterling, North Carolina 6000£ their money, Maryland the same sum, South Carolina and Pennsylvania not one farthing. These neglects and disobedience to the Royal mandate is inexcusable." At last however Braddock was started on his march, and on June 6th Dinwiddie wrote to Lord Halifax, "This new country not being used to military operations, and the supply of necessaries for General Braddock's march has greatly retarded him. However the 28th of last month the 1st Division of the Army began their march over the Allegheny mountains, and before this time his whole forces must be on their march, and I heartily wish success to them. I have no doubt of his getting possession of the fort on the Ohio, and that many of the Indians who were seduced by the French will return to the British interests." His hopes rose as Braddock advanced. On July 5th he wrote to Gov. Morris of Pennsylvania that he had sent cannon to Rock Creek to be mounted on the ramparts of Fort Duquesne as soon as Braddock should capture it, and on the 8th, the day before the General's defeat, he told the Assembly in a message that he had great

hopes that Braddock was then in possession of the Fort. The crushing news reached him on the morning of the 14th in a short letter from Colonel James Innis, who commanded at Fort Cumberland, to Lord Fairfax, which the latter inclosed to Dinwiddie. The distress in which he was at first plunged was succeeded by a hope that the account was based upon the story of some fugitive or deserter; this feeling was strengthened as day after day passed and no additional information was received. On the 24th, however, a second express arrived, and the following day he wrote to Sir Thomas Robinson, "Alas! last night I received an account of our defeat, and the enemy being in possession of our train of artillery. The General died like himself, having had five horses shot under him before he dropt. All of the officers and men raised here behaved well, but am sorry to hear the private men of the regulars were seized with a panick run away like sheep." On July 26th he wrote to Colonel Dunbar, who had succeeded Braddock: "The melancholy account of the defeat of our forces under the command of General Braddock gave me a sensible and real concern, and I was the more astonished when I am informed that 300 French and Indians have defeated 1300 British Forces. The officers behaved like Britons with valour and spirit, and sorry I am for the death of the General and the other brave officers that were left to be sacrificed by the dastardly timidity of the private men. The panick they were seized with made them forget their duty and the command of their officers. The consequence was the loss of the battle, the lives of many brave men, and the loss of the train of artillery. Such advantages by so few men is not to be met with in history, and surely must raise a just resentment in the heart of every British subject. Dear Colonel, is there no method left to retrieve the dishonour done to the British arms? As you now command all the forces that remain, are you not able, after a proper refreshment of your men, to make a second attempt to recover the loss we have sustained? You must still have remaining upwards of 1600 men, and I have called the Assembly of this Dominion to meet next Tuesday next come week, when I think I can promise you a reinforcement of at least 400 men. Provisions you cannot want, as Colonel Innis has a large quantity of flour. There is 8 or 9000 barrels of pork and beef at Alexandria, and Beeves can be procured and sent you. You may probably say you want artillery; there are at Winchester four 12 Pounders with all the necessary appurtenances, and the guns on Fort Cumberland may be made Field Pieces; but why cannot we recover the train in the same manner as the enemy took them? You have four months now to come of the best weather in the year for such an expedition. As our forces under General Shirley are marched, and before this I suppose attacked Niagara, and Colonel Johnston, I believe has prevailed with the Six Nations to take up the hatchet against the French, and I suppose that gentleman is gone against Crown Point, which no doubt the forces at Fort Duquesne are apprised of, and naturally will go up the river Ohio to the assistance of these places, and will remain satisfied and secure that no attempt this year will be made on the Ohio. under this your security. what may you not do if you march over the mountains the beginning of September. Your people by that time will be well refreshed, and I hope in high spirits if you can dispel the panick they were at first seized with. What a fine field of honour will Colonel Dunbar have to confirm and establish his character as a brave officer, and what will he have in view to retrieve the loss we sustained the 9th of this month. Recover the train of Artillery and the honour of the British forces. If you cannot attack their fort in form you may be able to besiege them, and by preventing any supplies of provisions starve them out; for I cannot see where they can be supplied. They have none in Canada and the embargo laid on the British Colonies will effectually prevent their supplies. Add to this the ships taken by

Admiral Boscawen that were loaded with all sorts of necessaries, must in my opinion reduce all the French on this continent to great wants. It is my duty to His Majesty, as Governor of this Dominion, to make the above proposal to you, which, if it meets with your approbation, or that of a Council of War, will give me much pleasure. I must entreat you to give me immediate notice of your inclinations, and if you think it eligible to put the above in execution that I may accordingly apply strongly to our Assembly for their concurrence and assistance. No doubt you will see the necessity of keeping your resolutions entirely secret, and I shall wait with great impatience for your answer. I received your letter of the 1st. Your deserters and one of Sir Peter Halket's are in proper confinement, but cannot be maintained at the price you propose, but they are allowed the same as the lowest prisoners, and I wait your further orders what to do with them. It gives me great pleasure that under our great loss and misfortunes that the command devolves on an officer of so great military judgment and well established character. Pray good sir consider seriously the above plans of operations, or any other to protect His Majesty's Colonies, defeat the view of the French and to retrieve the honour of the British arms. I remain, with very sincere respect and hearty wishes of success to all your proceedings, and am, &c. &c."

But this language was lost on such a man as Dunbar. He marched to Philadelphia, and, to use the language of Dinwiddie, "was induced to go into winter quarters in the middle of summer." The greater part of the volume treats of events subsequent to Braddock's defeat, and is full of interest.

The Dinwiddie Papers, it will be remembered, were purchased by Mr. W. W. Corcoran, of Washington, at the sale of the Stevens collection, in London, 1881, and presented to the Virginia Historical Society. How much our citizens, who are interested in historical matters, are indebted to Mr. Corcoran and the Virginia Society for making these papers public can be seen from the extracts we have given from them. They have been printed by the Society, and are sent to its members who pay the annual dues of \$5, and to life members who have paid \$50. This plan has been adopted in the hope that the membership of the Society will be greatly increased thereby, as its publications can only be had by those connected with it. It has already issued the Spottswood Letters (1 vol.), and the Dinwiddie Papers (2 vols.). The second volume of the Spottswood Letters is in press, and it is proposed printing a number of other interesting books. We take pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to the merits of the Society, and trust that its plan of publishing its collections will meet with every success. Nominations for membership should be communicated to Mr. R. A. Brock, Corresponding Secretary and Librarian, Richmond, Va.

**FRIENDS IN BURLINGTON.**—The series of articles which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, under this heading, by Amelia Mott Gummere, has been printed in separate form, with an additional chapter giving a complete list of marriages among Friends in Burlington, from 1678 to 1750. It makes an octavo volume of 100 pages. Copies can be had of Messrs. J. B. Lippincott & Co., of Philadelphia, or R. J. Dutton, Burlington, N. J. Price 75 cts.

**HISTORY OF THE MINNESOTA VALLEY**, including the Explorers and Pioneers of Minnesota; by Rev. Edward D. Neill; and **History of the Sioux Massacre**, by Charles S. Bryant, Minneapolis: North Star Publishing Company, 1882, 4to. 1016 pp.—We have already noticed the first twenty-three chapters of this book (see Vol. V. p. 362), which were issued apart from the work itself,

by the author, the Rev. Edward Duffield Neill. They treat of the Explorers and Pioneers of Minnesota, and are very interesting. There are chapters also which give an outline history of the State; a description of the Geology of the Valley, by Prof. N. H. Winchell; the early history of the same Valley, by Rev. Edward D. Neill; its Chronology, and the history of the Sioux Massacre of 1862. This last subject is treated very fully, eighty pages being devoted to it. The cause of the outbreak is investigated, and all of the heart-rending incidents connected with it graphically narrated. These preliminary chapters are followed by a number of others, each of which is devoted to the history of a county. The organization and early settlement of these are written with apparent care and accuracy, and are severally followed by biographical sketches of the first settlers and prominent citizens of the localities.

We must confess that we are not as a rule kindly disposed to publications of this class. They are evidently manufactured in the interest of the publishers and canvassers, for what can be made out of them; and the vanity of those who are mentioned in them, or that of their descendants, is played upon to float the edition. It is true that by resorting to these measures an encouragement is secured which leads to the publication of some works, which are in part excellent, that would not otherwise appear, but in them historical accuracy is made a secondary consideration. The book must appear as soon as possible after the subscription list is secured, and all doubtful and unpleasant points are passed over or generalized. This of course is not always the case. As in the work before us, so it is in others, some parts are written with great care. This book, indeed, is one of the best of its kind. It is not free from all the faults of its class, but it has none of the cheap illustrations which disfigure so many subscription books—portraits which have been paid for by the persons they represent, and which will never possess the least interest to any one else, now that the engravers and publishers are settled with. It has another advantage over similar works published in Eastern States. The biographies it gives are those of men who settled the country in which they lived, and whose names will always possess an interest to succeeding generations. Probably, all that will be known of many of them in a few short years is what will be found in the History of the Minnesota Valley, and no one will begrudge them this scant measure of fame in return for the services they have rendered. The book is admirably printed, and lest any one should suppose that our criticisms are directed against it, instead of the class to which it belongs, we will add, that, had we seen it before it was sent to us to notice, we should have purchased it.

**MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY.**—Since our last issue we have received the November, December, and January numbers of this Magazine, containing much that will interest both the general reader and the student. Among the more important articles, we note the following, together with several which relate especially to Pennsylvania. In the November number will be found: Unsuccessful Candidates for the Presidency of the Nation (Part I.), by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb; An Old Colonial College (William and Mary), by Prof. Charles F. Richardson; Button Guinnett, by Charles C. Jones, Jr.; California's Golden Prime of Forty-Nine, by Charles Howard Shinn; and Historic Homes (Ochre Point), by Mrs. Wheeler. In the December number we find: Unsuccessful Candidates for the Presidency (Part II.); Significant Beginnings out West, by the Rev. William Barrows, D.D.; Zamba's Plot, a Chapter in the History of New Orleans, by Charles Dimitry; Tom the Tinker in History, by H. G. Cutler; Colonial County Government in Virginia, by Edward Ingle; Political Americanisms (Part I.), by Charles Led-

yard Norton. In the January number we find: **The Manor of Gardiner's Island**, by Mrs. Lamb; **Count de Vergennes**, by Hon. John Jay; **Puritanism in New York**, by Rev. Charles A. Briggs, D.D.; **Building of the Monitor**, by Rev. Francis B. Wheeler, D.D.; **First Aerial Voyage Across the English Channel** (Diary of Dr. John Jeffries the Aeronaut), by B. Joy Jeffries, M.D. Each of the above numbers contains departments devoted to Original Documents, Notes and Queries, and the Proceedings of Societies. We regret that our space will not permit us to give more extended notices of the articles named.

**A CURIOUS NEW JERSEY DOCUMENT OF 1707.**—Some years ago Judge John Clement of Haddonfield published the following curious paper in the *Beverly Banner*. As it seems worthy of a more permanent form we reprint it.

We lay before our readers to-day a curious document found among the old records in the office of the Secretary of State at Trenton, New Jersey, and as it relates to the township of Chester, and perhaps to this particular neighborhood, will be read with interest. Thomas French and John Hollinshead, the Overseers of the Poor, and Robert Wheeler, John Ruderroe and William Heulings, the Justices of the Peace, were the ancestors of many hereabouts at this day, and names which have been familiar in the county of Burlington since the first settlement by English emigrants. It reads as follows:—

“Richard Ingoldesby, esquire, Lieutenant Governor of her Majesty's Province of New Jersey, New York, etc.

“To all Christian people by whom these presents shall come or may concern. Greeting: Whereas, to certificate made under the oaths and attestations of Thomas French and John Hollingshead, overseers of the poor, for the township of Chester in the County of Burlington, and other sufficient inhabitants of the said County taken before Theo. Revell, J. Bass, Robert Wheeler, John Ruderroe, and Wm. Heulings, justices of the peace for the County of Burlington that Francis Lee a lame and infirme man hath lately mett with a very great loss by fire having his house burnt down and all his clothes, tooles, provisions and household goods burnt and destroyed to the value of £90 and upwards, and it likewise appearing that the said Francis Lee without the charitable contributions of pious and well disposed Christians must of necessity fall to intolerable poverty and ruin. These therefore out of a tender compassion of his sufferings and loss. We consent and doe by these presents grant unto the said Francis Lee, leave lycense and authority to aske, collect and receive for his own use all such sum or sums of money or other things as shall be by any charitable Christians given him toward the repairing of his loss, and I doe likewise earnestly recommend to them the commiseration of the said Francis Lee as an offering highly acceptable to Almighty God hereby requiring and commanding all orthodox ministers or teachers in the severall churches or other religious societies in this province that they assist the said Francis Lee by exhorting and stirring up these and those to soe good and pious a work, and all church wardens are hereby required and commanded to make collections for him the said Francis Lee.

“Given under my hand and seale at Burlington this fifth day of October in the fifth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Anne by the grace of God, of England, Holland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith. Anno Dom. 1707.”

The motive that suggested this paper was a commendable one, but seems a strange proceeding on the part of the Lieutenant Governor, unless the sufferer named had some especial claim upon the people. The only expla

nation that can be offered, and that a doubtful one, is that Francis Lee was or had been a minister in the Church of England, and settled himself there to promulgate its doctrines and increase its adherents.

The known hostility of Lord Cornbury, the Governor, and also of Richard Ingoldsby, his Lieutenant, to the Society of Friends, was carried to great extremes in the province, and was the cause of much trouble in the execution of the laws and in the administration of justice. The return of George Keith to the Colonies, under the patronage of the Society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts, after his separation from the Society of Friends and his preaching among the people, made serious inroads to that religious body, drawing away many influential families to the Episcopal church, among which were those of Thomas French, John Hollinshead, John Ruderroe and William Heulings, and whose names are connected with this document.

If this theory be the correct one, and Francis Lee had given his best energies to the cause, and lost all his worldly goods by the flames, then the Lieutenant Governor, very naturally, would appreciate his position and exhort all "charitable Christians" and call upon all "orthodox ministers and church wardens" to assist him in his extremity.

But who was Francis Lee, who so exercised the sympathy of the Executive, and where did he reside in Chester township in 1707, is a natural inquiry. The log meeting house of the Chester Friends had been already built and a few families settled about it, which settlement afterwards grew into Moorestown, and was he among them? Or did he reside with the Swedish settlers already along the river front north of the mouth of Pensaukin Creek, whose form of religious worship was not unlike that of the established church, and by which it was eventually absorbed? He had "provisions and household goods," also "tooles," significant terms in this connection, and showing he was the head of a family, and attending to his clerical duties.

Be he who he may, his misfortune attracted the attention of the best citizens in this section of the county, and much pains was taken to replace his lost "clothes, tooles, provisions and household goods."

**EARLY GLASS MANUFACTURING IN PENNSYLVANIA.**—In connection with the note given on page 339 of the present volume of the *MAGAZINE* regarding the arrival of Joshua Tittery in 1682, a "broad glass-maker," who appears to have entered into a contract with the Free Society of Traders, to work for them for four years, and who was possibly the first of that trade who proposed to work at it in America. The following extract from the Records of the Society of Friends in Philadelphia is interesting:—

"3. 4. 1685. Joshua Jenery, a glass blower, belonging to the Society, complains that they deny him his wages."

The names are sufficiently similar to render it almost certain that they refer to the same person, and the error in recording them has resulted from a difference of taste on the part of the clerks who kept the Registry of Arrivals and the Friends' Records. The Society mentioned in the above extract was the Free Society of Traders. Many of its members belonged to the Society of Friends, and consequently the attention of the meeting was called to the breach of contract.

C. R.

**CORRECTIONS.**—Some years ago our valued correspondent Gilbert Cope of West Chester made a careful copy of the List of Arrivals at Philadelphia, 1682-1687, printed in our last issue (page 328). He has called our atten-

tion to several differences between his copy and the printed one, and in the light his letter throws upon the original we can see that in several cases his reading is the correct one. In some, however, it is simply a matter of opinion how the chirography should be deciphered.

The following corrections should, without doubt, be made: On p. 330, third line for Beliteg read Beliteo. Same page, twenty-eighth line for Nixon read Nickson. The sixth son of John Nickson, it is probable, should be Shedrick and not Fredrick; the manuscript reads either way. On page 330, thirty-second line, and page 331, ninth line, the name Clone appears. The manuscript can be read Clous, Clows, Clowe, or Clone. It is probable that in all cases it was the intention to write Clous, as that name has been preserved. The wife of John Clous (p. 330) was Margery not Mary. On page 331, line twenty-six for Agnistan read Agniscan. On page 334 for Rothford and Rutherford read Rochford.

The article on page 300 is by Mr. Scull, not Skull.

On page 350, lines thirty and thirty-four, for Moore read Moor, and on line thirty-eight, same page, for Kern read Kerl.

**MARYLAND ARCHIVES.**—We welcome with pleasure the second volume of this series which contains the Proceedings and Acts of the Assembly of Maryland from 1666 to 1676. It will be remembered that the printing of these volumes is the result of the exertion of the Maryland Historical Society to rescue what remains of the Archives of that State in public offices from the depleting influence of time and chance custodians, as well as to gather from other sources whatever will tend to restore the completeness of the records. In this matter they have been aided by the State Legislature, who temporarily placed the papers in the public offices, in the keeping of the Society, and appropriated money for copying and printing.

The committee of the Society having charge of this matter say in their report that since the publication of the Calendar of manuscripts which appeared in the first volume they have obtained from Spencer C. Jones, Esq., Clerk of the Court of Appeals, a book containing the laws passed at the sessions of 1678, 1680, 1682, 1683, 1684, 1686, and 1688, which were not elsewhere obtainable so far as now known. From Mr. W. Noel Sainsbury the committee continue to receive transcripts of papers from the Public Record Office, and from the Journals of the House of Lords. He has also brought to its notice a Council book in the Record Office, covering the dates from 1680 to April, 1689, thus partly supplying the large gap from 1674 to 1692 in that department of Maryland Archives. It is with regret that we learn that the "two considerable chests marked Calvert Papers," which Dr. John Henry Alexander saw in the British Museum in 1839, have not been found. In all other respects the work is progressing most favorably. The editor, Dr. Wm. Hand Browne, informs us that the next volume will contain the earliest Council Proceedings. He also says, from investigations made he is satisfied that no sessions of the Assembly were held between 1666 and 1669. Any one who has attempted to grope in the darkness which is sure to surround the history of a colony, when its laws are unaccessible, will appreciate the work which has engaged the attention of the Maryland Historical Society, and we heartily congratulate it upon the excellence with which Dr. Browne, the editor, and Mr. J. W. M. Lee, its Librarian, perform their labor.

Copies of the volume can be had from the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md. It is sold at actual cost, and the money received is added to the fund for the publication of other volumes. The price is \$2.50; postage 26 cents. In cloth, \$3.00; postage 34 cents.

### Queries.

WILSON, WATSON, DUER, CUTLER, WILCOX, JENKINS, ROBINSON.—*Information is desired respecting the following named persons:—*

*Elizabeth Wilson*, who, 7th mo. 1706, married William Buckman, of Bucks Co., and afterwards, 1st mo. 1718, married Thomas Story of the same place. When was she born? Who were her parents, and when did the family come to Pennsylvania? What other children were there?

*Mary Watson*, who, 2d mo. 1711, married William Paxson, of Bucks Co. The same particulars desired in regard to her and her family.

*Elizabeth Duer*, who, 3d mo. 13th, 1740, married William Pearson, of Bucks Co. The same particulars desired in regard to her and her family.

*Thomas Cutler*, son of Edmund and Isabel Cutler, of Bucks Co., was married 11th mo. 7th, 1713, as per Middletown Meeting records, but the name of his wife not given. Who was she?

*Barnabas Wilcox*, who came to Philadelphia very soon after its settlement. What is known of him and his family? Who was his wife, and what children had they?

*William and Elizabeth Jenkins*, of Haverford, Penna., whose daughter Margaret married Thomas Paschall, Jr., 9th mo. 15th, 1692. What is known of them, and where did they come from?

*Sarah Robinson*, who, 3d mo. 30th, 1723, married Jonathan Miffin, of Philadelphia. Who were her parents, and when did the family come to Pennsylvania?  
W. H. J.

CARVED CHESTS.—There is in the Museum of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania an ancient chest 4 feet long, 23 inches high, and 21 inches wide. It is such an one as early emigrants to America frequently brought with them from their homes in Europe to convey their personal effects. It differs from several others in the same collection which were used for a like purpose in being carved—not elaborately, but sufficiently to show that the person who made it was possessed of considerable skill. A gentleman who lately visited the Society and saw it is anxious to know if such chests (carved ones) are often found in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, and if so, in what localities. If they are in the possession of the descendants of those who brought them over, from what part of Europe did their ancestors come?  
I. W. L.

ARMS OF MASSACHUSETTS COLONY, 1672.—Will "THE PENNA. MAGAZINE" please answer, among "Notes and Queries," what were the Colony Arms of "the Massachusetts Colony" in 1672, and oblige an  
IGNORAMUS.

VALLEY FORGE.—In a cornfield S. E. by E., and at a distance of three or four hundred yards from the site of the "Star Redoubt," Valley Forge, there is a grave with J. W. on the headstone. Can you give me its history?  
1778.

As there must have been considerable mortality at Valley Forge, where were the Continental dead buried?

Respectfully,

CHARLES HARROD VINTON.

PENNSYLVANIA NEWSPAPERS.—What newspapers were published in Pennsylvania between 1750 and 1790?  
M. L. M.



**Replies.**

**WILLIAM POWELL** (Vol. VII. p. 495; Vol. VIII. p. 120).—In a very interesting account of Samuel Powell by Mr. P. S. P. Conner, published in the March number of your Magazine, I notice a slight error in the date of the death of his father, William Powell.

The original purchase of land made by William Powell, which Mr. Conner names, was principally located on the west bank of the Schuylkill River, opposite what was afterwards known as the Spring Garden District of Philadelphia. In the year 1692 he started a ferry from his house on the west bank of the Schuylkill for the accommodation of persons living in the country back of him. The ferry, however, being deemed an infringement of the privileges of Philip England, who had previously established one a short distance below, a complaint was made during the following year, and William Powell summoned to appear before the Governor and Council, who restrained him from continuing his ferry. In the year 1695, however, the Assembly granted him permission to establish a ferry from his house on the west side of the Schuylkill, which was afterwards known as the Upper Ferry.

William Powell had four children, of whom we have note: John (who in 1706 is spoken of as keeping the Upper Ferry), Elizabeth, Samuel, and William. William Powell died 2d mo. 30th, 1721. His son William died in 1735, the date given by Mr. Conner.

W. H. J.

**ARMS OF MASSACHUSETTS IN 1672** (Vol. VIII. p. 441).—The Arms inquired for are probably those printed on the title-page of Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England, and edited by Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, M.D., *Boston*, 1854. The work can be consulted in any of our libraries. Some of the readers of the Magazine, however, may be able to refer to a more elaborate drawing.

F. D. S.

**WAYNE** (Vol. VIII. p. 351).—General Wayne's grandfather, Anthony Wayne, of Yorkshire, commanded a squadron of dragoons under King William at the battle of the Boyne, and came to Pennsylvania in 1722.

Allegheny, Pa., Nov. 7, 1884.

I. C.

MEETINGS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF  
PENNSYLVANIA, 1884.

The usual stated meeting was not held in November, 1883, owing to the fact that the Society was in process of moving from its Old Hall on the grounds of the Pennsylvania Hospital, No. 820 Spruce Street, to the southwest corner of Locust and Thirteenth Streets.

A stated meeting of the Society was held on the evening of Monday, January 14, 1884, at its New Hall, No. 1300 Locust Street, Vice-President George de B. Keim in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The Chairman announced the sad loss which the Society had just met with in the death on the 12th inst. of its honored and much-esteemed President, John William Wallace, LL.D.

The Resolutions which were then offered and an account of the proceedings of the Society will be found on page ix.

The Society adjourned to meet on January 21st, at 8 P. M.

An adjourned meeting of the Society was held on the evening of January 21, 1884, Vice-President Horatio Gates Jones in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The following communication from the Council of the Society was read:—

At a meeting of the Council of the Historical Society, held this day, upon motion, it was resolved, that, in view of the business exigencies of the Society, the Council recommend the Society to elect a President to fill the unexpired term of the late John William Wallace, at the meeting of the Society this evening.

GREGORY B. KEEN,

PHILA., Jan. 21, 1884.

*Secretary of the Council.*

On motion of Mr. Francis S. Hoffman, it was resolved that the meeting proceed to the election of a President for the unexpired term of the late John William Wallace. Mr. John Jordan, Jr., then nominated Brinton Coxe, Esq. This was seconded by Mr. Charles Hare Hutchinson, and Mr. Coxe was unanimously chosen to fill the vacancy in the office of President caused by the death of Mr. Wallace.

The meeting then adjourned.

A stated meeting of the Society was held on the evening of March 10, the President Brinton Coxe, Esq., in the chair.

The minutes of the last two meetings were read and approved.

444 *Proceedings of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.*

The Secretary read a letter from Mr. Coxe accepting the office of President of the Society for the unexpired term of the late Mr. Wallace.

The Nominations for Officers and Members of Council, to be balloted for at the annual meeting of the Society to be held in May, being in order, Mr. Charles R. Hildeburn nominated the following gentlemen:—

*President.*

Brinton Coxe.

*Vice-Presidents* (to serve for three years).

John Jordan, Jr.,

William M. Darlington.

*Corresponding Secretary.*

Gregory B. Keen.

*Recording Secretary.*

William Brooke Rawle.

*Treasurer.*

J. Edward Carpenter.

*Council* (to serve for four years).

Oswald Seidensticker,

John C. Browne,

William G. Thomas.

Mr. Hildeburn also nominated, as

*Trustee of the Publication Fund,*

Charles Hare Hutchinson.

The President named the following Tellers to conduct the Election: Charles R. Hildeburn, Frederick D. Stone, John J. Thompson, and Townsend Ward.

Mr. Stone, the Librarian, announced that the formal opening of the New Hall would take place on Tuesday evening, March 18, and moved that when this meeting adjourns it will be to meet on that evening, which motion was put and passed in the affirmative.

The meeting then adjourned.

[The Proceedings at the adjourned meeting held March 18th will be found on page 184.]

A special meeting of the Society was held on the evening of April 8, 1884, the President, Brinton Coxe, Esq., in the chair.

The reading of the minutes was, on motion, dispensed with.

The President introduced Mr. Charles G. Leland, who read a paper on the "Traditions of the Northeastern Algonquin Indians."

On motion of the Hon. William S. Pierce, the thanks of the Society were tendered to Mr. Leland for his interesting and instructive address.

*Proceedings of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.* 445

A stated meeting of the Society was held on the evening of May 5th, the President, Brinton Coxe, Esq., in the chair.

The minutes of the last stated meeting and of the subsequent meetings were read and approved.

"A Biographical Sketch of Daniel Hyacinthe Marie Léonard de Beaujeu, Commander of the French Forces at Braddock's Defeat," by Dr. John Gilmary Shea, was, in the absence of the writer on account of illness, read by Prof. Gregory B. Keen (see p. 121).

The Report of the Council for the year 1883 was then read by the Secretary.

The Tellers to conduct the Annual Election reported that all the gentlemen nominated at the last meeting had been unanimately elected.

A stated meeting of the Society was held on the evening of November 10, 1884, Vice-President Jones in the chair.

Upon motion, the reading of the minutes was dispensed with.

The Chairman introduced Henry Flanders, Esq., who read an address in honor of John William Wallace, late President of the Society.

[The Proceedings of the Society upon this occasion and the Address will be found on page xi. *et sequentia.*]

**OFFICERS**  
**OF**  
**THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.**

---

**PRESIDENT.**

**BRINTON COXE.**

**VICE-PRESIDENTS.**

<b>CRAIG BIDDLE,</b>	<b>GEORGE DE B. KEIM,</b>
<b>AUBREY H. SMITH,</b>	<b>JOHN JORDAN, JR.,</b>
<b>HORATIO GATES JONES,</b>	<b>WILLIAM M. DARLINGTON.</b>

**CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.**

**GREGORY B. KEEN.**

**RECORDING SECRETARY.**

**WILLIAM BROOKE RAWLE.**

**TREASURER.**

**J. EDWARD CARPENTER.**

**LIBRARIAN.**

**FREDERICK D. STONE.**

**SECRETARY OF THE PUBLICATION FUND.**

**TOWNSEND WARD.**

**COUNCIL.**

<b>CHARLES ROBERTS,</b>	<b>RICHARD L. NICHOLSON,</b>
<b>JOHN B. GEST,</b>	<b>JAMES T. MITCHELL,</b>
<b>JOHN JORDAN, JR.,</b>	<b>GEORGE HARRISON FISHER,</b>
<b>SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER,</b>	<b>EDWIN T. EISENBREY,</b>
<b>OSWALD SEIDENSTICKER,</b>	<b>WILLIAM G. THOMAS.</b>
<b>JOHN C. BROWNE,</b>	

( 446 )

TRUSTEES OF THE PUBLICATION, BINDING, AND  
BUILDING FUNDS.

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FAIRMAN ROGERS,                      CHARLES HARE HUTCHINSON.

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GEORGE DE B. KEIM,                      JOHN JORDAN, JR.,  
BRINTON COXE.

---

STATED MEETINGS.

March 10, 1884.                                      November 10, 1884.  
May 5, 1884.    January 12, 1885.

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Annual membership . . . . .	\$5.00
Life membership . . . . .	50.00
Publication Fund, life subscription . . . . .	25.00
Pennsylvania Magazine, per annum . . . . .	3.00

Payment may be made to the Librarian or Secretary, at the Hall, 1300  
Locust Street, or to the Collector.

EXTRACT OF THE REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE  
TO COUNCIL.

---

STATEMENT OF FINANCES, December 31, 1883.

Investment account . . . . .	\$57,721 78	
Cash account . . . . .	\$2,523 22	
“ “ . . . . .	22,496 65	25,019 87
From sale of Building Fund Securities,		
Cash . . . . .		\$22,496 65
Publication Fund, Capital Invested	30,596 78	
“ “ “ Cash . . . . .	890 47	31,487 25
“ “ Interest, Cash . . . . .		931 35
Binding Fund, Capital Invested . . . . .		3,300 00
“ “ Interest, Cash . . . . .		178 82
Library Fund, Capital Invested (Dr. to Endowment Fund, \$145.50) . . . . .		4,900 00
Library Fund, Interest, Cash . . . . .		02
Endowment Fund, Capital Invested	8,270 00	
“ “ Cash . . . . .	449 17	
“ “ Loan to Library Fund	145 50	8,864 67
General Fund, Capital Invested . . . . .		10,655 00
“ “ Interest, Cash . . . . .		73 39
		<u>\$82,887 15</u>
Less amount due Endowment Fund from Library Fund . . . . .		145 50
	<u>\$82,741 65</u>	<u>\$82,741 65</u>

In the operation of the General Fund of the Society for the year 1883,  
there were—

Received Balance from 1882 . . . . .	\$33 18
“ Annual Dues, 1883 . . . . .	3873 00
“ Interest . . . . .	460 00
“ Rent . . . . .	219 35
“ Dividends, etc. . . . .	55 00
	<u>\$4640 53</u>
Expenditures . . . . .	4567 14
	<u>\$73 39</u>
Balance, December 31, 1883 . . . . .	\$73 39

The account of the receipts and expenditures for the purchase and building of the New Hall, No. 1300 Locust Street, appear in the statement for 1884.

## INDEX.

(Names of persons of value in genealogical research are printed in SMALL CAPITALS;  
names of places in *Italics*.)

- Aboriginal American Authors and their Production, by Danl. G. Brinton, review of, 230
- Acrelius, errors of, corrected, 19, 27, 244; cited, 157
- Acton, Ben., arrives in Penna., 335
- Adams, John Q., 217, 221
- Agnew, General, 223
- Agnews, The, of New York, mentioned, 314
- Ahepameck, 135, 136
- Alderson, Harrison, 173
- Alferry, Thomas, arrives in Pa., 337
- Alison, Francis, D.D., Vice-Provost of College of Philadelphia, now University of Pennsylvania, 45; pupils of, 46, 47
- Allan, David, Commissioner from the American Company of Farmers in Scotland, 322
- Allegheny Creek*, 57, 67
- Allen, Col. Ethan, Green Mountain Boys under, 364, 366; mentioned, 368, 373; John, 260; William, Jr., 260; William (C. J.), 287, 407, 408, 410, 411, 412
- Allentown, Pa.*, ancient bell found at, 428
- ALLINSON, 15**
- Allinson, David, 173; James, 173; Margaret, 173; Mary, 171; Samuel, Trustee of Friends' School in Burlington, 165, 166; William, 170, 173; William J., 4, 14, 173
- Allmans, Edmund, 268
- Almond, William, 283
- Almy, Brown & Slater, cotton manufacturers, 378
- Alvena*, 242
- Alvis, 370
- "America Illuminata," 246
- "America, The," arrives in Pa. from London, 339
- American, Company of, Farmers in Scotland, 322, 325; Magazine, 48; subscribers to, 49; Museum, published by Mathew Carey, 49
- "Amity, The," arrives in Pa., 340
- Amity Township, Berks Co.*, a Swedish settlement, 56
- Amundsson, Hans, 28, 29, 30, 31, 41, 136, 137; dies, 139; commandant of the eighth Swedish expedition to New Sweden, 107
- Anckarhjelm, Admiral Thiessen, 129, 138, 159
- André, Major, 307; books taken from the library of Dr. Franklin by, 430
- Andrews, Peter, 8
- Annes, Mrs., of Burlington, 264
- "Antelope, The," arrives at Philada., 329
- Antietam Creek, Berks Co., Pa.*, 75
- Appachahackingh*, 34
- Appelbom, 247, 248, 249, 250
- Aquilera, Don Diego, 139
- Aratts, Leonard, and wife, arrive in Pa., 331
- Arbo, John, 118
- Arkwright's spinning machinery, brass model of, confiscated, 377
- Armand, Colonel, anecdote regarding, by Dr. Max. Lortzing, 229
- Armes, Thos., arrives in Pa., 332
- Armitage, Sarah, information wanted regarding the parents and children of, 231
- Armstrong, Sergeant, 370
- Arnold, General, 306, 307, 308, 309; Regimental Memorandum Book, 303; Thomas, captain of "The Jeffries," 329; arrivals at Philadelphia, list of, 328; corrections in, 439
- Arunameck*, 136
- Ashbridge, George, 411
- Ashbrooke, Jno., arrived in Pa., 329
- Aspinwall, William, 342
- Assiscunk Creek*, 1
- Association Battery, location of, 211
- Athanase of Lorette, 125
- Atherly, Henry, arrived in Penna., 329
- Atkinson, Edward, quoted, 386
- Atkinson, James, arrived in Pa., 329



- Attwood, William, 59, 63  
 Atwood, Anthony, wharf of, mentioned, 211  
 AUBREY, William, 356  
 Auger-hole, description of, in house of Margaret Morris, 164  
 Ax, John Frederick, Upper Germantown Burying-ground, in charge of, 416  
 Ax's burying-ground same as Upper Germantown Burying-ground, 416  
 Ayres, Obadiah, 12  
  
 Bailey, Joseph, 63  
 Baird [Burd], Colonel, 223  
 Baker, Henry, and family, arrive in Pa., 333; Juliana Rawlins, 361  
 BAKER, William, 361  
*Bala*, 177  
 Ball, John, arrives in Pa., 333  
 Bamford, Joseph, 378  
 Banbury, James, arrives in Pa., 337  
 Bank of North America, 343; of United States, 343  
 Banton [Baynton], John, 410  
 Barclay, Mr., 296  
 BARDE, John Louis, 64  
 Barker, Abigail, 173; Joshua, 5  
 Bärnerd, Lady, 356  
 Barney, Mr., mentioned in letter of Robert Morris, 431  
 Baron, Father Denys, Chaplain at Fort Du Quesne in 1755, 125, 127  
 Barré, Mademoiselle, 229  
 Barrow, Rebecca, arrives in Pa., 333  
*Baskinridge*, 258  
 Bassley, John, 175  
 Bates, Thomas, arrives in Pa., 336  
 Bayard, Col. John, pupil of Francis Alison, 46  
 Baynton, see Banton.  
 Beardslay, Alexander and family, arrive in Pa., 333  
 Beaujeu, Daniel Hyacinth Mary Liénard de, sketch of, by John Gilmary Shea, 121  
 Beazars, John, 350  
 Bechtel, Abraham B., 67  
 Bechtelsville furnace, 77  
 Becket, Mary, arrives in Pa., 333  
 Bedford, Joseph, 258; Peter, 272  
*Bedford, Pa.*, 303, 304  
 Beef-Steak Club of London mentioned, 203  
 Beliteg, Pasco, arrived in Pa., 330  
 Bells, Independence, Christ Church, and other, something about, 428  
 Beltshire, John, arrives in Pa., 337  
 Bengtsson, Anders, 159  
*Berks Co., Pa.*, early furnaces and forges in, 56; formation of, 57; industries in, 78; iron works in, 81  
 Berkshire furnace, 58, 62, 73  
 Bertollette, Dr. David K., 66; J. S., 66, 80  
 Bestitraser, Richard, arrives in Pa., 339  
 Bethlehem Water Works, 118  
 Beyer, Postmaster, 38  
 Bible, proposals for printing it at Burlington in 1789, 169  
 Biddle, C. C., 385  
 Biever, Abraham, 71  
 Bigelow, Capt. John, 376  
 Billig, Arnold, 74  
*Billingsport*, fort to be built at, in 1776, 213  
 Bingham, Lieut. Wm., 211  
 Binke, Sarah, arrives in Pa., 337  
 BINNEY, Horace, xvii.; sketch of his sister, Mrs. Wallace, xviii., xix.; Susan married to J. B. Wallace, xvii.  
 Bird, James, 60; Mark, 60, 64, 66, 67; Mary, 60; William, 60, 62, 63, 65  
 Birdsboro' forge, 80  
 Blackfern, E., 366  
 Blackwell, John, arms used by, 348  
 Blair, Mr., 113  
 Blake, Edward, 83  
 Bloom forge, 77  
 Blundin, Richard, 283  
 Bock, Peter, 36  
 Bockhorn, Johan, commander of "Ornen," 40, 130, 135  
*Bœuf*, Fort de la Rivière, 124  
 BOGARDUS, 306  
 Bogert, Henry J., 370  
*Bombay Hook*, 34  
 Bomeisler, Louis, 232  
 Bond, Drs. Thomas and Phineas, information wanted concerning personal history of, 351  
 Bonde, Krister, 42  
 Bonifoye, David, arrives in Pa., 338  
 BONTJAL, 301  
 Books distributed among Quaker meetings of New Jersey, 8  
*Boontien's Huk*, 35  
 Boone, George, 59, 63  
 Booth, Deborah, arrives in Pa., 333  
 Boquet, Henry, 301; papers of, on American affairs, left to Wm. Halldimand, 302  
*Bordentown*, 260  
*Boule Hill*, 272  
 BOWATER, 119  
 Bowes, Mr., 266  
 Boweter, Tho., arrives in Pa., 333  
 Bowman, John, commander of The Margaret, from London, arrived in Pa., 330  
 Bowne, George, trustee of Friends' School in Burlington, 165; made clerk of, 166  
 Bradbury, Theophilus, letter from, to his daughter Harriet, 226  
 Braddock, Gen. Edward, 124  
 Bradford, collection of MSS. quoted, 51

- Bradford, Andrew, 51; Cornelius, 112, 113; William, first printer of the Middle Colonies, address on, by J. W. Wallace, mentioned xxxiii.; mentioned, 48, 49, 51, 52, 112, 113, 116, 258, 283; Col. William, notice of sketches of, by John Wm. Wallace, xiv., xxxix.
- Bradshaw, Lemuel, arrives in Pa., 335
- Bradwell, Mary, Mary, Jr., and Sarah, arrive in Pa., 338
- Brandmiller, Rev. John, 108
- Bridgeman, Richard, commander of the "Francis and Dorothy," 337
- Brinton, Daniel G., review of Aboriginal American Authors, etc., by, 230
- Briscoe, Dr. John, subscriber to the American Magazine, 49
- Bristol Township*, Phila. Co., tax list of, in 1693, 98
- Bristol*, news of battle of Trenton reached, 259
- Brobst's forge, 70, 74; Michael, 74; John, 74
- Broen, Thomas, 26
- Brogden, H. H., letter from, to T. Ward, 203
- Bromley, Sergeant, 201
- Brooke Iron Co. instituted, 64
- Brooke, M., heirs of, owners of Birdsboro' forge, 80; Matthew, Jr., 61, 64; Thomas, 61
- Brookesby, Isa., arrived in Pa., 331
- Brown, 257; Capt., behavior of, at Lanington, 274; mentioned, 372, 375; Jonathan arrives at Ticonderoga, 367, 368; Moses, 162; Mrs. Polly, of Trenton, 263
- BROWN, Wm., 119
- Browne, Dan., arrived in Pa., 331
- Bryan, Robt., arrived in Pa., 331
- Buck, William J., contribution of, 430
- Buckley & Brooke, 79
- Buckley, Daniel, 61; Edward, 64; Edward S., 61; George, 64
- BUCKMAN, William, 441
- Bucks County*, iron-works in, 81; extent of, in 1693, 84; rate of taxes, 83
- Buell, Capt., 374
- Bull, Capt., 369; Thomas, 67, 71, 72
- Buller, Judith and Sarah, arrive in Pa., 333
- Bullock, J., 169; Joseph, 271, 273; Mrs., 264
- Burd, Col., *see* Baird.
- Burgoyne, General, 224, 225
- Burke, Thomas, arrives in Pa., 337
- Burkhart's forge, 70, 75; Samuel, 75
- Burlington*, 1; Friends in, 3, 160; Friends' School in, established, 165; Meeting, 8, 160, 161, 169
- Burr, Aaron, 217; Joseph, 5, 8
- Burton, Benjamin, 53
- Bush, Maj. marches into Trenton, 397
- Butcher, Margaret, 8
- BUTE, John, Earl of, 354
- Butler, John, 378; Capt. Peter, a subscriber to the American Magazine, 49; Col. Richard, letter of, to Gen. Wm. Irvine, 117
- Butterfield, 368
- Byberry*, Phila. Co., tax list of, 100
- Cadwalader, John, 201, 256, 393, 396, 397, 399, 400
- Caldwell, George, 261; J. (S. ?), 399; Samuel, 261
- Cales, Aolce, arrives in Pa., 335
- Calico-printing works established by John Hewson, 298
- Callowhill, Hannah, copy of Penn's Travels presented to her by the author, 355
- Calvet, Monsieur du, 307, 309
- CAMAC, Turner, 298, 379
- Camac, Dr. William, 204; owner of unpublished letter of Wm. Penn, 429
- Cammerhoff, Bishop, quoted, 429
- Campanius, Johan, consecrates the first Swedish church, 18; despatched as messenger to Hudde, 19; returns to Sweden, 22; cited, 157; mentioned, 245
- Campbell, Lord Chief Justice, xxvi., 260
- Candy, Tho., arrives in Pa., 333
- Cannon balls manufactured in Berks Co. during the Revolution, 62
- Cantrell, Mary, arrives in Pa., 337
- Carey, John, of Fredericktown, subscriber to the American Magazine, 49; Mathew, publisher of American Museum, 49; mentioned, 385
- Carlisle, Earl of, xxvii.
- Carlson criticized, 247
- Carlton, Sir Guy, Governor of Canada, 112; mentioned, 371
- Carpenter, Samuel, 105, 174, 283, 377
- Carqueville, Lieut. de, burial of, 127
- Carson, Hampton L., speech of, at opening of new Hall of Hist. Soc. of Pa., 193; contribution of, of reminiscence of Samuel Humphreys, 216
- Carter, Thomas, and family, arrive in Pa., 337; William, arrives in Pa., 333
- Case, Joseph and Thomas, arrive in Pa., 337
- Caseau, Monsieur, 307
- Cash, Abraham, 404, 405; Andrew D., 232; Ann, 405; Benjamin, 405; Caleb, 405, 406; Isaac, 404, 405; Mary, 406; Thomas, 405
- Casimir*, fort built, 34; becomes centre of Dutch power, 36; mentioned, 30, 131, 140, 141, 149, 151, 158, 242, 251; taken by the Swedes and named Fort Trinity, 132, 133; Dutch commandant at, 131, 133, 142
- Cassel, Johannes, and his five children, arrive in Pa., 329

- Cathcart, Lord, 224  
 Cathrall, Edward, 10  
 CHAILLET, Esther, 301  
*Chambly*, 369  
 Channon, Joseph, in charge of Ax's burying-ground, 421  
 Chapline, Joseph, subscriber to the *American Magazine*, 49  
 "Charles, The," arrives at Phila., 337  
 Charles X., King of Sweden, 142, 143, 155; XI., King of Sweden, 245, 246; XII., King of Sweden, 247  
 Charlesworth, Jo., arrived in Pa., 331  
 Charley, Joseph, arrived in Pa., 330  
*Charlottesville*, 117  
 Charlton, Arthur and John, subscribers to the *American Magazine*, 49  
 CHARLY, de, 128  
 Charming forge, 58, 68, 69, 78, 80  
 Chart, Jane, Jane, Jr., Joshua, and Sam. arrive in Pa., 338  
*Chatamtown*, 272  
 CHATTON, 173; Bernice, 15  
*Cheltenham*, Philada. Co., tax list of, in 1693, 97  
*Chester County*, iron works in, 81; extent of, in 1693, 84; rate of taxes, 84  
*Chesterfield Friends* mentioned, 167  
 Chests, carved, inquiry regarding, 441  
 Chew, Benjamin, 211, 346  
 Chorley's House, information wanted and given concerning the, 232  
 Christiansen, Hans Christopher, builder and planner of the Bethlehem Water Works, 118  
 Christina, Queen of Sweden, 17, 28, 37, 38, 40, 41  
*Christina*, 242, 246, 251; Creek, 149, 150; fort, 18, 34, 131, 133, 134, 135, 146, 147, 148, 151, 156; drawing of, 150; surrendered to the Dutch, 152, 153, 154  
*Christinuhann*, 134, 150  
 Christopher, Nathaniel, arrives in Pa., 339  
 Christophers, Nat., tax collector for Plymouth Township, 100  
 CLARK, 119  
 Clark, Major, marches into Trenton, 397  
 Clarke, Benjamin, 293; Ellis, 293; Ephraim, clock and watch store of, 293  
*Clarksville*, 261  
 Claryd, John, 114  
 Clavering, Lady, xxvii.  
 Clay, Henry, xxvi.  
 Claypoole, James, Sr., 329; James and family, arrive in Pa., 331; John, 105  
 Clement, Judge John, a curious New Jersey document, 438  
 Clews, Patience, 10  
 Clift, Ben., arrives in Pa., 335  
 Clingan, Dr. Charles, 61  
 Clinton, Sir Henry, extracts of letters from Gov.-Genl. Haldimand to, 306, 307, 308, 309; from, to Genl. Haldimand, 308  
 Clone, John, and family, arrive in Pa., 330; Richard, arrived in Pa., 331  
 Clous, John, arrived in Pa., 331  
 Clymer Iron Co., 61  
*Cobb's Creek*, 17  
 Cochrane, Dr. John, pupil of Francis Alison, 46  
 Cock, Moens, 284; Peter, tax collector in 1693, 102  
 Cocker, John, arrives in Pa., 339  
*Cod, Cape*, 25  
 Coed-y-foel, farm of Edward Foulke, 177  
 Coffin, Jacob, arrives in Pa., 339  
*Cohocksink Creek*, 480  
 Cohoquinaque Creek, 281  
 Cole, Edward, Jr., arrives in Pa., 331  
 Colebrookdale furnace, 57, 58, 62, 64, 66, 70  
 Coleman, Nathaniel, 4  
 Collin, Nicholas, 247  
 Collins, A. M., Son & Co., 381; Isaac, 11, 167, 169  
 Colly, John, arrived in Pa., 330  
 Columbus, Tradition concerning, 106  
 Colvert, Margt., arrives in Pa., 335  
 Concord School-house built, 421  
 Conderet, Monsieur, 372  
 Conduit, Wm., arrives in Pa., 335  
 Congress in 1815, described by W. Findley, 346  
 Congress Hall, Phila., description of interior of, 226  
 CONNER, 120  
 Conner, P. S. P., contribution of, 120  
 Contrecoeur, M. de, commandant of Fort Duquesne in 1754, 123; mentioned, 124, 128  
 Convention (Penna.) of 1787, query regarding the manuscript of debates of, 348  
 Conway, W. M., portraits of some descendants of Wm. Penn, and memorial of him, in possession of Earl of Ranfurly, 353  
 Cook, James, commander of "The Desire," 338  
 Cooper, James, a refugee from State of Delaware, 51; Thomas, commander of "The Unicorn," 334, 338  
 Coopers, Thomas, a subscriber to the *American Magazine*, 49  
 Cope, Gilbert, contribution of, 119  
 Coperthwaite, Joseph, of the Penna. Militia, 394, 396, 397  
 Cord, 309  
*Corkerhill*, 313, 315, 317  
 Cornbury, Lord, 12, 439  
 Coruwallis, Lord, 117, 400  
*Corryell's Ferry*, 274, 275  
 Cotton, manufacture of, 378

- Cotton-gin, invention of, 377  
 Coultas, Capt. James, 211  
 Couper, James, 53  
 Cowell, John M., contributes a letter from Benjamin Franklin, 403  
 COWELL, Dr. John, 406; John V., 406; Maria M., 406  
 Cowp, John, arrives in Pa., 333  
 Cox, Col., 163; house of, 164, 259, 260; John, 15, 173; John, of Pa. Militia, 396; Mounce, tax collector for Northern Liberty, 95  
 Coxe, Brinton, address of, at inauguration of new Hall of Hist. Society of Penna., 185; Dr. J. Redman, 381; Tench, 377, 381  
 Craig, N. B., 125  
 Craige family interested in the Globe Mill, 279, 294; John, 388; Seth, 379, 380, 381, 382, 384, 389; Seth W., 389; Thomas H., 386, 389  
 Crathorne, Captain, enters into partnership with Benjamin Jackson, 294  
 Cresap, Col., subscriber to the American Magazine, 49  
 Cresson, Walter, 350  
 Crewe, Lord Chief-Justice, xxxv.  
 CROGHAN, 306  
 Crooked Billet Wharf, Phila., 12  
*Croswicks*, 260  
 Crovat, Joseph, 273  
*Crown Point*, 363  
 Crumpton, John, master of ship Lion of Leverpoole, 334  
 Culburts, Mr., 275  
 Cureton, Richard, and family, arrive in Pa., 336  
 Curlls, Richard, arrives in Pa., 335  
 Cutbort, Mr., 275  
 CUTLER, 441  
 Cutler, Edmond, Elizabeth, Issabell, John, Thomas, and William, arrive in Pa., 336; Dr. Manesseh, visit of, to Wm. Hamilton, 109; letter from, to his daughter, 109  
 Cutting, Dr., extract of letter from, to Judge John Kennedy, 111  
  
 Dale furnace, 70, 72; forge, 70, 75, 80; Iron Works, 67, 72, 75  
 Daly, Joane, arrives in Pa., 337  
 D'Arandt, Colonel, 214  
 Darling, William, 79  
*Dauphin County*, iron-works in, 81  
 Davagne, John, 299  
 Davenport, James, 298  
 Davis, David, arrives in Pa., 332; Mordecai, illness of, 115; Richard, arrives in Pa., 338  
 Davye, Cornelious, arrives in Pa., 337  
 Dawes, Col. E. C., communication from, 109  
 Day, John, 175  
 Dean, Mr., 369  
 Deane, Silas, 363  
*Dearborn Fort*, 2:1  
 Dearborns, The, by Daniel Goodwin, Jr., notice of, 230, 231  
 Debuc, Peter, information wanted regarding religion of, 231  
 De la Riva, Don Fernando, Governor of Porto Rico, 29, 30  
 De la Vera, Don Diego, Governor of Porto Rico, 30, 31  
 "Delaware, The," ship, from Bristol, arrives in Pa., 339  
*Delaware County*, iron-works in, 81  
 Delaware Register quoted, 50  
 "Desire, The," arrives at Phila., 3:8  
 "De Waag," ship, 145, 146, 148, 151, 158, see "Waegh."  
 Dewitt, John, 252  
 Deysher, Jacob, 66, 76  
 Dickerson, Thomas Wells, 369  
 Dickinson, Jonathan, letter from, quoted, 62; mentioned, 174; John, 45; pupil of Francis Alison, 46; mentioned, 263; General Philemon, 263; takes New Brunswick, 270  
 DILLWYN, 120, 164; Ann, 15; George, 15; Margaret, 15; Milcah Martha, 15; Sarah, 15; Susanna, 15; William, 15  
 Dillwyn, George, 9; trustee of Friends' School in Burlington, 165, 167; Joseph, 167; S., description of a young lady in London, 164, 165  
 Dinwiddie, Robert, Official Records of 1751-1758, notice of, 434  
 Dinwiddie or Dunwoody, information wanted concerning family of, 119  
 Discipline of Burlington Meeting ordered to be read, 7  
 Distilleries owned by Friends in 1795, 169  
 District forge, 70, 76, 80; furnace, 70  
 Dobs, Mrs., at Coryell's Ferry, 275, 276  
 Dodd, Mrs. Martha, 276  
 Dodson, Samuel, daughter of, 228  
 Dohna, 252  
 Doling, Philip, arrives in Pa., 338  
 Donop, Count, enters Mount Holly, 392; mentioned, 396, 397; Karl Emil Curt von, note concerning, 229  
 Dorr, Rev. Benjamin, D.D., notice of sketch of, by John Wm. Wallace, xxxviii.  
*Doulassville* forge, 77  
 Do-Well forge, 77, 80  
 Doyle, Ed., arrives in Pa., 335  
 Drummond, Ensign, 308  
*Dublin* Township, Phila. Co., tax list of 1693, 101  
 Duckard, Ralph, arrives in Pa., 331  
 DUEB, Elizabeth, 441  
 Duffield, George, D.D., student at Newark, 47; mentioned, 262  
 Dugdale, Ann, arrives in Pa., 336

- Dumas, Capt., assumed command at Fort Du Quesne after death of Beaujeu, 126
- Dundas, Sir David, xxvi.
- Dunk's Ferry*, 257, 258
- Dunlap, John, 261, 399
- Dunop, Count, 224
- Dunwoody, *see* Dinwiddie.
- Du Quesne*, Fort, sketch of the commandant of, in July 9, 1753, 121; Marquis, 123
- Dushe, Mr., son of Anthony, wounded, 265
- Dutch, relations of, with Swedes on the Delaware, 18, 21, 24, 27, 32-39, 131-3, 139-142, 145 *et seq.*
- Dymond, Richard, master of "The Arfity," arrives in Pa., 340
- Earl furnace, 77
- East Penn furnace, 77
- Easton, Col. James, 364, 367, 373
- Eaton, George, tax collector for Dublin, 161
- Eckert, Valentine, 71
- EDES, Mrs. Mary, 405
- EDMONSTONE, Elizabeth, 313; William, 313
- Edwards, Alexander, arrives in Pa., 333; Edward, Loury, Margaret, arrive in Pa., 332; Margaret, wife of, Alexander, and her children, arrive in Pa., 332
- Edwards Papers, The, notice of, 227
- Ege, George, 62, 69, 73, 74, 79, 80
- Einwechter, Henry, 295; William & Sons, 387
- Ejlsborg*, 18, 32; Indians at, 34; mentioned, 131, 147
- "Elizabeth, Ann, and Catherine, The," arrives at Phila., 337
- Elmore, Major Samuel, 373, 374, 375
- Elphinston, Mr., 370
- Eise, Jacob, 76
- Elsvyck, Henrik, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 147, 149, 151, 152, 153, 154, 156, 157, 158
- Eltonhead, Mr., 378
- Elve*, 135
- EMERY, Mary, 405
- Emigration to the West in 1773 mentioned, 323
- EMLEN, 15, 120
- Emlen, Samuel, 13; Samuel, Sr., 15; Susan, 171
- Emlen Institute, founded by Samuel Emlen, 120
- Empson, C., 282
- "Endeavour, The," arrives at Phila., 330
- Engelhardt, Ludwig, in charge of Upper Germantown Burying-ground, 416, 418, 419, 424
- England, Philip, 442
- Enham, Dr., 275
- Ettweins Brother, 239
- Evan, *see* Evan ap.
- Evan, Cadwalader, 177, 179, 180, 182; Evan, 182; Hugh, 182; Owen, 177, 179, 180, 182; Robert, 177, 179, 180; Thomas ap, 175, 178, 179, 182
- Evans, *see* Evan ap.
- EVANS, 182; Evan, 182; Hugh, 182; Rowland, 182
- Evans, Rev., Mr., 115; Jane and family arrive in Pa., 332; Julius, for whom Juliustown was named, 6; Lewis, description of the territories by, mentioned, 321, 322; Rowland, 407, 409
- Eve, Capt. Oswald, Lieutenant of Association Battery Company, 213
- Ewing, John, General, 259
- Exeter forge, 77
- Eyers, Capt., behaviour of, at Lamington, 274
- Fairfax, Rt. Hon. Lord, 48
- Fairman, Benjamin, 290; Mary, widow of Benjamin, 290; Robert, 288; Thomas, surveyor, 176
- Falkner, Hannah, arrived in Pa., 330
- Families who arrived at Philada. between 1682-1687, list of, 328-340
- Farmer, Jasper, Jr., his family arrive in Pa., 336; Jasper, Sr., his family arrive in Pa., 336
- Federal Constitution, effect of the adoption of, in Pa., 305
- Feoror, Joseph, 333
- FERMOR, Lady Juliana, 353
- FILLERS, Benjamin, 403; John, 404; Joseph, 404; Oliver, 403
- Filson, John, notice of, 433
- Finch, Lady Charlotte, inventor of the dissected maps, 360
- Findley, William, letters from, to William Plumer, 343
- Finn, "Long," 244
- Finns, sedition among, on the Delaware, 243; from Lundsvale emigrate to New Sweden, 249
- Fish-House Company, 199
- Fisher, George, arrives in Pa., 337; John, 67; J. N. H., 67; Joseph, 175; Joseph, and family, arrive in Pa., 335; Joshua, 52; Samuel, 52; Thomas, 52; Tho. and Francis arrive in Pa., 333
- Fishkil*, 150
- Fitch, John, an act to grant right to build steamboats, 53
- Fitzsimmons, Thomas, 256, 257
- Flanders, Henry, commemorative address on John Wm. Wallace, by, ix., xiii.
- Fleming, Chas., 17, 38; Göran, 143
- Fletcher, Governor Benjamin, 82, 83
- Fleury, Lewis de, Major, 214
- Flint, Rebecca, 403

- Floquet, Pirè, 309  
 Flower, Daniel, arrives in Pa., 338  
 Fluviander, Israel, sails for New Sweden, 22; mentioned, 245  
*Flying Hill Creek*, 68  
 Forbes, General, 46  
 Ford, Gabriel, 267; Henry, arrives in Pa., 37; Col. Jacob, Jr., commander of militia of Morris County, 267; Richard, arrives in Pa., 37  
 Forder, Mr., 274  
 Forges of Berks Co., Pa., 56  
 Foster, Jedidiah, 375; Josiah, 8  
 FOUCAULT, de, 128  
 Fouché, W. W., 389  
 FOULKE, 180; Jesse, 180  
 Foulke, Edward, 177, 178, 179; Samuel, The Pennsylvania Assembly in 1761-2, a memorandum kept by, 407  
 Fox, George, his work, owned by Burlington Meeting, 7; in New Jersey, 12; James, 83; James, 103; James, and family, arrive in Pa., 338; John and Richard, arrive in Pa., 338; Joseph, 411; Justinian, arrives in Pa., 339  
 "Francis and Dorothy, The," arrive at Phila., 337  
*Francisville*, 232  
 Franklin, Benjamin, 12, 345, 408; books taken from the library of, by Major André, 430; Deborah, the family of, 403; Sarah, 404, 405; William, 162, 404, 406  
*Franklin County One Hundred Years Ago*, contributed by Rev. T. W. J. Wylie, D.D., 313  
*Franklin Park*, mentioned, 11  
 Frazer, Capt., 113  
 Freeman, 309  
*French Creek*, 57, 60  
 French, Nathaniel, 59, 63; Thomas, 438  
 Friedensthal Printing Office, notice of, 108  
 Friends in Burlington, by Amelia Mott Gummere, continued from Vol. VII., 3, 160; notice of, 434  
 Fry, Henry, arrives in Pa., 338  
 Fuller, Jacob, 176; Joseph, 176  
 Fulton, Robert, Wm. Thornton on patents of, 433  
 Funk, John, 48  
*Furnace Creek*, 61  
 Furnace, Daniel, Henry, and John, arrive in Pa., 335; Kath. and Jos., arrive in Pa., 335  
 Furnaces and Forges (Early) of Berks Co., Pa., by Morton L. Montgomery, 56  
 Gage, Thos., Gen. at Braddock's defeat, 126; plans works at Fort Mifflin, 213  
*Galena, Ill.*, in 1829, 227  
 Gallasoniere, de la, Gov. of Canada, 123  
 Galloway, Joseph, on the conduct of war in the middle colonies, quoted, 392; mentioned, 409, 410, 411, 412  
 Gardiner, John, 6  
 Garnier, Isaac, arrives in Pa., 338  
 Garrett, John, arrives in Pa., 337  
 Garrison, Lieut., 370, 374  
 Garver, Samuel, 314  
 Gates, Gen., 115  
 Gee, John, 176  
 Gellaspee, Valentine, 258  
 Gerdson, Henrik, 38  
 German, or District furnace, 71  
*Germantown, New, N. J.*, 267  
*German Town*, tax list of, in 1693, 98; battle of, 223; Upper Burying-ground in, History of, by Peter D. Keyser, M.D., 414; names of subscribers for building a wall around, 415, 417; negroes not to be buried in, 419; list of subscribers for repairing the wall, 420; witnesses to deeds regarding, 420, 421; list of interments in, 422  
 Gibbs, Jonathan, 266  
 Gibes, Elizabeth, arrives in Pa., 339  
 Gibraltar forge, 57, 67, 78, 80  
 Gilbert family, capture of the, 228  
 Gilliland, W., 370  
 Glass, notice of the manufacture of, in Pa., 319, 439  
 Globe Cotton Mill, location of, 297  
 Globe Mills, Phila., sketch of, contributed by Samuel H. Needles, 279; mentioned, 377  
*Gnadenhütten, Spangenberg's* letters regarding the massacre of, 235, 236  
 Godefroy, de, officer of the garrison at Fort Du Quesne, 128  
 Gooding, George, arrives in Pa., 337  
 Goodwin, Daniel, Jr., The Dearborns, by, notice of, 230, 231  
 GORDON, 348  
 Gordon, Henry, English engineer at Fort Du Quesne, 126; Patrick, arms used by, when Deputy Governor of Pa., 348; Philadelphia marriage of, 348  
 Gotherson, Daniel, 118  
 Goulbourn, Sergeant, xxvi.  
 Gouldney, Henry, 289  
 Governor's Mill and the Globe Mills, Phila., contributed by Samuel H. Needles, 279, 377  
 Graeff, Sebastian, 65  
 Graham, Mr., 112; Lt. John, 372  
 Grant, Capt., 371; General (British), 398, 400  
 Granville, Earl of, Moravians purchase land of, in North Carolina, 234  
 Gray, Lieut. George, Jr., 211  
 Gray's Inn, tavern on the Schuylkill, 109, 110

- Green Bank*, fronting the Delaware, 162  
**Green**, Barthol, arrives in Pa., 339; General, 112, 113; orders from, at battle of Princeton, 311  
*Green Hill*, residence of Samuel Jennings, 4; near Philadelphia, 232  
 "Green Mill," 280  
 "Green Spring," tract of land conveyed by Dr. Griffith Owen to Thos. Masters, 292; residence of Mrs. Mary Masters, 295  
 Green Tree forge, 75, 80  
 Greene, Thomas, and family, arrive in Pa., 339  
 Greenway, Rob, master of the ship "Welcome," arrives in Pa., 339  
 Greenwood furnace, 70, 73, 74  
 Grellet, Stephen, moved to Burlington, 171, 173  
 Grier, Judge, xxv.  
 Griffin, Col., passes over to New Jersey, 392; mentioned, 393  
 Griffith, Hugh, 178; Susan, arrives in Pa., 332  
 Griscom, John, 171; Samuel, 172  
 Grist mill first established by Sybilla Masters, 286  
 Grogan, Patrick, 276  
 Grove, Richard, arrives in Pa., 338  
 Growden, Joseph, his mill, 283  
 Grubé, B. A., Moravian missionary, 108  
 GUEST, Mrs., 404  
 Guest, Henry, wife, and son, arrive in Pa., 340; Mary, arrives in Pa., 339  
 Gummere, Amelia Mott, contributions of, 3, 160; John, 173; Samuel R., 173  
 Gurney, Colonel, 269; Eliza P., 173  
 Gwinop, George, arrives in Pa., 339  
*Gwynedd*, Welsh settlement at, by Howard M. Jenkins, 174  
 "Gyllene Hajen," ship, arrives in and leaves New Sweden, 20; to go to New Sweden, 40, 41, 129, 130, 137; sails, 138; arrives at Manhattan, 139; seized by Stuyvesant, 140, 141; mentioned, 159, 251  
 Gyllengren, Elias, 244; Lieut., captures Fort Casimir, 132; mentioned, 148  
  
*Hacken Sack*, 261  
 HAIDLEY, Agnes, 313  
 Haines, Reuben, 15; Sarah, 8  
 Haldimaund and Haldiman, Antoine Francois, 302; Francois Louis, 300, 301; Genl. Sir Frederick in Penna., by G. D. Scull, 300, 301; Frederick, extracts of letters from, to Sir Henry Clinton, 306, 307, 308; from Sir Henry Clinton to, 308, 309; from Genl. James Robertson to, 309; Gaspard, 300; Henry, 301; Jacob, 301; Jean Abraham, 300; John, 301; John Breneman, 301; Marie Madelaine, 301; Pierre, 300; Samuel S., 301; William, 302  
 Hale, Horatio, notice of address by, on the Wampum, 349  
 Haley, Derby, arrives in Pa., 337  
 Hall, David, Colonel of First Delaware Battalion, 53; Elenor, Martha, Mary, and Rebecca, arrive in Pa., 333; Samuel, arrives in Pa., 337  
 Hambridge, Row., arrives in Pa., 335  
 Hamburg furnace, 77  
 Hamilton, Alexander, 343; Alexander, advocates American manufactures, 381; Andrew, Jr., 48; Col. John, arms used by, 348; William, of the Woodlands, 109  
 Hampton furnace, 64  
 Handay, John, 265  
 Hansson, Mats, 242  
 Harbbatel, Leon and Salome, 428  
 Harcourt, Lieut.-Col. William, letters of, in 1777, 223; captured Gen. Chas. Lee, 258  
 Harlin, John, a subscriber to the American Magazine, 49  
 Harman, William, 175  
 Harmer, Gothefryd, 35  
 Harrah, Mr., 232  
 Harris, Daniell and Hugh, arrive in Pa., 332  
 Harrison, Natha.; arrives in Pa., 339; Thos., arrives in Pa., 333  
 Harry, Aubrey, and Sarah, information wanted of descendants of, 119  
 Hart, Charles Henry, note from, 352; John, arrives in Pa., 339  
 Hartshorne, Hannah, 10; William, 10  
 Harvey, John, 290  
 Hatton, Wm., and wife, arrive in Pa., 333  
 HAWKINS, Jeffry, his certificate of removal, 1682, 490  
 Haworth, John, 298  
 Hay, Charles, 307, 309; Udney, 375  
*Hay Creek*, 57, 71; forge, 57, 63, 65  
 Hayden, Rev. Horace Edwin, notice of Pollock Genealogy, by, 118  
 Haydock, Robert, 177  
 Hayes, Thomas, captain of "The Morning Star," 329; William, arrives in Pa., 339  
*Hay's Plantation*, 371  
 Hazard, Ebenezer, pupil of Francis Alison, 46  
 Healey, Edward, 385  
 Heath, General, crossed the North River, 312  
 Heckewelder quoted, 205  
 Heilig forge, 76  
 Heilig, Francis R., 66, 76  
 Hendricks, The, of Indiana, 314  
 Hendrix, Garret, with wife and daughter, arrive in Pa., 338  
 Henlings, William, 10

- Henlopen, Cape*, 25  
 Henry, Captain, 311; John, pupil of Francis Alison, 46  
 Henry Clay furnace, 77  
 Henry's Mill, near Trenton, mentioned, 402  
 Heraldic Hints concerning the Colonial Governors of Penna., 348  
 HERRIOTT, 334  
 Herrick, Captain Samuel, 366, 370, 374, 375  
 Hessian prisoners employed in Berks Co., 70  
 Heulings, William, 438  
 Hewet, Robert, arrives in Pa., 336  
 Hewson, Jno., black calico printing works of, 295, 298; mentioned, 381; John, Jr., 298  
 Heyworth, James, arrives in Pa., 336  
*Highland Bennet*, 373  
 Hill, Richard, 285, 287, 288, 289, 290  
 Hillyard, Richard, and family, arrive in Pa., 333  
 Hinman, Benjamin, 374, 376; Colonel, 365, 366  
 Historical Society of Pa., Inauguration of New Hall of, 184; view of, 184  
 Hitchcock, Colonel Daniel, burial of, 268; mentioned, 393, 395  
 Hjort, Petrus, 129, 136; returns from New Sweden, 157; Petrus Laurentii, 246  
 Hobart, Robert E., 72  
 Holdgate, Matthew, and daughter Mary, arrive in Pa., 336  
 Holgate, James, arrives in Pa., 336  
 Holgh, Israel, 245  
 Hollender, Gov. Peter, northern boundary of purchase of land by, 27  
 Hollingsworth, Hen., arrives in Pa., 335  
 Hollinshead, John, 438  
 Holm, Thomas Campanius, 245; corrected, 247  
 Holme, John, 292; arrives in Pa., 339  
 Holmes, John, 379, 380, 382, 383, 384, 389; Thomas, 175, 176, 431  
 HOLTON, 120  
 Hood, Mr., 271, 273; James, 268  
 Höök Sven, 137, 150  
 Hooper, Major Thomas, 226  
 Hoopes, Joshua, and family, arrive in Pa., 332  
 Hope, John, 48  
 Hopes, J. and T., arrive in Pa., 338  
 Hopewell, furnace, 57, 60, 64, 78, 79; churches, 65, 66; forge, 57, 65, 70, 80  
 Hopkins, Bishop, extract from letter of, regarding Mr. and Mrs. Wallace, xxi.  
 Hopkinson, Joseph, 217, 220  
 Hopper, Robert, captain of the ship "Providence," 332, 333  
 Horton, Mr., 272  
 Hoskins, John, 9, 10, 15; trustee of Friends' School in Burlington, 165, 167, 169, 173  
 Hough, Sam., arrived in Pa., 330; Fran. and Richard, arrive in Pa., 331  
 Howe, Gen. Sir William, 257, 271  
 Howell, John, and family, arrive in Pa., 331  
 Hoyt, A. H., letter from, in reference to Carl K. S. Sprinchorn's translation, 341  
 Hudde, Andreas, commandant at Fort Nassau, 18, 19, 20, 23, 26, 27  
 Huddell, Mr., 275  
 HUDSON, 120  
 Hudson, Thomas, commander of the "Elizabeth Ann and Catherine," 337  
 Hues, Charles, arrives in Pa., 332  
 Huger, Andrew, captured by Indians, 228  
 Hugh, John, 178, 179, 180  
 Hughes, Francis, 64  
 Hughes, John, 408, 409, 410, 411  
 Humphrey, John, 178, 179, 180  
 Humphreys, Joshua, 221; Samuel, reminiscence of, contributed by Hampton L. Carson, 216  
 Hunt, Dr. William, 198  
 Hunter, Jacob V. R., 71, 79; James, 261, 399; N. and J., 80; Nicholas, 67, 71; N. V. R., 79  
*Huntingdon, Pa.*, 303  
 Hurst, Jno., arrives in Pa., 333  
 Huston, Judge, Land Titles, quoted, 287; Thomas, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 389  
 Hutchins, Capt. Thomas, death of, 305  
 Huyghen, Henrik, sent with complaint to Hudde against the Dutch, 19; sent to visit the Indians, 20; leaves New Sweden, 43; arrives in Sweden, 44; mentioned, 25, 36, 137; commander of the "Mercurius," 145, 158, 244  
 Inauguration of New Hall of the Historical Society of Penna., 184  
 Independence, Fort, reported taken by Genl. Wooster, 270  
 Indian claim to land in N. J. surrendered, 10; New Jersey Association for helping, 10; Delaware (Lenni Lenape), 10; History, Early, on the Susquehanna, by Abraham L. Guss, notice of, 231  
 Indians, epidemic among, 132; meetings of, 33, 34, 35, 133, 135  
 Ingoldesby, Richard (Gov. of N. Y.), 438  
 Ironmonger, John, arrives in Pa., 338  
*Ironstone Creek*, 57, 58, 62  
 Iron-works of Berks Co., Pa., 56



- Irvine, Genl. William, 113; letter to, from Col. Richard Butler, 117  
 Irvine, *see* Jervine.  
 Isbrandt, 251, 252  
*Is' Aux Noix*, 370  
 Izakoff, Russian Ambassador, 217, 218; interview with Saml. Humphreys, 219, 220
- Jackson, Benjamin, Mustard and Chocolate maker, 294  
 Jacobson, Markus, 244  
 Janeway, Thomas, and family arrive in Pa., 330  
 January, *see* Janveiries.  
 Janveiries, Thomas, arrives in Pa., 338  
 Jaquet, Paul, 158  
 Jefferies, Sarah, arrives in Pa., 339; Wm., arrives in Pa., 331  
 Jefferson, Thomas, 343  
 "Jeffries, The," arrives at Phila., 329  
 JENKINS, William, 441  
 Jenkins, Capt., 115; Howard M., the Welsh settlement at Gwynedd, 174; contribution of, 407  
 Jenks, Alfred, 381, 382, 388  
 Jenney, Rev. Mr., 211  
 Jennings, John, arrives in Pa., 336; Samuel, 4, 11, 15, 167  
 Jervine, Francis, arrives in Pa., 338  
 Joachimson, Peter, 35  
 Joanna furnace in the Smith family, 61; mentioned, 67, 68, 71, 78, 79  
 Johansson, Carl, 19  
 John, Robert, 179; William ap, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179  
 Johnson, Elez., arrives in Pa., 335  
 Johnston, Col., 113; George mentioned, 351; explanation of game of "long bullets, 352  
 Jonas Kern & Co., 79  
 Joncaire, Capt., 123  
 Jones, Ane, and daughter, arrive in Pa., 332; Edward, 211; Ellis, Governor's Mill, 377; Griffith, 377; Jenkin, a Baptist minister, 229; John, 105; the Winchester Postman, 49; Keim & Co., 79; Mary, 15; Rebecca, 14; Rev. Mr., his burying-ground, 268; Res, and family, arrive in Pa., 332; Tho., arrives in Pa., 334  
 JONES, David, 114; Horatio Gates, 114; Owen, 182; Sarah, 405, 406  
 Jordan, John W., notice of the Friedenthal Printing Office, 108, 119; contributions of, 233, 428, 429  
*Julytown*, now *Juliestown*, 6
- Kakarikonk*, 17  
 Kalm, Peter, Swedish naturalist entertained at Niagara, 123  
 "Kalmar Nyckel," ship mentioned, 28  
 Kämpe, Swedish corporal, 148
- "Kattan," ship, sails from Gottenburg, 28; wrecked near Porto Rico, 29; mentioned, 30, 41, 129, 137, 247; claims for, 139, 144  
*Kauknovaughua*, 371  
 Kawania Che Keeturu, motto on the Schuykill Gun, 214  
 Keed, John, *see* Kidd, John, 258  
 Keen, Prof. Gregory B., contributions of, 17, 129, 241  
 Keen & Burkhart, 80  
 Keim, Daniel M., 78  
 Keith, George, 439  
 Kelly, Sir Fitz-Roy, xxvi.  
 KENNEDY, David, 111; John, 111; Samuel, 111; Sarah, 112; Thomas Ruston, 111, 112  
 Kennedy, Joseph C. G., contribution of, 112; Dr. Samuel, letters from, to his wife, 1776, 111-116  
*Kent County*, rate of taxes in 1693, 84  
 Kent, Robert, arrives at Pa., 337  
 Kern, Mathew, 350  
 Kernsville furnace, 79  
 Keyser, Dirck, 416; Peter, 421; Peter D., M.D., History of Upper Germantown Burying-ground, by, 414  
 Keystone furnace, 77; forge, 77  
 Kiapes, 35, 36  
 Kidd, John, 258  
 Kidder, Frederic, 341  
 Kieft, Gov., superseded by Peter Stuyvesant, 24; death of, 24  
 Kilbeck, Chas., arrives in Pa., 331  
 Kilcarth, Robert, arrives in Pa., 335  
 King, Lord, xxiv.  
 Kingwood, a part of Burlington Quarterly Meeting, 8  
*Kinnassingh*, 136  
 Kling, Mans, 25  
 Knerless, Petr., tax collector for German Town, 98  
 KNIGHT, 119  
 Knox, Col., 112  
 KNOX, Lady Elizabeth, 353; Thomas, 354  
 Kock, Peter, 242  
 KOLLOCK, 53  
 Kollock, Jacob, Register of Wills, etc., 53; Jacob, Sr., Speaker of Del. Assembly, 53; Philip, Register of Wills, etc., 53; Col. Simon, 53; Simon, Sheriff, 53  
 Kolme Tryall, 175  
 Königsmarek, 243; O. W., 250  
*Korsholm*, 18, 25, *see* *Nya Korsholm*.  
 Kramer, Hans, 38, 44, 129  
 Kutztown furnace, 77
- Labbe, Francis C., a calico printer, 383  
 Lak, Mr., Mill of, 273  
 Laking, Henry, Moses, Sarah, and Susanna, arrive in Pa., 338  
 Lambing, Rev. A. A., 127

- Lamington*, 273  
*Lanotte, Isle of*, 116  
*Lancaster County*, iron-works in, 81  
 Lancaster, Edward, arrives in Pa., 335  
 Land, Samuel, 268  
 Large, Daniel, a Philadelphia machinist, 382; Ebenezer, 5, 6  
 Larsson, Daniel, 30  
 Lash, John, arrives in Pa., 333  
 Latham and family arrive in Pa., 336  
 Latta, James, D.D., a pupil of Francis Alison, 46  
 Lawrence, John, 213; Thomas, 211  
 LAWRENCE, Mary, 292  
 Lea, J. Henry, contribution of, 119  
 Leacock, John, 59, 63  
*Lebanon County*, iron-works in, 81  
 Lee, Fort, reported taken by Genl. Wooster, 261; reported taken, 271  
 Lee, Capt., 265; Genl. Charles, 393; capture of, 258; a prisoner at Brunswick, released, 400; Francis, brief in behalf of, 438  
 Leesport furnace, 77  
*Lehigh County*, iron-works in, 81  
 Lehman, Christian, Surveyor, 416, 419  
 Leland, Chas. G., 193  
 Lert, Joshua, arrives in Pa., 333  
 Leshner furnace, 71  
 Leshner, Jacob, 70, 71, 72, 76; John, 61, 65, 66, 70, 71  
 Levering, John, 240  
 Levy, John P., 283  
 Lewis, Christianus (schoolmaster), arrives in Pa., 333; James, 58; Richard, 75  
 Leyonberg, 157, 253  
*Liberty Island*, a fort ordered to be built at, 213  
 Lindeberg, Johan, 30  
 Lindström, Peter, 129, 130, 133, 147; draws map of New Sweden, 134; drawing of Fort Christina by, 150; returns from New Sweden, 157, 158  
 Little Pine forge, 63  
 Livery of Seisin in Penna., 350  
 Lloyd, 345; David, 83; and wife, arrive in Pa., 340; Robt., arrives in Pa., 335; mentioned, 378; Thomas, crest used by, 349  
 Lobb, Christopher, arrives in Pa., 338  
 Local Government in Franklin Co. in 1773, 324  
 Lockenius, Laurentius, 22, *see* Loock.  
 Loeser, Dr. Jacob, 72  
 Loftus, John, arrived in Pa., 329  
 LOGAN, Hannah, James, 11  
 Logan, Mrs. Deborah, note from a memorandum left by, 430; James, his correspondence with Penn quoted, 280, 282, 283, 284, 285; mentioned, 285, 287, 289, 290, 345  
*London Bridge*, 1  
 LONG, 231, 301  
 Long Bullets, explanation of game of, 351-2  
 Long, Enoch, notice of biographical sketch of, 231; Peter, arrives in Pa., 335  
 Longe, Wm., arrives in Pa., 335  
 Loock, Lars Carlsson, sails for New Sweden, 22; mentioned, 245, 246  
 Lort, Robert, arrives in Pa., 333  
 Lortzing, Dr. Max, 229  
 Lovelace, Gov. F., of New York, 284  
 Low, James, a cotton carder, 385  
 Lowerrey, Mr., 260  
 Lowry, —, arrives in Pa., 332  
 Loyd, Lorentz, Governor of Virginia, claims New Sweden for the English, 133  
 Lucas, James, 388; Mary, arrives in Pa., 339  
 Lucifer, Cornelius, 28  
 Ludlow, Col. Wm., 200  
 Lycke, Joachim, 28, 29  
 Lytle, Lt., 117  
 Macclesfield, Lord, xxiv.  
*Machault, Fort*, 124  
 Maddison, James, 343  
 Maddock, John, arrived in Pa., 331  
 MADDOX, Joshua, xiii.  
 Magazine of American History, notice of, 350, 437  
 Maiden Creek furnace, 77  
 Maine Historical and Genealogical Recorder, notice of, 347  
*Manatawny*, 57, 58, 62  
 Mansfield Meeting, 8, 161  
*Mantoes Hoek*, 26, 158  
*Mantua Creek, N. J.*, 26  
*Marcus Hook*, 136  
 "Margaret, The," arrives at Phila., 330  
*Marikens Udd*, 136  
*Marikis Hoek*, 136  
 Markham, William, arms used by, upon his seal, 348  
 Marlton, John, arrives in Pa., 337  
 Marquedant, Charles, 379, 381, 382  
 Marschall, Frederick von, 118  
 Marsey, Tho., arrived in Pa., 331  
 Marsh, John, 280, 282  
 Marshal, John, his Life of Washington disappoints W. Findley and others, 344  
 Marshall, Rev. Mr., 322, 327; Charles, 175; John, arrives in Pa., 338  
 Martel, Charles, 118  
 Martin, Alexander, a pupil of Francis Alison, 46; Rev. Felix, 125; Hannah, Margery, Mary, Rachell, Sarah, and Thomas, arrive in Pa., 338  
 Mary Ann furnace, 70, 72, 79  
 Maryland Archives, notice of, 440  
 Maryland in the Beginning, by Edward D. Neill, notice of, 231  
 Maskell, Rev. Joseph, 108

- Masland, Hugh, and wife, arrive in Pa., 331
- Massachusetts Colony, arms of, query regarding, 441, 442
- Masters, Mary, wife of William, 293; residence of, 295; daughter of Wm. and Mary, 296; Rachel, 293; Sarah, 293, 296, 297, 298, 379; Sybilla, 285, 286; Thomas, 284, 285, 286, 287, 290, 291, 292, 295, 297; patent to, for weaving Palmetto chip, 286; for the Mill Land, 287, 288, 289; Thomas, Jr., 290, 292; William, 286, 290, 292, 293, 379
- Mather, Rechar, arrives in Pa., 336
- Mathewes, Jeane, 334
- Mathews, Capt., 376
- Mathias, Herr, Lutheran minister, 145
- Matlack, Col. Timothy, 397, 398
- Mattsson, Nils, 157
- May, Thomas, 67, 68, 71; Newton, 68; Addison, 68; Robert, 72
- Mayberry, William, 61
- Mayow, Elizabeth and Martha, arrive in Pa., 337; John, Philip, and wife, arrive in Pa., 337
- McAllister, John A., letter from Wm. Thornton communicated by, 433
- McCall, Samuel, 211
- McCalla, Rev. Mr., 113, 114
- McDougal, Alexander, Genl., returned from Newark, 312
- McDOUGAL, Col., 112
- McDowell, Rev. Alexander, 47
- McIlvaine, Capt., 268
- McIntosh, 371
- McKean, Thomas, a pupil of Francis Alison, 46; information wanted regarding children of, 231
- McKenzie, Capt., 370
- McKinney, Dr., 113, 114
- McLene, James, a pupil of Francis Alison, 46
- McManus & Co., 77
- McMaster, John B., address of, at opening of new Hall of Hist. Soc. of Pa., 190
- McPherson, Edward, 46; Robert, a pupil of Francis Alison, 46
- McRobb, William, a cotton carder, 385
- McWhorter, Alexander, student at Newark, 47
- Mehone, John, arrives in Pa., 337
- Mendinhall, Moses, arrives in Pa., 338
- Mentges, Col., 117
- Mercer, Fort, built at Red Bank, 213
- Mercer, General, brigade of, at Princeton, 310; wounded, 310
- "Mercurius," ship, sails for New Sweden, 145; arrives, 158; mentioned, 159, 242, 251
- MEREDITH, 119
- Meredith, Major Samuel, 256, 257; William M., xxiii.
- Metamequan, an Indian Chief, 205
- Metocksinoovsingh*, 34
- Meyer, Ernest L., to publish archives of Union Co., N. J., 347
- Miasmata, essay by Dr. Wilson on, mentioned, 54
- Michaelis, Captain, 199
- Miffin, Fort, 199, 213
- MIFFLIN, Jonathan, 441
- Mifflin, George, 59, 63; Samuel, Captain of Association Battery Company, 213; Genl. Thomas, 256, 261, 265, 268, 270
- Military affairs in Pennsylvania in 1745-7, 209
- Mill for the early manufacture of cotton, see Globe Mill.
- Miller, Edward, M. D., student at Newark, 47; James, 54; John, 55; Dr. John, 49; Michael, 68; Samuel, 74; Dr. Samuel, Professor in University of New York, 47, 48
- Milner, Jos., and family, arrive in Pa., 330; Ralph, and family, arrive in Pa., 330
- Mimicsinks, tribe of Indians, disturbance among, 10
- Minnesota Valley, History of, notice of, 434
- Minquas, the, 18, 20, 21
- Minuit, Gov. Peter, buys land of Indians, 36; instruction to, 254
- Mitakimint, 34, 35, 36, 135
- MITCHELL, Thomas, 406
- Moens, Hans, 283
- Molenex, James, arrives in Pa., 376
- Moleson, Joseph, 274
- Möndal*, 17
- Monocacy furnace, 77
- Montgomery County, iron-works in, 81
- Montgomery, Morton L., Early Furnaces and Forges of Berks Co., Pa., by, 56
- Monthly Meeting at Burlington, extracts from minutes of, 160, 161
- Montour, Andrew, 234
- Mood, William, 120; Elizabeth, 120
- Moor, —, 53; John, 350; Richard, 350
- MOORE, Milcah Martha, 15
- Moore, John, commander of the ship Delaware, 339; Nicholas, Jr., 291, 292; Richard, and family, arrive in Pa., 340; William, Ensign of Association Battery Company, 213
- Moravian Missions, 234, 235
- More, Nicholas, 291, 292, 377
- Moreland, Manor of, 291
- MORGAN, 229
- Morgan, Anne, arrives in Pa., 338; Benjamin, 299; arrives in Pa., 338; Benjamin R., 379; Col. George, 205; Jacob, 65; Joseph, arrives in Pa., 338; William, and wife, arrive in Pa., 329

- Morin, Daniell, and Miles, arrive in Pa., 337  
 "Morning Star, The," arrives at Phila., 329  
**MORRIS**, 15, 120  
 Morris, Anthony, 58, 59, 63, 66; Benjamin, 60, 61; Cadwallader, 60, 64; Margaret, Journal of, quoted, 162, 163; Margaret, incident from diary of, 260, 263; Robert, letter written by, July 22, 1777, 431; Sarah, 164  
 Morrison, Messrs., letter to, from John Wm. Wallace, regarding his resignation of the office of Reporter, xxxv., xxxvi.  
 Morton, John, 411  
 Moselem, iron ore from, 62; furnace, 77, 79; forge, 77, 80  
**MOTT**, 120  
 Mott, Richard, 173  
 Moulder, Lieut., 116  
 Moulders, Thomas, 267; Wm., 267, 275  
 Mount Airy forge, 77  
 Mount Holly Meeting, 8; Meeting of Friends, separates from Burlington 10th Mo., 1776, 161; consolidated in 1827, 161  
 Mount Laurel furnace, 77  
 Mount Penn furnace, 68, 77, 79  
 Mount Pleasant forge, 57, 67, 80; furnace, 57, 59, 66, 70  
*Monamensing*, Phila. Co., tax list of, in 1693, 102  
 Moyer's forge, 77  
 Mud Fort, 213  
 Mud Island, Fort upon, 224  
 Muhlenburg, Dr., mentioned, 109  
 Mullen, Capt., 272  
**MURRAY**, Christian, xiii.  
 Murray, Lord, xxvii.  
 Muske, Richard, arrives in Pa., 337  
 Mustard and Chocolate Mill, 294  
 Myrriall, James, arrives in Pa., 336  
  
*Naaman's Creek*, 136, 284  
*Naaman's Udd*, 135  
*Nanaticous Kil*, 27  
 Nancarro, Susan, anecdote of Wm. Penn, related by, 182  
*Nassau, Fort*, 18, 19, 26, 27, 33; abandoned, 36  
 Needles, Samuel H., The Governor's Mill and the Globe Mills, Phila., contributed by, 279, 377, 389  
 Neild, John, arrives in Pa., 330  
**NEILL**, Henry, 49; Dr. John, 49; John, 49, 53  
 Neill, Rev. Edward D., sketch of Matthew Wilson, D.D., of Lewes, Del., 45; Henry, letter from, to Col. Wm. Bradford, 51; sketch of, 53  
 Neisser, Augustine, 429  
 Nertunius, Mathias Nicolai, 246; Mathias, 28, 29, 129; lives at Upland, 137; returns from New Sweden, 157  
*Neshaminy Ferry*, 257  
 Netherwood, Cornelious, arrives in Pa., 336  
*New Amstel*, 242, 243  
 New Brunswick taken by Col. Dickinson, 270  
*New Castle County*, rate of taxes in 1693, 84  
*New Castle, Del.*, 34, 243  
 New District forge, 80  
*New Gottenburg*, Fort burned, 18; Swedish church at, 18; Indians at, 35, 36  
 New Jersey Document, curious, from Judge John Clement, 438  
 Newspapers, query regarding, published in Pa., 441  
*New Sweden*, The History of the Colony of, by Carl K. S. Sprinchorn, translated by Prof. Gregory B. Keen, 17; sixth Swedish expedition to, 20; condition of colonists in, 21, 22, 134, 135, 138; seventh Swedish expedition to, 22; jurisdiction over, claimed by Gov. Stuyvesant, 25; eighth Swedish expedition to, 28-32; invaded by Gov. Stuyvesant, 33; situation of, considered by the Royal Council of Sweden, 37, 38; put under direction of the College of Commerce, 40; eighth Swedish expedition to, 107; ninth Swedish expedition to, 129; slaves in, 135; tenth Swedish expedition to, 145; later history of, 242 *et seq.*; under the Dutch, 242 *et seq.*; under the English, 243-4; ecclesiastical history of, 244 *et seq.*; attempts to recover by Swedish government, 247 *et seq.*; more emigrants to, 249  
 Nice, Samuel, in charge of Ax's burying-ground, 421  
 Nicholson, 375  
 Nickels, Major, 272  
 Nikoll, George, 68  
**NIXON**, 352  
 Nixon, Lt.-Col. John, 256, 268; John, 60; John, and family, arrive in Pa., 330; Thomas, and Thomas, Jr., arrive in Pa., 338  
 Noble, Joseph, 8, 9, 10; Martha, 169, 172  
 Norris, George W., M.D., presentation of portrait of, 197; Isaac, 285, 287, 289, 290, 407  
**NORTH**, John, 408; Joshua, 403; Thomas, 405  
 North Kill forge, 77, 80  
*North Wales*, 174  
*Northern Liberty*, Phila., tax list of, in 1693, 95  
 Norton, M. & Co., Chocolate Manufacturing Co., 297; N. & Co., 297  
 Notike, 35, 36  
 Notten, Faith, arrives in Pa., 338

- Nowell, Stephen, arrives in Pa., 338  
 Nuneham, Lord, letter to, 224  
*Nya Korsholm*, 17, *see Korsholm*.
- Oburn, Henry, 350  
 Odell, Jonathan, 163, 164  
 Odenheimer, Bishop, quoted, xxxiii.  
 Odhner, Prof. C. T., 254  
 Old, James, 60; John, 66  
 Oley furnace, 57, 61, 78, 79  
*Oley Hills*, 70  
*Oley Valley*, 57  
*Onondaga*, Council at, 234  
 Orevan, Shebe, arrives in Pa., 337  
 "Ornen," ship, 40, 41, 129, 133, 136, 137, 144; sails for New Sweden, 130; arrives, 131, 132; leaves New Sweden, 137  
 Orr, Hugh, first maker of cast-iron cannon in the country, 202, 212  
 Oswald, Capt., arrives at Ticonderoga, 367, 368; sent to Continental Congress, 374  
 Oudfield, John, arrives in Pa., 311  
 Owen, Griffith, 282, 291, 292; Griffith, and family, arrive in Pa., 332; Katherine, arrives in Pa., 333; Robert, and family, arrive in Pa., 332  
 Oxenstjerna, Axel, recommendation of, to Rising, concerning the Dutch, 131; Erik, 40, 42; advice of, to Rising as to the Dutch, 131; resigns Presidency of College of Commerce, 143; Johan, 143  
 Oxford, Phillip, 337  
*Oxford Township*, Phila. Co., tax list of, in 1693, 196  
*Oxwadd*, residence of Samuel Jennings, 15  
 Oyster, Daniel, 75, 80
- "Pabòs," estate of Gen. Haldimand, in Canada, 300  
 Packer, Phill, arrives in Pa., 335  
 Pagar, Mr., 308  
 Painter, George, and family, arrive in Pa., 34  
 Palbitzky, Matthias, 31, 41  
 Palmer, Anthony, 211; George, Sen., information wanted of sons of, 232; John, arrives in Pa., 32; mentioned, 350  
 Papegoja, Johan, sent to Sweden by the Governor to make a report, 22; sails for New Sweden, 22, 24; mentioned, 36, 158; Vice-Governor, 43; resigns, 133; assists Rising, 133; relations to Sweden, 137; sails for New Sweden, 145; mentioned, 244; "Fru Armgard Printz," "Ufroe Popagay," wife of, 244  
 Parker, Anderson, 53; James, press of, 10, 11; Lawrence, arrives in Pa., 333  
 PARSONS, 120
- Parsons, Mrs. Mary F., 198; Samuel Holden, 363; Thomas, owner of mill in Frankford in 1695, 279; mentioned, 377  
 Pascall, Thos., Jr., tax collector beyond Schuylkill in 1693, 102  
 PASCHALL, 441  
*Passayunk*, Phila. Co., mentioned, 25, 133, 136; tax list of, in 1693, 102  
 Patent, plan of first, issued to an American, 286  
 Patterson, Gen. Robert, 184  
 Patton, John, 62  
 PAXSON, William, 441  
 Payne, Edmund, commander of the ship *Charles*, 337  
 Pearce, Nicholas, arrives in Pa., 338  
 Pearne, Richard, 283  
 Pearson, —, shot, :98  
 Pegg, Daniel, 285, 377  
*Pegg's Run*, 281  
 Pemberton, Thomas, 83  
 Peminacka, 34, 35, 36, 115, 136  
 Pemmenatta, 34; *see Peminacka*.  
 Penington, Edward, mentioned, 285; long poetry in handwriting of, 431  
*Penllyn*, 179, 180  
 PENN, Margaret, 108; Richard, 296; William, 108  
 Penn, Granville, 361; Hannah, letter from, to her husband, 355; John, 355, 361, 362; Lady Juliana, description of portrait of, 357, 359; mentioned, 361, 362; Lætitia, 284, 356; Louisa, Hannah, 361; Richard, residence of, 296; Sophia, 354, : 61; Thomas, 353; portrait of, 357; picture of the children of, described, 361; bust of, by Patience Wright, 43;  
 Penn, William, proposition made to reprint his works in Burlington, 9; registry of the baptism of, 108; birthplace of, 109; mentioned, 182; his mill in Phila., 279, 283; portraits of some of the descendants of, and memorials of him in possession of the Earl of Ranfurly, 353; works of, 354; unpublished letter of, 429, 430; Sir William, portrait of, by Lely, 362  
*Pennington*, 267  
*Penn's Manor, Berks Co.*, 75  
 Pennsylvania Assembly in 1761-2, contributed by Howard M. Jenkins, 407  
 Penrose, Colonel, 265  
 Peppitt, Tho., and wife, arrive in Pa., 340  
 Perade, Chevalier de la, 124, 127  
*Perkaste*, 205  
*Perkiomen Stream*, 57  
 Peter, Mr., British Consul at Phila., xxvi.  
 Peters, James, 175; Richard, 3d, 216, 218, 219, 220; Thomas, 261, :99  
 Petty, William, grave-digger, 6

- Philadelphia*, site of, purchased by the Dutch, 19; consternation in, when the British arrived at Trenton 1776, 255; in 1758, 228; list of families who arrived at, between 1682-1687, 328-340; City Cavalry, detachment of, capture a number of prisoners prior to the battle of Princeton, 399; females attacked in the streets of, 1761, 410
- Philadelphia County*, iron-works in, 81; first tax list for, 82; extent of, in 1693, 84; rate of taxes, 84
- Philips's Mill, near Trenton, mentioned, 402
- Phillips, George, arrives in Pa., 331
- Philpot, Eliza, arrives in Pa., 338
- Phips, Jos., tax collector for Cheltenham, 97
- PHYSICK, 120
- Pickering, Timothy, 109, 110
- PICKERSGILL, 302
- Pierson, John, Tho., and wife, arrive in Pa., 330
- Pig iron, cost of, 59
- Pike, Wm., arrives in Pa., 340
- Pimentelli, 138, 139
- Pine forge, 57, 63, 80
- Pinnan, 135
- Pitt, Fort*, 127
- Plymouth Township*, Phila. Co., tax list of 1693, 100
- Pluckamin*, 273
- Plumer, William, letters to, from Wm. Findley, 343
- Plummer, Jonathan, a subscriber to the American Magazine, 49
- Polk, Josias, 54
- Pollard, William, 261, 399
- Pollock, Genealogy, notice of, 118; Lord Chief Baron, xxvi., xxvii.; Oliver, notice of biographical sketch of, 118
- Pomfret, Earl of, 353, 354
- Pontiac, 125
- Pookeholes, Henry, and wife, arrive in Pa., 338
- Pool forge, 57, 58, 62, 63, 66
- Pott forge, 76
- Pott, John, 74
- Potter, Bishop Alonzo, quoted, xxxiii.; Col. James, 269, 270
- Potts Corn Mill, 285
- Potts, David, Jr., 63; John, 63, 65, 411; Joseph, Jr., 72; Rebecca, 66; Stephen, 406; Thomas, 58, 59, 63, 72; Thomas, Jr., 59; William John, 433
- Potts and Rutter erect the Joanna furnace, 71
- Powel, John Hare, erected the building now occupied by the Hist. Soc. Pa., 184
- POWELL, 120; William, 442
- Powell, Samuel, 239; casts bells in 1746, 429
- Powellton*, 120
- Preeson, William, captain of "The Vine," 332
- Prentice, Ensign, 308
- Presoner, John, arrived in Pa., 331
- Preston, Samuel, 59, 63
- Prevost, Major Augustin, 300; letter from, to Genl. Fredk. Haldimand, 302, 305, 306; Theodore L., 306
- Price, 375; Richard J. Lloyd, 177; Roger, 177
- Princeton*, report of the burning of, 263; engagement at, 265; an account of the battle of, 310
- Printesdorp*, 244
- Printz, Gustaf, 36; lieutenant, sent to Sweden, 39; Gov. Johan, protests against Hudde's acts, 19; sends his third report to Sweden, 20; extract from third report of, 21; buys land on east side of the Delaware, 27; holds meetings with Indians, 34, 35; protests against acts of Stuyvesant, 35; letters of, cited, 36, 38, 39; leaves New Sweden and arrives in Sweden, 43; Colonel, Governor of Jönköping, dies, 44; restrains the Dutch beaver trade with the Indians, 17; mentioned, 18, 19, 20, 22, 25, 26, 27, 32, 33, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 132, 134, 137, 159, 245; Gov. John, and Gov. Winthrop, correspondence between, 341
- Printzhof*, meetings of Swedes and Indians at, 133
- Proctor, Major, 312
- Proud's History of Pa. mentioned, 344, 345
- "Providence, The," arrives at Phila., 332
- Provost, Madame, 305, 306
- PUSEY, Wm., 119
- Putnam, General Israel, at Cranberry, 269; mentioned, 265, 274, 312, 393; at Philadelphia, in 1776, 392
- Quaker, *see* Friends.
- Quakers, The, and defensive war, 206
- Quenick, 36
- QUINCY, Josiah, 109; Miss Quincy, his daughter, 109
- Quinn, David, arrives in Pa., 337
- Raccoon Kill*, or *Raccoon Creek*, 27, 246
- Rambo, Peter, 151, 156, 242
- Rambo's Rock*, 199
- Ramsy's Life of Washington, mentioned, 344; Colonel, correction regarding, 351
- Rancocas Meeting, 8, 161
- Randall, Samuel J., 204
- Ranfurly, Earl of, portraits of some of the descendants of William Penn, in possession of, 353
- Ransted, Joseph, arrives in Pa., 329

- Raper, Joshua, 5, 8, 10  
 Ratclife, Edward, James, Mary, Ra-  
 ciell, Rebecca, and Richard, arrive  
 in Pa., 336  
 Rawle, Francis, Senr. and Junr., ar-  
 rive in Pa., 338; William Brooke,  
 introductory note by, to the first tax  
 list for Philadelphia County, 82  
 Raymond's Saw Mill, 370, 371, 374  
 Read, mother and father of Mrs.  
 Franklin, 404; George, a pupil of  
 Francis Alison, 46; Sarah, 406  
 Read, *see* Reed.  
 Reading forge, 77; furnace, 69, 70, 73,  
 77, 79  
 Reagan, George, 74, 79, 80  
 Recharls, John, and family, arrive in  
 Pa., 332  
*Red Bank, N. J.*, attack on, 224  
 Redman, Lieut. Joseph, 211, 285  
 Reece, Edw., tax collector for the  
 Welch Tract, 103  
 Reed, Capt. John, commander of the  
 ship *Comfort* of Bristol, 333; Genl.  
 Joseph, 261; Narrative of the move-  
 ments of the American Army in the  
 neighborhood of Trenton, 1776-7,  
 391; William B., 391  
 Rees, Rees and family, arrive in Pa.,  
 332  
 Reese, Lewis, 73  
 Reeves, John, arrives in Pa., 335  
 Registry Laws in Pa., 1684, 328  
 Reid, Harvey, Biographical Sketch of  
 Enoch Long by, notice of, 231  
 Reidesel, Lieut.-Genl. de, 309  
 Rennell, Samuel, arrives in Pa., 338  
 Revell, Thomas, 438  
 Reynolds, Sir Joshua, 358  
 Rhal, Col., death of, 398  
 Rhode Island, families, 431; troops at  
 Trenton, 393, 395  
 Richardson, John, arrives in Pa., 330;  
 Samuel, 83, 105  
 RICKETTS, Mrs. Mary Masters, 297  
 Riggers, Charles, 268  
 RIGHTON, Sarah, 286  
 Rising, Johan Klæsson, enters ser-  
 vice of the Swedish West India  
 Company, 42; instructions to, 42;  
 salary of, and grant of land to, 42,  
 43; arrives in New Sweden and cap-  
 tures Fort Casimir, 131; sick, 132;  
 relations of, with the English, 133,  
 134; mentioned, 134, 136, 137, 140,  
 146, 147, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154,  
 155, 156, 157, 159, 241, 246, 247; issues  
 an ordinance, 135; residence of, 136;  
 sends report to Sweden, 137; ap-  
 pointed Governor of New Sweden,  
 137; commandant, 145; offices of, in  
 Sweden, 158  
 Roads from Trenton and Burlington  
 to New Brunswick, 11, 12  
 Roan, Adjutant, 269  
 Robb, Richard, in charge of Upper  
 Germantown Burying-ground, 416  
 ROBERDEAU, Col., 112  
 Roberts, Hugh, preacher in Merion,  
 175, 177, 180; John, arrives in Pa.,  
 338  
 Robertson, Genl. James, 308; extract  
 of letter from, to Genl. Haldimand,  
 309; Wm. arrives in Pa., 335  
 Roberts's Mill, Germantown, 279  
 Robeson & Brooke, owners of Reading  
 furnace, 73  
 Robeson's Mill, 377  
 ROBINSON, Sarah, 441  
 Robinson, Mr., 29; John, arrives in  
 Pa., 337; Katharine, arrives in Pa.,  
 337; Peter, 53; Robotham, Anne,  
 arrives in Pa., 331  
 Rockland Forge, 61, 70, 74, 80  
 Rodgers, Rev. Jacob, 235; letters to,  
 from Bishop Spangenberg, 239, 340  
 Rodman, Seamon, 10; Samuel, 10  
 Rogers, Major, 271  
 Rohrbach Mill, 75  
 Rosell, Fran. and Michael, arrives in  
 Penna., 330  
 Ross, Gertrude, 48  
 Ross, John, 65  
 ROTHFORD, or Rutherford, Dennis,  
 arrives in Pa., 334  
 Rothwell, Hester, arrives in Pa., 336;  
 James, arrives in Pa., 336  
 Rove, Jacob, 309  
 Rowe, Abraham, arrives in Pa., 339  
 Roxborough, or Berkshire furnace, 58,  
 60, 62  
 Ruderroe, John, 438  
 Rudway, Wm., arrives in Pa., 331  
 Rumsey, Nathaniel, correction regard-  
 ing, 351  
 Rush, Dr. Benjamin, pupil of Francis  
 Alison, 46; Jacob, 46  
 Russell, Lieut.-Col., 214  
 RUSTON, 111  
 Ruth, Johan Jonsson, 31, 32  
 Rutherford, *see* Rothford.  
 Rutter, David, 63; J., 80; John, 63;  
 Thomas, 58, 62, 63  
*Sacony Creek*, 71  
 St. Clair, Col., appointed a Brigadier,  
 116  
 Sally Ann furnace, 70, 71, 79  
 SALT, Mrs. Sarah, 404  
 Salway, Wm., 105  
 Sanborn, Jonah, 370  
*Sanchikan*, 19  
 Sander's Mill, 377  
*Sandhochen*, 135  
*Sandhuk*, 34, 36, 135, 154  
 Sands, Samuel, 76  
*Sandy Huck*, 153  
 Saries, Elizabeth, arrives in Pa., 338  
 Savauplane, David, arrives in Pa.,  
 338

- Saxby, John, and family, arrive in Pa., 338
- Scattergood, Thomas, 5
- Schall, David, 72, 80; George, 72; William, 66, 76, 80
- Schneider, J. Udree, 75, 79, 80
- School, Friends', action of Burlington Meeting regarding, 8; establishment of Preparatory Meeting School in 1799, 165
- Schreiber, George, in charge of Ax's burying-ground, 417, 418, 419; mentioned, 421, 424
- Schute, Sven, sent to Sweden to report, 32, 38; ordered to procure emigrants for New Sweden, 40; Captain, 41; receives patent for land, 41; demands surrender of Fort Casimir, 131; assists Rising, 133; land of, 136; mentioned, 147, 148, 149, 154, 157, 158, 244; trial of, 156
- Schutz, Conrad, 405; John, 405
- Schuylkill, Colony in, 204
- Schuylkill County, iron-works in, 81
- Schuylkill forge, 69; furnace, 74
- Schuylkill Gun, picture of, 199; restoration of, to "the State in Schuylkill," 190
- Schuylkill Mill, 282, 283, 377
- Schuylkill Valley, the Swedes the first settlers in, 56
- Schwartz, John, 68
- Schwenkfelders, the, 233, 234
- Scoles, James and John, arrive in Pa., 336
- Scott, Wm. Baliol le, 118
- Scott, Dorothea, by G. D. Scull, notice of, 118; John, 118; Thomas, 118
- Scull, G. D., contribution of, 300; Nicholas, tax collector for Upper Precinct, 101; arrives in Pa., 337
- Searle, Sarah, arrives in Pa., 340
- Seidel, Jonathan, 80; Philip, 75, 76
- Seidel's forge, 77
- Selford, Robert, arrives in Pa., 335
- Selwyn, xxvi.
- Senseman, Joachim, timekeeper of the Moravian Bell, 429
- Sergeant, John, xxii.
- Serril, Mr., 266
- Seybert, Adam, 379, 381, 385
- Seyfert, B. & J., 80; McManus & Co., owners of Gibraltar forge, 68
- Seyfert & Schwartz, 79, 80
- Seyfert, Simon, 68
- Shaddock, James, and wife, arrive in Pa., 339
- Shaw, Samuel, 211
- Shea, John Gilmory, sketch of Daniel Hyacinth Mary Liénard de Beaujeu, by, 121
- Sheepard, Isaac, with wife and daughter, arrives in Pa., 337
- Sheldon, Capt. Elisha, 376
- Shellson, John, and wife, arrive in Pa., 39
- Shikellmy, Indian guide, 23;
- Shippen, Edward, 260, 282; Secretary, 412
- Shoemaker, Francis, and family, arrive at Phila., 38; Jacob, arrives in Pa., 339; Peter, and family, arrive in Pa., 348; Sarah, and her children, arrive in Pa., 29
- Shreve, Caleb, 6
- Shrewsbury Meeting, 8, 161
- Sibthorp, Christopher, and wife, arrive in Pa., 340
- Sidbotham, Rob., arrives in Pa., 331; Tho., 331
- Siddell, Henry and John, arrive in Pa., 333
- Silver Lakes, 2
- Simcoe, Col., 117
- Simitiere, M. du, his account of Major André in Franklin's Library, 430
- Singori, 135
- SINNOTT, 382
- Sixpenny forge, 77, 80
- Skeins, Miss, 376
- Skenesborough, 367
- Skinner, James, commander of ship Rebecca of Liverpoole, 335
- Skötdpadd Kilen, 136
- Slater, Samuel, 378, 381
- Slaves in New Sweden, 135
- Sloan, Capt., 373
- Smith, —, 258; Arthur, arrives in Pa., 337; Daniel, 4, 6, 10; Trustee of Friends' School in Burlington, 165; made Treasurer of, 166, 167, 169; Daniel, Jr., 5, 10; Elizabeth, 10, 13, 14, 15; Hannah, arrives in Pa., 338; Isaac, 53; James, pupil of Francis Alison, 47; John, 10, 11, 67, 71, 72, 170; 275, 276; arrived in Pa., 331; Jonathan, 10; Col. Jonathan Bayard, 345; Joseph, 14, 167; Levi B., 71; L. Hiber, 72; Lloyd P., address of, at opening of new Hall of Historical Society of Pa., 195; Mary, 4; arrived in Pa., 330; Ralph, land purchased from, by the Friends, for a school-house, 167; Richard, 10, 15; Richard, Jr., 5; Richard, Sr., 57; Robert, 5, 169; Samuel, 10, 11, 14, 15, 178, 214; Samuel H., 345; Simon, 5; Susan R., 175; William, arrives in Pa., 339; mentioned, 411; Sir William Moore, 306
- Snowden, Col. A. Loudon, 200
- Society Hill Battery, location of, 211
- SOTTY, Rachel, 405
- Southard, Samuel L., 221
- South River Club, 20;
- Spang forge, 66
- Spang, Frederick, 65; Jacob, 65; Jacob S., 80



- Spangenberg, Bishop Augustus Gottlieb, sketch of, contributed by John W. Jordan, 233; George, 233
- Speed-well forge, 76, 80
- SPENCER, John Thompson, xxxi., xlv.
- Spirig, Peter, mentioned, 23
- Spooner, Walter, 375; Wm., 375
- Sprinchorn, Carl K. S., History of the Colony of New Sweden, by, translated by Prof. Gregory B. Keen, 17, 341; additions to History of New Sweden, by, 254
- Spring forge, 57, 66, 76, 80
- Springetsburg, Manor of, 288, 289
- Springfield, Upper, Meeting, 8, 161, 169
- Squier, E. G., 230
- Stacy, John, 288, 290
- Stafford, John, a cotton carder, 385
- Stanfield, Fran., and family, arrive in Pa., 331
- Stanley, William, 175
- Stapleton, Robert, 65
- Stauffer, D. McN., note on Heraldic Hints concerning the Colonial Governors of Pa., 348, 349; contribution of, 431
- Steamboats, an act presented to grant right to build, 53
- Stedman, Alexander, 68; Charles, 68; Eliz., arrives in Pa., 333; John, arrives in Pa., 333; Joseph, arrives in Pa., 333
- STEHMAN, Frances, 301
- Stentons, David, 276
- Stephens, John, Commander of the Bristol Merchant, 336
- Stevens, General, 267
- Stewardson, Thos., Treasurer of West-town school fund, 170
- STEWART, 119
- Stiegel, Henry William, 68
- Stiles, Mr., 232
- Stille, Olof, 242
- STILLMAN, Hannah, 229
- Stirling, Ld., 398
- Stony Creek Mill, 75
- STORY, Thomas, 441
- Stoves, stone-coal, first manufactured in Penna., 73
- Street, Genl. Joseph M., 227
- Strömsköld, Olof Andersson, President of College of Commerce of Sweden, 143
- Stuart, Prudence, arrives in Pa., 337; W., mentioned, 361; letter from, to W. M. Conway, 362
- STUART, Mary Juliana, 354; William, 354, 361
- Stuyvesant, Peter, letters to, from Directors of Dutch West India Company, 23, 142; made Governor of New Netherland, 24; invades New Sweden, 33, 146; holds a conference with Indians on the Delaware, 33, 34; mentioned, 26, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 135, 139, 140, 147, 148, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 157, 158, 242; captures Fort Trinity, 144; captures Fort Christina, 152; surrenders New Sweden to the English, 243
- Sullivan, Genl. John, at Princeton, 269; mentioned, 274, 375
- Sundsvall, Sweden, Finns from, go to New Sweden, 249
- Sussex County, rate of taxes in 1693, 84
- Sussex Tories, 52
- Sutton, Daniell, arrives in Pa., 331; Jan., arrives in Pa., 331; James T. & Co., 387; Mrs., 203
- "Svanen," ship, sails from Gottenburg, 22; sails from New Sweden, and arrives at Helsingör, 24; mentioned, 38, 245
- Svedberg, Bp., 246
- Swank, James M., quoted, 201
- Swedes, first outbreak between, and the Dutch, on the Delaware, 18; the first permanent settlers in Schuylkill Valley, 56; relations of, with the Dutch, 21, 24-27, 32-39, 131-3, 139-142, 145 *et seq.*; sedition among, 243
- Svedesborough, N. J., 246
- Swedish Expedition, eighth to New Sweden, 107; list of Swedish emigrants to New Sweden, 107
- Swedish West India Company, profits of, 23; privileges of, 23, 24; founding of new, contemplated, 143; funds of, 144, 159
- Sweragain, Capt. John, subscriber to the American Magazine, 49
- Synod, Dr. Wilson's opinion of a, 55
- T—, H., her reminiscences of 1776, 255
- Tamany, an Indian chief, 204, 205, 214
- Tamaqua Creek, 69
- Tanu Konck, 135
- Taney, R. M., xxxiv.
- Tax List, first, for Philadelphia County, 82
- Tax rates in Franklin Co. in 1773, 324
- TAYLOR, Abraham, 404; Abram, 348; Mary, 404; Sarah, 404
- Taylor, Abraham, 211; Andrew, 69, 73; B. Franklin, 69; Mary and children arrive in Pa., 331; William, 69
- Tearewood, Tho., arrives in Pa., 335
- Teison, Leonard, arrives in Pa., 331
- Temple, The, described by John William Wallace, xxviii.
- Temple furnace, 77
- Tennakonck, 136
- Tennakong, 133, 134; church at, 245
- Tennent, Gilbert, 211; W. M., pupil of Francis Alison, 47
- Teysher, John, 71
- T'gerhitontie, Indian name of Bishop Spangenberg, 33

- Thatcher, Jonathan, arrives in Pa., 337
- Thayer, Major Simeon, 214
- Thomas, Isaac, 73; W. H. B., transcribes Benj. Arnold's regimental Memorandum Book, 363
- Thompson, George, 350; John, 72; Gen. William, 113
- Thomson, Alexander, letter written by, in 1773, giving a Settler's Experience, 313; Archibald, 314; Charles, a pupil of Francis Alison, 47; Gabriel, 313; Robert, 313; William, 314
- Thornton, William, on Robert Fulton's Patents, 433
- Thorp, George, captain of The Endeavour, 330
- Thorp, Siddall & Co., 383
- Threwecks, Robt., arrives in Pa., 335
- Ticonderoga, 363
- Tidey, Katherine, and her daughter Mary, arrive in Pa., 332
- TILL, Thomas, 48; William, 48
- Timber Island, 136, 150, 156
- Tinnerön, 136
- Tinnecuck Island, 153
- Tittery, Joshua, arrives in Pa., 339
- Tizack, John, 330
- Todd, Capt., 116
- Tomlinson, Ephraim, 6
- Tommerup, Matthias, 428
- Toole, Mary, arrives in Pa., 335
- Topton furnace, 77
- Tories in Sussex County, Del., 52
- Torkillus, Reorus, 245
- TORREY, Mrs., 109
- Tortoise-shell Creek, 136
- Tory Poetry, 431
- Towamencin Township, chart of, 174
- Towers, John, sickness of, 271-276
- Townsend, Joseph B., note from, 350; Mary, arrives in Pa., 338; Rich., tax collector for Bristol Township, 98; Richard, wife and dau., arrive in Pa., 339
- Travelling in New Jersey in early times, 12
- TRAYTORRENS, 300
- Trenton, surprise of, 259; Journal of William Young, written during the Trenton campaign, 260; engagement at, Jan. 2d, 1777, 263; Battle of, 391, 401
- Trenton Falls, 19
- Treweryn River, 177
- Trexler, Reuben, 73, 76, 79, 80; Horatio, 73, 76
- Trinity, Fort, rebuilt, 134; mentioned, 136, 146, 147, 148, 156, 251; surrendered to the Dutch, 149
- Trobzig, Peter, 31, 248, 249
- Tronces, Mr., 274
- Truckenmiller, John, 75
- Trumbull, Gov. Jonathan, 365
- Tulpehocken forge, 68
- Tulpehocken Stream, 57
- Turner, Richard, and family, arrive in Pa., 332; Robert, 175, 176; Robert, and daughter, arrive in Pa., 334
- "Tuscarora Rice," 285, 295
- Tuslin, *see* Tutlin.
- Tutlin, or Tuslin, Tho., arrives in Pa., 338
- Tyson, Richard, 290
- Udree, Daniel, 61, 75
- Umphries, Jannet, arrives in Pa., 334
- Umstat, John Peter, and family, arrive in Pa., 338
- "Unicorne, The," arrives at Phila., 338
- Union County, N. J., archives of, to be published, by E. L. Meyer, notice of, 347
- Union furnace, 70, 79; forge, 80
- Union iron-works, 74
- Union Township, 60
- Upland, home of Matthias Nertunius, 137
- Upper Precinct, Phila. Co., tax list in 1693, 101
- Vaccination, paper by Dr. Wilson on, mentioned, 54; article on malignant fever, mentioned, 54
- Valley Forge, 441
- Vanderspiegel, William, 213
- Van Dyck, Gregory, 19, 20, 135, 151, 157; Peter, short sketch of, 358
- Vau Rensselaer, Rev. Courtland, 173
- Varnums, Capt., 372
- Vaughan, Captain, 224
- Vernon, Nathaniel, 113
- Vernon's Reports, remarks of John Wm. Wallace on, xxiv.
- Verree, James, Trustee of Friends' School in Burlington, 165, 167
- "Vine, The," arrives at Phila., 332
- Vining, John, obituary notice of, 225
- Vinton, Chas. Harrod, query from, 441
- Visante, General Francisco, 30
- Von Donop, *see* Donop.
- Waddell, James, D.D., a pupil of Francis Alison, 47
- Wade, —, 356
- Wadsworth, —, 378
- "Waagh," ship, 153, *see* "De Waag."
- "Waggion," the establishment of a, to run between Burlington and Amboy, 12
- Wagstaff & Hunt, 294
- Waine (Wayne), Isaac, 411
- Walbridge, Andrew, arrives in Pa., 337
- Walcott, Colonel, 223
- Walker, Lewis, 72
- WALLACE, of Philadelphia, pedigree of, xliii., xliv.; John, xlii.; John Bradford, xv.; Joshua Maddox, xiv.

- Wallace, Horace Binney, xxi.; death of, xxxi.; John William, commemorative address on, by Henry Flanders, ix., xiii.; presents Bradford MSS. to Historical Society of Penna., 48; mentioned, 189, 201; Joshua Maddox, xiv.; Thomas, recollections of Washington in Philada., 431
- Walshaw, John, 384
- Walter, Godden, arrives in Pa., 338
- Walton, —, 258; Danil., tax collector for Byberry, 100
- Wampum, the origin and nature of, 349
- Ward, Enos, 273; John, arrives in Pa., 337; Townsend, 200
- Wardle, William, arrives in Pa., 336
- Warner, Genl., 269
- Warren, Hooper, 227
- Wasa, 17
- Wasey, Mr., commander of the "America," arrives from Pa., 339
- Washington, Fort, reported taken by Genl. Wooster, 261, 270
- Washington, George, 48; an account of a dinner at his residence in Phila., 226; extract from letters of, Jan. 5, 1777, 256, 258, 261, 264; visits the Globe Mills, Phila., 298; at Battle of Princeton, 311; at Trenton, 391, 395, 399; in Philadelphia, anecdote regarding, 431
- Water-mill, first in Pennsylvania, 17
- Watson, John, 370
- WATSON, Mary, 441
- Watsons, The, of Pittsburg, 314
- Watt, Hannah, arrives in Pa., 332
- Watts, —, 309; Bridget, Eliz., and Jeanne, arrive in Pa., 333
- WAYNE, Anthony, 442
- Wayne, Col. Anthony, 112, 113, 114; Anthony, query regarding, 351; Isaac, 411
- Webb, Col., 369; James, 411; Thomas, and his son Daniell, arrive in Pa., 337
- Webster, Daniel, xx.
- Wegalosing, 9
- Weiss, Samuel W., 67
- Welch Tract, tax list of, in 1693, 103
- Welcker, Dietrich, an iron master, 61
- "Wellcome, The," arrives at Upland, 339
- Wells, Capt., 370; Henry, arrives in Pa., 337
- Welsh, Mary, arrives in Pa., 339
- Welsh settlement at Gwynedd, by Howard M. Jenkins, 174
- Wernersville, 62
- West, Hugh, subscriber to the American Magazine, 49; John, 175
- Westcott, Thompson, quoted, 201; address by, 206; mentioned, 380, 381
- Weston, W., 356
- Wetherill, Thomas, 6, 10
- Weymouth, Richard, arrives in Pa., 338
- WHEAT, John, 405, 406; Sarah, 405, 406
- Wheeler, Robert, 438
- Whilbanck, John, 53
- White, Ferguson & Co., owners of Reading furnace, 73; John, 105
- Whitehead, George, 12
- Whiteland, James, Com'er from the American Co. of Farmers in Scotland, 322
- Whitloe, John and Nicholas, arrive in Pa., 337
- Whitpain's Township, 175
- Wiccaco, Phila. Co., tax list of, in 1693, 102; mentioned, 246
- Widdam, Mary, arrives in Pa., 337
- WILCOX, 120; Barnabas, 441
- Wilkinson, —, relative of Mrs. Franklin, 403, 405
- Wilkison, Robert, arrives in Pa., 337
- Willcox, Joseph, 105
- Willemsen, Capt. Steffen, 22
- Williams, Frederick, 266; Ralph, 177
- WILLING, Dorothea Francis, xxxi.; George, xxxi.
- WILSON, James, 45; James, D.D., 50, 53; Jean, 45
- Wilson, Elizabeth, 441; James, 64; Matthew, artist of painting of Dr. Geo. W. Norris, 197; Matthew, D.D., of Lewes, Del., Sketch of, by the Rev. Edward D. Neill, 45; Sir Thomas, 224
- Windsor furnace, 77, 79
- Wingreene, Eliz., arrives in Pa., 336
- Winnean, see Hinman.
- Winter, William, arrives in Pa., 337
- Winthrop, John, Gov., and Gov. Printz, correspondence between, 341
- "Wismar," ship, 40
- Wistar Parties mentioned, 217
- Witaker, James, arrives in Penna., 330
- Witherspoon, Dr., projected a colony for Scotch settlers in Caledonia Co., Vt., 313; mentioned, 316, 321
- Witt, John, arrives in Pa., 333
- Woedtke, Baron de, death of, 114
- Wonderly, Aron, arrives in Pa., 338
- Wood, Thomas, 388
- Woodbridge, 11
- Wooddross (Wooddrop), Alexander, 59, 63
- Woodhouse, Mary and Tho., arrive in Pa., 331
- Woodlands, country seat of Wm. Hamilton, description of, 109, 110
- Woodrow, Simeon, information wanted of, 119
- Wooley, Sissilla, arrives in Pa., 331
- Woolman, John, 9, 10, 13, 15; letter from, to E. Smith, 14
- Woolner, Thomas, 356

- Wooster, General, 261; a report that he takes Forts Washington and Independence, 270  
 Worrell, Juno., tax collector for Oxford Township, 96  
 Wright, Elizur, 378; James, 411; Patience, bust of Thomas Penn by, 433; William Redwood, 206  
 Wulff, Paul, grants one-half acre of ground in Germantown for burying-ground, 414, 416  
 Wylie, Rev. T. W. J., contribution of, 313  
 Wylies, The, of Philada., mentioned, 314  
 Wyllys, Col. Sam., 363  
 Yates, James, arrives in Pa., 333  
 Yocum, Daniel, 76, 80; Moses, 76; Nicholas, 76  
 Yoder, John, 65  
 York, Thomas, 211  
 Yorke, Sir Joseph, 301  
 Young, George, 260; Sergeant William, Journal of, 1776-7, 255; quoted, 394, 398, 402  
 Younge, Thomas, and wife, arrive in Pa., 337  
 Zacharias, George, 80  
 Zensinger, Paul, 68  
 Zinzendorf, Count, 233, 234



