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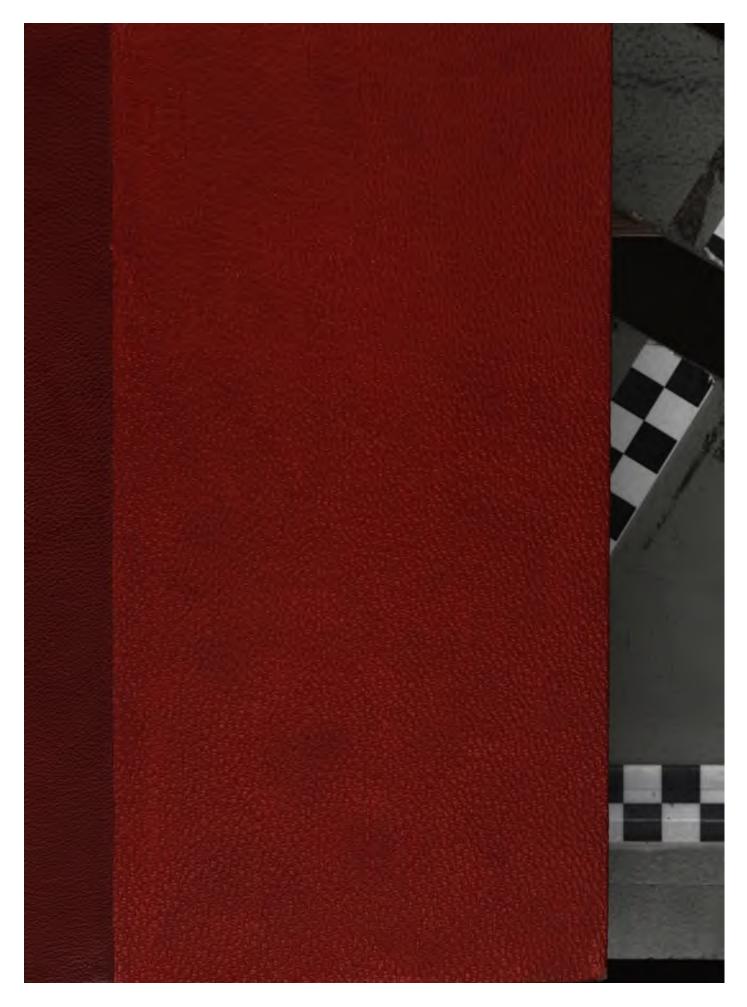
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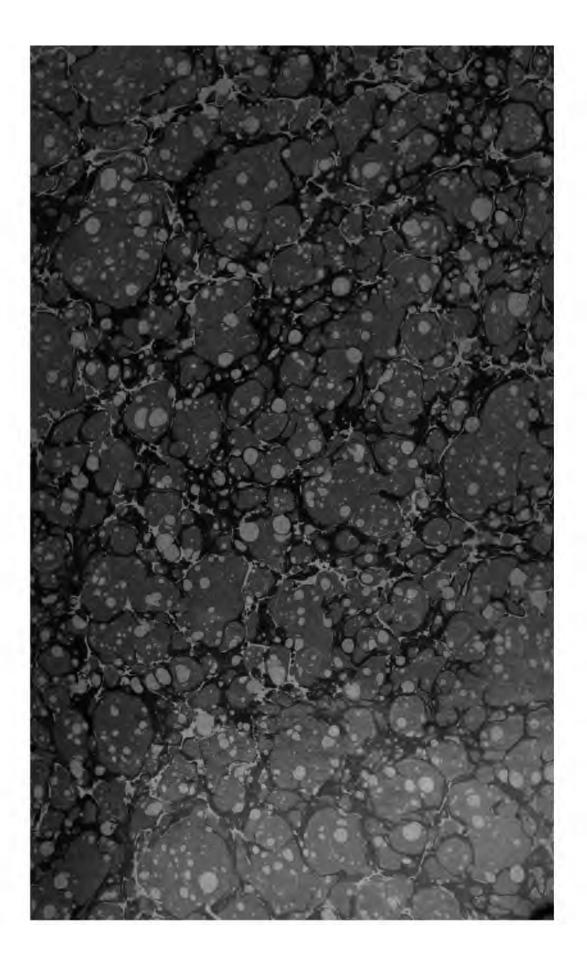
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HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

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IN MEMORY

OF

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BRINTON COXE, ESQ.

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BRINTON COXF. Fsq.,

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CELD DECEMBER 12, 1892.

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ADDRESSES AND PROCEEDINGS.

A SPECIAL MEETING of the Society was held in the Hall on Monday evening, December 12, 1892, in memory of the late Brinton Coxe, Esq., the President, Charles J. Stillé, LL.D., in the chair. A large and sympathetic audience was in attendance.

The President introduced David W. Sellers, Esq., who read the following Memorial Address:

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW-MEMBERS:

In receiving the invitation of "The Council of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania" to deliver an address before the Society in memory of the late President, Mr. Brinton Coxe, I recognized the desire to have personal and civic worth recorded. The proof of noble and honorable traits in the living has no better expression than the just appreciation of honor and nobility in the departed, and in the effort to portray the character of your late President I shall hope to place in your archives a memento of one who adorned every relation, and left this world better because of his life.

You have justly said in the minute already passed,¹ that you "mourn his loss as that of one who was not only a man of wide culture, but of the highest honor and purity of

¹ PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. XVI. p. 371.

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character, a gentleman of unfailing liberality and courtesy, a worthy representative of the Society in upholding the purposes for which it was established, a trusted counsellor, and a faithful friend."

As the late President reflected in his life the qualities and mental traits of an ancestry illustrious in their generation, a sketch of his lineage, with some quotations from publications, now rare, applicable to them, will be appropriate, as well for the consideration of his individuality as for historical uses.

The first of his line who holds close relation to this country was Dr. Daniel Coxe, of London. He became possessed in 1687, by purchase, of all the rights granted by the Duke of York to Edward Byllinge, of government and property in West New Jersey. In 1688 he yielded his claim to the Crown. In 1691 he resumed it, and conveyed all his rights to the West Jersey Society. In December, 1689, Dr. Coxe received a grant of the Province of Carolana, in North America, by conveyance and letters patent passed by King William III. in council of that date. To his eldest son, also named Daniel,¹ he gave all his American possessions. This gentleman was the first of the family who resided in America, having arrived in New Jersey in 1702.

I believe one of the first suggestions of a union of States, and of a plan for a general government for such union, is found in a book edited by him, and published in London in 1727, entitled "A Description of the English Province of Carolana, by the Spaniards called Florida, and by the French La Louisiane, as also of the great and famous river Meschacebe or Missisipi, the five vast navigable lakes of fresh water and the parts adjacent." After

¹ "Memoir of Slater" and "History of Manufactures," second edition, published in 1886, pp. 358, 359. speaking of colonial difficulties, and of constant perils from the Indians and French, he says,—

"The only expedient I can at present think of, or shall presume to mention (with the utmost deference to his Majesty and his Ministers) to help and obviate these absurdities and inconveniences, and apply a remedy to them, is that all the colonies appertaining to the Crown of Great Britain on the northern continent of America, be united under a legal, regular, and firm establishment, over which it is proposed a lieutenant, or supreme governour, may be constituted and appointed to preside on the spot, to whom the governours of each colony shall be subordinate.

"It is further humbly proposed, that two deputies shall be annually elected by the council and assembly of each province, who are to be in the nature of a great council or general convention of the estates of the colonies; and by the order, consent, or approbation of the lieutenant or governour general shall meet together, consult and advise for the good of the whole, settle and appoint particular quotas, or proportions of money, men, provisions, &c., that each respective government is to raise, for their mutual defence and safety, as well, as, if necessary, for offence and invasion of their enemies; in all which cases the governour general or lieutenant is to have a negative, but not to enact anything without their concurrence, or that of the majority of them.

"The quota or proportion, as above allotted and charged on each colony, may, nevertheless, be levied and raised by its own assembly in such manner, as they shall judge most easy and convenient, and the circumstances of their affairs will permit.

"Other jurisdictions, powers, and authorities, respecting the honour of his Majesty, the interest of the plantations, and the liberty and property of the proprietors, traders, planters, and inhabitants in them, may be vested in and cognizable by the above said governour general or lieutenant, and grand convention of the estates, according to the laws of England, but are not thought fit to be touched on, or inserted here; this proposal being general, and with all humility submitted to the consideration of our superiors, who may improve, model, or reject it as they in their wisdom shall judge proper.

"A coalition or union of this nature, tempered with and grounded on prudence, moderation, and justice, and a generous incouragement given to the labour, industry, and good management of all sorts and conditions of persons inhabiting, or any ways concerned or interested in the several colonies above mentioned, will, in all probability, lay a sure and lasting foundation of dominion strength and trade, sufficient not only to secure and promote the prosperity of the plantations, but to revive and greatly increase the late flourishing state and condition of Great Britain, and thereby render it, once more, the envy and admiration of its neighbours.

"Let us consider the fall of our ancestors, and grow wise by their misfortunes. If the ancient Britons had been united amongst themselves, the Romans, in all probability, had never become their masters. For, as Cæsar observed of them, 'Dum singuli pugnabant, universi vincebantur'-whilst they fought in separate bodies, the whole island was subdued. So if the English colonies in America were consolidated as one body and joined in one common interest, as they are under one gracious sovereign, and with united forces were ready and willing to act in concert, and assist each other, they would be better enabled to provide for and defend themselves against any troublesome ambitious neigh-

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bour or bold invader. For union and concord increase and establish strength and power, whilst division and discord have the contrary effects."

This plan¹ Franklin recommended to the convention at Albany in 1754, for the purpose of forming a league with the Six Nations, and after the independence of the colonies has a very close rendering in the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution of 1789.

Daniel Coxe married Sarah Eckley, a daughter of John Eckley, a judge of the Supreme Provincial Court of Pennsylvania. One of the children by this marriage was William Coxe, who married Mary, the daughter of Tench Francis, Attorney-General of the Province of Pennsylvania. Of this marriage Tench Coxe was born in Philadelphia, in May, 1755.

Tench Coxe was a distinguished man of his time. He was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in 1789, under Washington, and was appointed in 1792 Commissioner of the Revenue of the United States. In 1794 he published "A View of the United States of America, in a series of papers written at various times between the years 1787 and 1794." This book is replete with information upon population, agriculture, exports, imports, fisheries, navigation, ship-building, and manufactures. In the "Memoir of Samuel Slater, the Father of American Manufactures," edited by George S. White, the following reference to him is made (page 356):

"The growth of cotton in the Southern States was an original idea in the mind of Tench Coxe, who always said that the manufacture of a redundant staple must be the foundation of commerce and manufactures. Thus laying

¹ Field's "Provincial Courts of New Jersey," pp. 134–137. McMaster's Life of Franklin" (American Men of Letters Series), p. 168.

In Memory of Brinton Coxe, Esq.

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agriculture in its proper place, as the basis for manufactures and commerce to build on; and not allowing it to be dependent on contingencies.

"Mr. Coxe was an harbinger of light on this subject: he urged the subject with a force and energy peculiar to himself; always stating most explicitly that America was destitute of a redundant staple. England had long nursed the growth of wool; and it was their staple, the importance of which their Chancellor was ever to remember by his seat on the woolsack. America has now produced an article which has superseded the wool staple of England. . . . Before a field of cotton was planted, and while we had nothing to manufacture, but were obliged to import even the raw material for their incipient measures in manufacture, Tench Coxe, with the eye of a political economist, who understood the true means of the wealth of nations, knew that the growth of cotton would enrich the South; that it would give vigor and energy to the North; and that both East and West would be mutually interested in the unity of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. These unite all the vast resources which are combined in the vast capabilities of various climes, and of the immense variety of the industry, skill, and enterprise of mankind. . . . The writings now extant of Tench Coxe prove, emphatically, that these were his great and enlightened views as a statesman, who was advocating principles that were to be the foundation of new empires; and of ameliorating the condition of mankind. It is not saying too much when we claim for him the appellation of The Father of the Growth of Cotton in America."

Tench Coxe married Rebecca, daughter of Charles Coxe, of New Jersey. Of this marriage Charles Sidney Coxe was born in July, 1791. He was admitted to the Bar of Philadelphia in 1812. In 1826 he was appointed a judge of the District Court for the City and County of Philadelphia, and reappointed in 1832. While in this position he delivered, in 1830, a judgment in the case of Torlade vs. Barozzo, sustaining the privileges of a diplomatic officer, which has become an accepted authority.¹ In 1832 he married Ann M. Brinton. At the expiration of his commission, in 1835, he retired from the practice of his profession and devoted his time to the cultivation of letters and the management of his estate, which was perhaps the largest in anthracite coal held in private ownership. During his life he was noted for his profuse hospitality and his charity. He died at a ripe age, leaving surviving several children, of whom the eldest was Brinton Coxe, who was born in Philadelphia, August 3, 1833.

After the usual preparation, the subject of our memoir entered the Freshman class of the University of Pennsylvania in 1848, and graduated in the July commencement of 1852, with the B. A. degree and fifth honor, delivering an oration on "Garrick." He was the eighth of his name and blood claiming the same *Alma Mater*.

On May 31, 1852, he became a student of law, under the direction of the most accomplished of preceptors, the late Judge John Cadwalader, and was admitted to the Bar on May 30, 1855. In the following July he received the degree of M. A.

During this period he was a close student and evinced interest in topics of political economy and history, which (as has been shown) were inherited traits.

Shortly after his admission to the Bar he went to Europe, and there was engaged in researches which he utilized in subsequent writings. In 1857 he writes from Paris to a friend in Philadelphia,—

¹ 1 Miles, 366.

In Memory of Brinton Coxe, Esq.

"I spent some four months in Central and Southern Italy, and am satisfied that it is the most memorable portion of my tour abroad. The contrast between America and Italy is greater than that between America and any other European country. Old ideas and influences dominate in Italy to an extent that is not approached in any other land. The spirit of modern times has hardly an existence there. Besides this, Italy is the land of art in a sense in which you can assert that there is no art in any other country. It is the fashion to say, America is much behind all other countries in art. This is not true, for in the first place America contains innumerable lovers of the beautiful, and the American school of sculpture is one of the most promising. America, it is true, is far behind Italy, but is so just as England and France are. The fact is, painting and sculpture are mere hot-house plants outside of Italy, and the non-Italian schools are mere colonies from Italy. You must not include Germany in my remarks, which I shall speak of to you when I go there. Its exclusion from present consideration will not interfere with the general accuracy of my remarks, as it is but special circumstances that its consideration would affect."

After referring to some social and political matters, he concludes,—

"God bless you and keep you to serve your country,—the country which my travels teach me is the land where human greatness, human good, and human truth are most developed and developing, which promises to do more than any other for the glory of God and the good of man."

In 1862, Carl Güterbock, professor of law in the University of Königsberg, published his work on "Bracton." This was translated by Coxe in 1866, and in the preface he remarks,—

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"Bracton's relation to the Roman law has long been considered a question of much importance. In 1787, Mr. Reeves expressed the opinion that it should be thoroughly investigated by some competent jurist. Although a question constantly recurring, it, however, remained in England unsolved, and even so recent a writer as Professor Maine holds Bracton's relation to the Roman law to be among the most hopeless enigmas of jurisprudence. The investigation of Bracton's relation to the Roman law has, however, at length been undertaken by Dr. Güterbock, one of the superior judges of the Stadt-Gericht of Königsberg, and professor of law in the university of that city; and the translator has felt that an English version of the work of a jurist so eminently qualified was called for.

"It is proper to call attention to the difference in motives which have impelled the author and translator to their respective tasks. The former entitles his work a 'Contribution to the History of the Roman Law in the Middle Ages,' and the purpose of his investigation is to throw light upon the mediæval history of the doctrine and dogmas of the Roman law. The object, however, with which the translation has been made is to add to the sources of information concerning the history of the English law."

This translation, and the notes, are a marvellous instance of labor and research. So much so, that Sir Travers Twiss, the erudite editor of "In the Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages, published under the Direction of the Master of the Rolls," in 1878, in acknowledging the sources of his information of Bracton, remarks, page xxv., Vol. I.,—

"Professor Güterbock's work has been translated into English, from the German, by Mr. Brinton Coxe, of Philadelphia, who has appended some valuable notes from his

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own pen in addition to those from the pen of the learned professor."

This reference, alone, places Coxe upon the list of juridical writers shedding honor on our State.¹

Thereafter Coxe was constant to his studies in politics, jurisprudence, and history. He gathered sterling books on the original sources on these subjects, his library being rare, full, and various. A bibliopole, who had acted for him many times in the purchase of books, lately remarked that he was distinct from all others he had ever known, in that he never sought the *facetiæ* of letters.

In October, 1872, he was married to Maria Middleton Fisher, at St. Peter's Church of this city, by the now Bishop of Michigan.² This lady was a daughter of the late Joshua Francis Fisher, a gentleman well known to all lovers of letters, and a former Vice-President of this Society.

The late George Sharswood, afterwards Chief-Justice of our State, about 1861 instituted a club for the study of political economy. The writings of Smith, Ricardo, Mill, Walker, and others were read and discussed fortnightly at the houses of its members. Coxe became a member of this in 1873, and was constant in his attendance up to the last year of his life. He would usually show at these meetings a reading upon the topic of the evening, and his discussion was always earnest and accurate. His mind was receptive of the suggestions of others, and he was pleased to have an old view on rent and prices shown in a new light. Accompanying this culture of abstract principles, he made application of them to the measures in our Congress which divided the passions, the interests, and the intellect of our people,—on our legal-tender notes, our customs for

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¹ And see further reference in Vol. II. Introduction, p. lxxxvii.

² Rev. Thomas F. Davies.

the sake of protection and of revenue, and of bimetallic standards in money. Indeed, he has left several volumes of manuscript notes, the outgrowth of his reflections upon political economy.

In October, 1870, he read before the American Social Science Association a paper claiming to be "a condensed but faithful review of the treatise of the eminent German publicist, Von Mohl, upon the different modes of filling the offices of the civil service."¹ This paper of twenty-one octavo pages will fully repay the citizen interested in this question, which may now be considered a most absorbing one, if the tone of official life is to be maintained on an elevated plane. In this his power to condense the views of a foreign writer for use in his own land is apt, and his reflections are interspersed in harmony with the author, and with a lofty appreciation of the advantages and disadvantages arising upon the different modes of official tenure.

He was the first president of "The Commonwealth Club," which was organized² in 1881 to "advance Democratic principles." He sought in this club to translate into party action the highest ideals of its literature. In September, 1882, in a reception given by that club to its nominee for Governor,³ he impressively censured the exercise of political power in creating districts for representation for party success, viewing this as a tyranny of brute force and breeding distrust in the law-making power. Just and true representation he held to be absolutely essential to good self-government. Again, in January, 1884, at a reception given to the

¹ Journal of Social Science, containing the Transactions of the American Association, No. 4, p. 74 (1871).

² Charter-Book of Philadelphia, No. 5, p. 389.

³ Robert Emory Pattison.

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Hon. J. G. Carlisle, he expressed the hope that the power to tax in Congress would be assimilated to like powers in the States and cities, and that it should be limited to raising money for purely public purposes. He resigned in December, 1886, and in acknowledging the expression of regret made by its board, he said, "I shall always treasure it among my most valued records, among those which I preserve for my children as well as for myself."

He was elected a member of this Society on May 14, 1855, and, although he always manifested an interest in its existence, it was not until 1880 that he showed a disposition to take an active part in its management. His interest in historical matters had been growing for several years, and when the second part of the great collection of books relating to America, made by George Brinley, Esq., of Hartford, Connecticut, was offered for sale, he found the collection contained a number of rare tracts relating to Pennsylvania and New Jersey which had never come under his notice. Mr. Brinley had left a certain sum of money to the Society to be expended at the sale of his library, but Coxe felt that the sum at its disposal was not sufficient to enable it to secure some of the works that it should have, and if the opportunity to acquire those was lost it would be years before another one would be offered. To accomplish this he authorized the committee of the Society to largely increase their bids at his expense, and insisted that high prices should be offered for some lots that the committee had felt were so valuable as to make it useless for them to compete for So satisfied was he with what was purchased at this them. sale, that he doubled the subscription for which he had rendered himself liable, and from that time forward he was a devoted friend of the Society. He frequently made valuable additions to its collection.

When, in the winter of 1882 and 1883, the Society was using every effort to secure the building it now occupies, he put himself heart and soul into the work; contributed himself munificently and encouraged others to do the same. After he was elected President, in January, 1883, he made its rooms a second home, and aided in every way in his power to forward its objects. When in feeble health, nothing appeared to distress him more than his inability to spend the time he had been accustomed to do in its service, and but few days passed while he was in the city that he did not make the effort to call, if only for a few moments, to ask if everything was going on as it should, or if he could be of any assistance. But it was not by such devotion as this, or by his contributions, that Mr. Coxe rendered his greatest aid to the Society. It was the moral support he gave which was so effective. If he felt that a thing should be done and there was a fair prospect of its success, he did not hesitate to assume the responsibility of guaranteeing its accomplishment, and with his support, those intrusted with the execution of the task seldom failed in their object.

As a collector he professed not to care for first editions, but no one has been more generous than he in gifts of this character to the Society. The acquisition of the Tower Collection caused him unbounded delight.

Manuscripts were always attractive to him, and their collection and arrangement he always considered should be one of the chief objects of this Society. Indeed, when we consider how active a competition exists for the same books among the numerous libraries, and how constant is their duplication, it may be well for this Society to adopt his thought in this, which was, that it should seek to acquire a copy of every manuscript not published that applied to the civilization of this continent, and so to arrange them that

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its museum would be the first, if not the only one, to which the student should have recourse.

In this connection it may be well to mention two incidents showing how thoroughly familiar he was with the customs and proceedings of the English courts and offices of record of the seventeenth century, a familiarity that enabled him to turn to the proper source where the information he desired could be obtained. In studying the history of West Jersey, in the settlement of which his ancestry mentioned bore an important part, he noticed that the deed from Lord Berkeley to Fenwick was missing, and that it had eluded the search of all the historians of the State. After considering the matter, he sent word to his correspondent in London to search the "Close Rolls" for 1673 and 1674, and almost the next steamer brought him a copy of the longed-for document. So, too, it was with the charter of New Albion. The evidence of the existence of that grant was so slight, and the romance woven around it was so unreal, that the whole matter had been looked upon as doubtful. He, however, thought that such a grant had been made, and ordered that the papers of the time of Charles I., in the public record office of Ireland, be searched, and from that office in a few weeks he received a copy of the charter.¹

We of the Historical Society may say of him, as he with others said of the late Townsend Ward,² "We perpetuate the testimony of his long, able, and devoted service, with gratitude for his deeds, and with affection and esteem for his character. This hall of ours is devoted to the memory of the past. When our successors here shall read this

¹ I am much indebted to Mr. F. D. Stone, Librarian of the Historical Society, for the views expressed upon the connection of Mr. Coxe with that Society.

² PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. IX. p. 450.

memorial, they will know that we cherish and ought to cherish the memory of" [Brinton Coxe].

In the last ten years he had prepared for publication the learned and wise judgments of his preceptor rendered while judge. This will be a lasting monument to that great lawyer. During the same time he prepared a manuscript which he entitled, in his last illness, "An essay on judicial power and unconstitutional legislation." This, when published, in its erudition, in its reasoning, in its original conception and rendering,—will establish him as an author of whom our State shall be proud, and one who shall give wide renown to this city of his birth.

As an individual, he was the soul of uprightness and of honor. Toleration of opinion revelled in his mind. To all who aided others in their efforts to excel he gave the sympathy of a generous admiration. No jealousy of othersthough possessed of similar tastes and acquirements-ever was felt by him. Loyal to truth on all lines, he lived only to be useful, and he had no fear except for ignorant and unjust blame.

He died at Drifton, in Luzerne County, on the 15th of September, 1892, and was buried in the church-yard of St. Mary's at Burlington, where the remains of his emigrant ancestor repose. There, in a quiet spot, under a bending willow, he awaits the solution of that mystery of being, as to which the affections and the religions of all time and of all races have created the hope that death is not the final and only end, but the approach to an ever-improving and blessed immortality.

Mr. Joseph G. Rosengarten said,-

Mr. President, in moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Sellers for his able and eloquent memorial address, and that a copy

In Memory of Brinton Coxe, Esq.

be placed in the records of the Society and that it be printed in its Proceedings, I feel that I am expressing the sense of this large and sympathetic audience. Among them I see some of those who with me were classmates of Mr. Coxe in the University, so that our friendship is older even than that of Mr. Sellers, for that began when they were fellow-students in the law office of Judge Cadwalader. That learned scholar was himself an example and inspiration for his students, yet we who knew Mr. Coxe in his college days anticipated his future achievements. Indeed, much as he accomplished, it fell short of our reasonable expectations, for continued ill health prevented his completing much of the work he had begun, and even arrested his labor as an author in many directions in which his studies had been exhaustive and thorough and conscientious.

Mr. Coxe was essentially a student, living in retirement, happy in his family, in his books, and in his congenial companionship of those who shared his love of study and of independent thought. His position as President of this Society brought him at times before the public, yet his frequent and generous benefactions to this Society and to other institutions and associations were never known outside the narrow circle of those immediately connected with their administration. During the ten years of his office, his constant care was to enrich the Historical Society by gifts and purchases of the original material for history which he knew so well how to use. Interested in local history by his descent from a long line of distinguished men, he aimed at a very high order of studies. His own contributions to legal and historical literature were few, but that was largely due to the lofty standard of excellence which he set for himself. His edition of Güterbock's Bracton is full of that suggestion of learning and knowledge which characterized every

subject that he took in hand. The treatise on the Constitution of the United States, which he leaves, will, I trust, soon be published, for I am sure that it will gain him an honorable place among those who have made that great charter the subject of careful study. This large audience testifies by its presence, better than any words of mine can, the strong personal affection which Mr. Coxe inspired in all who had the privilege of his friendship. Mr. Sellers has told us not only what he did, but what he was, and the warm sympathy which began in their student days is clearly manifested in his admirable eulogy, tempered by that modesty which characterized Mr. Coxe, so that even now it is difficult to speak of him with that fulness of admiration which he so well deserved. The Historical Society was fortunate in having Mr. Coxe for its President, and in having Mr. Sellers to make up the record of his life and services, and I am sure that his memorial address will bring home to all who heard it and read it a better knowledge of Mr. Coxe and of his services to learning and history.

John Samuel, Esq., said,—

I would be untrue to the memory of my friend, untrue to myself, were I to remain silent on this occasion.

Mr. Horace Binney, in the opening paragraph of his address, at the meeting of the Philadelphia Bar, on the death of his eminent *confrère*, the late John Sergeant, declared that "This is the age of indiscriminate adulation." If this were true then, how much greater the evil is to-day, when the whole vocabulary of commendation has been exhausted over commonplace performances and worse than commonplace men! This habit has rendered difficult the recognition and appreciation of solid worth, and has cheapened the value of merited praise. No one was more in accord with Mr. Binney's sentiment than your late President. He thought that the magnifying and advertising of petty achievements was an exhibition of ignorance, and tended directly to an inferior culture. Respect, therefore, for him, as well as my own inclination, leads me to be careful of the language I shall employ in speaking of him.

Our late President was a man so distinct from the ordinary crowd, so apart from "the average man," so idiosyncratic, that it was impossible that an acquaintance with him should not create a profound impression, and leave on those who were associated with him a flavor of his very marked individuality. His chief characteristic was an intense conscientiousness, and flowing out of and resulting therefrom a most serious earnestness. This was so pronounced as, I think, to make life for him, if not in some degree painful, at least difficult. There were not enough trifles in his life. Every action, every written, every spoken word had for him some deep and solemn meaning. He found weight and importance in circumstances and expressions that to many would have been indifferent. To such an extent did this habit of his mind affect him as to give sometimes an appearance of vehemence to his manner which was most opposite to his quiet nature. He had in him in his views of life something of the strain of the old Biblical prophets; he took hardly the prevailing evils of his age, and felt, as it were, a personal accusation against himself for their existence. In nothing was this trait of his mind more visible than in its effect upon his studies. Special, and chiefest among them, was the Constitution of the United States. He revered the written words of that instrument with the same absolute obedience that the children of Israel had to He habitually spoke of it as the Ten Commandments. they were directed to speak of the Tables of the Law,---

"when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up." He had studied it from his early manhood to the time of his death, continuously, persistently, and minutely. He applied to it strictly the Horatian precept, "Nocturna versare manu, versare diurna." The best years of his life and the best power of his intellect were given to its study and to the study of the times and the men, and all that led up to it and could illustrate it. His feeling towards it and its authors was more than the result of an intellectual appreciation of it. It was a passion; he was possessed of it, and he mourned almost as a personal calamity whatever he looked on as an impairment of its sacred obligation. What he has left behind him on this subject will show how careful, how exact, how laborious he has been in its study, and his intense anxiety for the preservation of its powers and limitations. He was versed in both the canon and civil law, and his application of the decisions of those courts to constitutional questions is original and curious.

Mr. Coxe's general historical knowledge was large, and his method of using it scientific. He was a comparative historian, who strove to comprehend the effect of legislation and social forces, in modern society, by the operation of similar laws in the past. In the mere curiosities of historical inquiry—those conundrums over which countless students have puzzled, and whose solution as the evidence becomes more indistinct becomes more difficult—he had but slight interest. But he was deeply absorbed in those apparently ordinary, but really fateful, occurrences which mark the progress of civilization. "Who was the man in the iron mask?" or "Have we a Bourbon among us?" were questions affording him a temporary diversion; but Andrew Hamilton arguing Zenger's case, or the case of Trevett vs.

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Weeden, were vital performances whose contemplation enthralled him. In the by-paths of historical literature where lurks the gossip of courtiers and valets, and in whose obscure mazes are hidden those chroniques scandalcuses that reveal the unhistoric side of great personages, he wandered carelessly. Mr. Sellers has mentioned the entire absence of facetize in his library. In his management of the affairs of this Society he was guided by the same fastidious spirit. On one occasion during his presidency he preferred to encounter some criticism, by urging the rejection of a proffered trust, rather than subject the Society, no matter how unjustly, to any imputation as to the manner of its acquisition. He made no distinction between corporate and individual honor, and would preserve the escutcheon of any society with which he was connected, as untarnished as his own.

So much for that part of his character which is associated with our Society. This is not the time, nor here the place, to dwell on those personal qualities which riveted to him those who had his confidence. He is gone. Nothing we can say can affect him now,—the most elaborate eulogy, or the decorous platitudes of conventionality. Yet it may not go unsaid that, so long as a deep love of humanity, a searching intellect, a great purity and simplicity of heart, an inflexible steadfastness of purpose, and noble aspirations are to be considered worthy of admiration by men, so long should the memory of Brinton Coxe be cherished.

President Stillé said,-

I am sure there is no friend of Mr. Coxe, in or out of the Historical Society, who is not grateful to Mr. Sellers and the other gentlemen who have spoken, for the admirable delineation they have given us of our late President. I beg leave to tender to them, in the name of the Society, our sincere thanks for the manner in which they have expressed our feelings as well as their own.

The officers of the Society, however, cannot allow this occasion to pass without saying a few words concerning Mr. Coxe's special relations to them during the past eight years. We here ought to know something of his inner life, and we cannot be silent, even if what we shall say may only be the echoes of what has been already so well said of him.

Mr. Coxe led the ideal life of a scholar. He was not, in the modern sense, a man of affairs. His pleasures were wholly intellectual. He believed earnestly in principles which he thought, at least, he had evolved by a strict process of induction, and he earnestly strove to bring those principles into the control of practical life.

He was a genuine historical student. He studied history not to gratify the curiosity of an antiquarian, or to fill his mind with pictures of the great deeds of illustrious heroes, or even to ascertain how people lived, and thought, and acted in past ages. His great purpose was to discover what history teaches us which we ought to know for the guidance of the present generation. All history to him was a great drama; through the ages of which it tells the story "an unfailing purpose ran." To him it was truly "philosophy teaching by examples." Great historical events were to him a wonderful evolution, whose truest and fittest expression was to be found in our American institutions. To him "time's noblest offspring was its last," and he spent the best years of his life in trying to prove that the traditions of the past, and the teachings of the best political philosophy, were united in the foundations of that system which our fathers gave us.

It is not easy to overestimate the quiet strength of such

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a man as Mr. Coxe, at the head of an institution like this. No one ever welcomed with more heart-felt sincerity, or encouraged with more active help, any one among us who showed any disposition or capacity for historical investigation. He knew the pretender by instinct, but every true student had his unfailing support. He encouraged every effort to bring before the public the lost or neglected portions of our own provincial history, so full of practical instruction to those who study it aright. His failing health did not prevent his taking the liveliest interest in the series of papers, which were read before the Society last winter, on various topics connected with that provincial history. He valued highly our Tower collection of colonial laws, one of our recent gifts. No one rejoiced more than he at our acquisition of those precious family manuscripts, which came to us while he was President, some of them through his direct agency. Like a true historian, he believed in going to the original and contemporaneous documents for author-He felt what a rich material we were acquiring for ity. the historical student when the Poinsett papers, the Peters papers, the Johnston papers, the Pemberton family papers (now arranged in nearly one hundred volumes), and last, and perhaps the most precious of all, the papers of General Wayne, were placed in our care and keeping. He had a full sense of the value of the records of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations in England, a body charged with the control and administration of colonial affairs while we were subjects of the English crown. Had he lived he would have heartily supported a project which we have now on foot, but which cannot be carried out just now for want of funds, to secure copies of those papers in these English records which refer to the history of Pennsylvania. May I venture to suggest that there could be no more fitting

memorial of our regard for Mr. Coxe's memory than that we should be enabled to carry out this scheme?

Of our more intimate relations with him here, I need say but one word. Mr. Coxe was emphatically at home in this hall. He felt that he was surrounded here by friends who knew his peculiarities, who recognized his lovable qualities, and who were filled with anxious solicitude for his health. His last message sent to us—" God bless you all !"—fell on sympathetic hearts, and was the expression of a grateful spirit in recognition of that strong regard and affection which he knew was felt for him by all his co-workers here.

The meeting then adjourned.

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ANDREW HAMILTON, ESQ., OF PENNSYLVANIA.

No. 1.

BY JOSHUA FRANCIS FISHER.

[The following sketch of Andrew Hamilton, by the late Joshua Francis Fisher, was printed in the *Historical Magazine* for August, 1868. As the circulation of that periodical was then so small as to call for a very limited edition, but few who are interested in the career of Pennsylvania's distinguished lawyer are aware that such an article was ever written. No excuse, therefore, is necessary for reproducing it here. The portrait that accompanies it is from the one by Wertmuller mentioned in the text, now in the Historical Society.]

The name of Andrew Hamilton, it is probable, would have sunk into oblivion, but for the place it has in the History of Civil Rights, as that of one of the earliest and boldest assertors of the Liberty of Speech and Writing, to whom precedence must be given over the famous Mr. Erskine, in the enunciation of the now universally accepted doctrines of the Law of Libel. All who have read his defence of the printer, John Peter Zenger, before Chief-Justice DeLancey and the Supreme Court of New York, in 1736, will perhaps desire to know something more of this learned and fearless Advocate.

The following pages perhaps contain all the facts of his Vol. xvi.—1 (1) private history and professional and political career which it is now possible to recover. They will probably excite regret that so little can now be known of a man whose patriotism and public spirit were as pre-eminent in the Province of Pennsylvania, as the legal attainments which mark him, in all respects, as the first of our Colonial lawyers.

Andrew Hamilton was a Scotchman, born in the year 1676. Although his parentage cannot be ascertained, he was doubtless of gentle blood; and his education must have been very good. Of his early history nothing is known. The family tradition is that he had been obliged to fly from his native country in consequence of killing a person of some importance in a duel. It is more likely that he may have been involved in some of the political difficulties during the reign of King William. At all events, he thought proper, for some time after his arrival in America, to conceal his name, taking that of Trent. Whatever the cause might have been, all danger to himself was passed in the reign of Queen Anne; and his admission to Gray's Inn and call to the English Bar forbid the idea of his emigration under a charge of felony or any disgraceful crime.

His first residence in the Colonies seems to have been the Eastern Shore of Virginia-afterwards in Kent County, Maryland. He is said to have had charge of an estate, and to have kept a classical school. He married afterwards a lady of some fortune, Mrs. Anne (Brown), widow of Joseph Preeson, connected with some of the first families in Maryland. In the year 1712 he was established in Chestertown as a lawyer, with a handsome practice and great reputation for ability. In that year he was first retained by the agents of William Penn in a suit against Berkeley Codd, Esq., of Sussex County, Delaware, who had disputed some of his rights under the grant of the Duke of York. It may be remarked as a curious fact that Andrew Hamilton, son of the subject of this sketch, married a grand-daughter of Mr. Codd-the daughter and heiress of William Till, a gentleman of some consequence in the Colony-obtaining with

her, among other property, the Woodlands Estate, near Philadelphia, afterwards so highly improved by his son, William Hamilton.

It is supposed that the legal studies of Andrew Hamilton, commenced in Great Britain, must have been completed in Maryland, where there were, among the officials of the Government, several men of considerable legal attainments, and, amongst the gentry of the Eastern Shore, some highly educated men. Whatever opportunities these afforded, it is certain they were made the most of; and at the age of thirty-six, Andrew Hamilton had already attained great reputation and a lucrative practice. But the position of a Colonial lawyer seems in those times to have depended on the favor or license of the local authorities; and a call to the English Bar, as a member of the Temple of Gray's Inn, was always prized as giving a rank and independence before the Colonial Judges well worth the expense and time of a voyage to England. So Mr. Hamilton thought, and with this object he sailed for England in the year 1712. The Records of Gray's Inn show that he was admitted a member of that learned society on the 27th of January, 1712, where he is designated as Mr. Andrew Hamilton, of Maryland; and on the 10th of February of the same year he was, per favor, called to the Bar, which means, without keeping the usual Terms, though not, it is to be inferred, without proof of character and learning in the law.

He soon after returned to America and removed to Philadelphia. Here his abilities gained him the first position at the Bar and a large practice. When appointed a member of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania he accepted on condition that his attendance should not interfere with his practice; and he appears rarely, if ever, to have taken his seat in that body. He had previously been appointed, in 1717, Attorney-General of the Province, which office he resigned in 1726, before his second visit to England, which was of considerable length.

After his return, on the 5th of June, 1727, he received from Governor Gordon the lucrative post of Prothonotary, made vacant by the death of Mr. Ashton, in consideration not only of his legal qualifications, but also of "the considerable service he had done to the Proprietors in this Province and country."

In April, 1728, we find he was Recorder of the city of Philadelphia; and, in November, 1737, he was appointed by Governor Thomas Judge of Vice-Admiralty, which office it is supposed he held until his death, his judicial functions not appearing to interfere with his practice in other courts.

In the year 1727, he was elected a member of the House of Assembly from Bucks County; and he was returned to the same seat for twelve successive years. He immediately took a leading part in public affairs; was Chairman of the most important committees, the author of most of the addresses of the Governor to the Proprietors and to the English Government, and the draughtsman of the Acts of Assembly.

In October, 1729, he was elected Speaker; and with the exception of the year 1733, he filled the chair uninterruptedly till his final retirement in 1739. On one occasion, at least, he received the unanimous vote of the members. Every mark of their confidence seems to have been bestowed. He was appointed a Trustee of the Loan Office, and entrusted with the building and disbursements for the State House-sacred to us, and to all Americans, as the Hall of Independence. It appears that, although Messrs. Lawrence and Graeme were of the committee, the designs were furnished and entirely carried out by Mr. Hamilton. This appears to have been to the public satisfaction; and although the interior cannot boast of much architectural grandeur,¹ the exterior, especially the entrance hall and staircase, have been much praised by good judges. The other apartments might be, if their original panellings and decorations had not been many years ago barbarously removed—unluckily before Colonel Trumbull's picture of the Signers of the Declaration was sketched-or we might

¹ The original façade, with the arcades connecting the wings, had a much better effect than the present unsightly offices of "The Row."

have a representation of the Hall as it was in July, 1776. The tradition is, that it was richly carved and in the finest style. An attempt was made to restore it, about forty years ago, and some little fragments of ornamental work were found in the cellars of the building, which may be seen over the smaller doors, but give little idea of the pristine appearance of this hallowed apartment—the dignity of which is departed, and the proper associations nearly effaced.

The respect and confidence of his colleagues were not purchased by any unworthy compliances. While at all times advocating every inherited and chartered right, and promoting every measure of public utility, he never was ranked in the *soi-disant* popular anti-proprietary party; and his constant opposition to Sir William Keith was justified by the developments of the character and objects of that mercenary and factious man. Such was the verdict of public opinion in Pennsylvania.

On taking leave of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, in the year 1739, when, owing to his growing infirmities, he declared his intention of declining all further public service, he said:¹

"GENTLEMEN,—As the Service of the Country should be the only Motive to induce any man to take upon him the Country's Trust, which none ought to assume who find themselves incapable of giving such a constant Attendance as the nature of so great Trust requires; and as you are Witnesses of the frequent Indispositions of Body I have so long laboured under, particularly during the winter Season (the usual Time of doing Business here) and being apprehensive that, by Reason of my Age and Infirmities, which daily increase, I may be unable to discharge the Duty

¹ The Records of the Assembly, under date of "6th Mo. 11, 1739," are as follows:

"And the House being about to adjourn, the Speaker addressed himself to them in the following Speech, a Copy whereof, on Request, he delivered to the Clerk, and it was *Resolved*, upon Motion, that the same be inserted in the Minutes of the House." *Votes and Proceedings*, iii. 849. expected from a Member of Assembly; I therefore hope that these Considerations alone, were there no others, will appear to you sufficient to justify the Determination I am come to, of declining the farther Service of the Province in a Representative Capacity.

"As to my Conduct, it is not for me to condemn or commend it: Those who have sat here from time to time during my Standing, and particularly these several Gentlemen present, who were Members when I first came into the House (whom I now see with Pleasure) have the Right to judge of my Behaviour, and will censure or approve of it as it has deserved. But, whatever that may have been, I know my own Intentions, and that I ever had at Heart the Preservation of Liberty, the Love of which, as it first drew me to, so it constantly prevailed upon me to reside in, this Province, tho' to the manifest Prejudice of my Fortune.

"But (waiving all Remarks of a private Nature, which Reflections of this kind might naturally, and justly lead me into) I would beg Leave to observe to you, That it is not to the Fertility of our Soil, and the Commodiousness of our Rivers, that we ought chiefly to attribute the great Progress this Province has made, within so small a Compass of Years, in Improvements, Wealth, Trade, and Navigation, and the extraordinary Increase of People, who have been drawn hither from almost every Country in *Europe*; a Progress which much more antient Settlements on the Main of *America* cannot at present boast of, No, it is principally and almost wholly owing to the Excellency of our Constitution, under which we enjoy a greater Share both of civil and religious Liberty than any of our Neighbours.

"It is our great Happiness that instead of trienniel Assemblies, a Privilege which several other Colonies have long endeavoured to obtain, but in vain, ours are annual; and for that Reason, as well as others, less liable to be practised upon, or corrupted, either with Money or Presents. We sit upon our own Adjournments, when we please, and as long as we think necessary, and are not to be sent a Packing, in the Middle of a Debate, and disabled from

representing our just Grievances to our Gracious Sovereign, if there should be Occasion, which has often been the hard fate of Assemblies in other Places.

"We have no Officers but what are necessary; none but what earn their Salaries, and those generally are either elected by the People, or appointed by their Representatives.

"Other Provinces swarm with unnecessary Officers, nominated by the Governors, who often make it a main Part of their Care to support those Officers, (notwithstanding their Oppressions). At all events, I hope it will ever be the Wisdom of our Assemblies to create no great Offices or Officers, nor indeed any Officer at all, but what is really necessary for the Service of the Country, and to be sure to let the People, or their Representatives, have at least, a Share in their Nomination or Appointment. This will always be a good Security against the mischievous Influence of Men holding Places at the Pleasure of the Governor.

"Our foreign Trade and Shipping are free from all Imposts, except the small Duties payable to his Majesty by the Statute Laws of *Great Britain*. The Taxes which we pay for carrying on the Publick Service is inconsiderable; for the sole Power of raising and disposing of the Publick Money for the support of Government is lodged in the Assembly, who appoint their own Treasurer, and to them alone he is accountable. Other incidental Taxes are assessed, collected and applied by Persons annually chosen by the People themselves. Such is our happy State as to Civil Rights.

"Nor are we less happy in the enjoyment of a perfect Freedom as to Religion. By many years Experience, we find that an Equality among Religious Societies, without distinguishing any one Sect with greater Privileges than another, is the most effectual Method to discourage Hypocrisy, promote the Practice of the moral Virtues, and prevent the Plagues and Mischiefs that always attend religious Squabbling.

"This is our Constitution, and this Constitution was framed by the wisdom of Mr. Penn, the first Proprietor and Founder of the Province, whose Charter of Privileges to the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania will ever remain a Monument of his Benevolence to Mankind and reflect more lasting Honour on his Descendants than the largest Possessions. In the Framing of this Government, he reserved no Powers to himself or his Heirs to oppress the People; no Authority but what is necessary for our Protection, and to hinder us from falling into Anarchy; and therefore, (supposing we could persuade ourselves that all our Obligations to our great Law-giver, and his honourable Descendants, were entirely cancelled, yet) our own Interests should oblige us carefully to support the Government on its present Foundation, as the only Means to secure to ourselves and our Posterity the enjoyment of those Privileges, and the Blessings flowing from such a Constitution, under which we cannot fail of being happy, if the Fault be not our own.

"Yet I have observed, that in former Assemblies there have been Men who have acted in such a Manner as if they utterly disregarded all those inestimable Privileges, and (whether from private Pique and personal Dislike, or thro' Mistake, I will not determine) have gone great Lengths in risking our Happiness, in the prosecution of such Measures as did not at all square with the Professions they frequently made of their Love to our Government.

"When I reflect on the several Struggles which many of us, now present, have had with those Men, in order to rescue the Constitution out of their Hands, which, thro' their Mistakes (if they were Mistakes) was often brought on the Brink of Destruction; I cannot help cautioning you, in the most earnest Manner, against all personal Animosity in publick Consultations, as a Rock, which, if not avoided, the Constitution will at some Time or other infallibly split upon.

"But there is no Room for Applications of that Kind at present. It is with Delight I see this Session of Assembly end in a Manner very different from what was expected in the Beginning of the Year. The principal Business has been carried on with so good an Agreement among the Members of the House, and so little Difference in Sentiments between our Governor and the People, that it cannot but yield a sensible Pleasure to all who wish well to this Province.

"As this, Gentlemen, is likely to be the last Time I may trouble you with anything in this Place, I hope you will the more easily pardon the Liberties I have taken; and that you will farther permit me here to acknowledge my Obligations to that County, which has so often elected me for one of their Representatives; and at the same time to assure you, that I shall always retain a grateful Sense of the great Confidence so long resposed in me, and the Honour so frequently conferred upon me by many successive Assemblies, in calling me to the Chair of this honourable House."

Contemporaneously with his occupancy of his seat in the Pennsylvania Assembly, as its Speaker, Andrew Hamilton filled, for one or more years, the same place in the Three Lower Counties-now the State of Delaware. This has been only ascertained from the published Laws of Delaware, printed by Franklin, in 1741. Some of the most elaborate and important of these Statutes have the signature of Andrew Hamilton, as Speaker; but these are without date or year of the King's reign, but, being executed under the administration of Governor Gordon, must date before the year 1737, when he was superseded by Governor Thomas. Among these Acts are those for regulating Elections, for securing the administration of Estates, for the confirmation of Titles to land, and for establishing Courts of Law and Equity; and these were all, without doubt, drafted by Mr. Hamilton, and have been cited as evidence of his great ability by eminent lawyers.

The Records of Delaware, however, of that period, have not been preserved at the public offices; and the search for the name of Andrew Hamilton in their legislative and judicial proceedings has been entirely fruitless.

The following letter from the Speaker of the House of Assembly of the Three Lower Counties gives evidence of Andrew Hamilton, Esq., of Pennsylvania.

his having been employed in similar services at a much earlier date :

"SIR,-The Representatives of this Government in Assembly met, being truly sensible of the Services you have this session done, have commanded me to return you their hearty Thanks for the same-which in their names & my own I most sincerely do-and at the same Time lay hold of the Opportunity to subscribe with Pleasure,

"Y' most humble Serv

"JOHN FFRENCH, Speaker.

"March 15th, 1726.

"To ANDREW HAMILTON, Esq. "These."

Of his professional attainments and ability only traditional and fragmentary evidences remain to this day, except his celebrated argument in the Zenger Case, which has procured for him a place in the History of Liberty and has been called by Gouverneur Morris the "Day Star of the Revolution," as it unquestionably awakened the public mind throughout the Colonies to a conception of the most sacred rights as citizens and as subjects of a free country.

The speech, which was repeatedly printed in England as well as America, may be commended more for the bold enunciation of principle than for the accumulation of learned citations and for its arguments from precedents; but it uses its authorities with masterly skill, and deals crushing blows to the Prosecution and the Court. It justly establishes its author's fame as the first lawyer of his time in the British Provinces; and we have besides the abounding evidence of his high consideration by his professional brethren in the neighboring Provinces, where his opinions were constantly sought for.

He was in the employ of the Proprietary family, from his removal to Philadelphia till his death; and in the difficulties with Lord Baltimore he was particularly useful. At every step taken in this tedious controversy, he seems to have

been consulted, and served in various Commissions to meet the Maryland authorities in framing the Terms of Agreement, in 1732, upon which the case was brought before the Privy Council by Mr. Murray, afterwards the celebrated Lord Mansfield; and in preparing the materials of the Brief upon which it was finally submitted, after his death, to the Court of Chancery, Mr. Hamilton not only exerted the most untiring industry, but exhibited marked ability; and the gratitude of his employers was shown by their more than ordinary remuneration for his services. The Estate of Bush Hill, forming part of the present city of Philadelphia, and comprising the whole space from Vine Street to Coates Street, and from Twelfth Street to Nineteenth Street, was carved out of the manor of Springettsbury, and granted by the advice of James Logan to the great lawyer. On this he erected a spacious and stately mansion, in which he died. Here his son, Governor Hamilton, long exercised a generous hospitality; and here, too, John Adams resided during his Vice-Presidency. It was burned about sixty years ago; but the walls, still standing, were restored on a sadly debased shape, forming part of a floor-cloth manufactory, and since converted to other uses. There is a poorly engraved view of it in the Universal Magazine, December, 1787, with its out-houses, giving a higher idea of its magnitude than of its architectural beauty.

Andrew Hamilton also acquired a noble estate in Lancaster County. The town plot of the city of Lancaster was laid out on this property, in 1728; and the ground-rents reserved, yielded, for a long time, an income to his descendants, till popular policy was roused against that kind of tenure; and, although the appeal of the tenants to an incorrupt and unterrified judiciary was in vain, the family were induced to cede their established rights on liberal terms of compromise. The parts of the Bush Hill Estate sold have enriched several members of the family, who still retain a considerable portion of it. Besides these estates, they had lands in New Jersey; and the valuable city property bounded by Chestnut and Third Streets and the Dock Creek, where

a mansion, described in *Watson's Annals of Philadelphia*, as Clarke's Great house, was the birth-place of Governor Hamilton. It was afterward sold to and inhabited by Israel Pemberton, the leading member of the Friends' Meeting at the time of the Revolution; and, under the Administration of General Washington, it was occupied by Alexander Hamilton, as the Treasury Department of the United States.

Andrew Hamilton's visit to England, between the years 1724 and 1726, was probably connected with the great Penn and Baltimore case; but no trace can, it is believed, now be found of his appearance as a Barrister at the English Court, though this is not impossible. The opportunity was, however, given for an acquaintance with Mr. Murray and the other great lawyers of the day; and was no doubt the occasion referred to, in his defence of Zenger, when he "saw the practice of very great Courts."¹ Sir Philip Yorke, afterwards the great Lord Hardwicke, was then the leader of the English Bar; and Mr. Hamilton might have been present at the famous trial of Lord Chancellor Macclesfield.

In America, we find traces of his employment in the Courts of several Colonies; and his opinion was often sought for by different Provincial Governors, in matters of political or pecuniary importance. At home he probably had a part in every important case. His great success excited envy and stimulated calumny. The party leaders he opposed and frustrated, the rival lawyers whose ignorance and incompetence he exposed, the unfortunate litigants whom he disappointed, all were his enemies, or at least, ready to listen to his detractors. There exist in print some most abusive attacks upon him, the scurrility of which is alone fatal to their credit-which contain no definite charges, and which are contradicted by all we know of him. The chief accusation was a grasping spirit and dishonesty in his practice. The latter charge is impossible, for he had the respect of all the best men of the Colony.

¹ Zenger's Report of his Trial, p. 25.

As a contradiction to the latter, we may invoke his noble disinterestedness in the case of Zenger, when "he offer'd to go to New York without fee or reward, under the weight of many years & great infirmities of body," to advocate the great cause of Civil Liberty. With a professional reputation already established, a fortune already acquired, he appeared before a Court which had already prejudged his case and a provincial jury very likely to be intimidated by the frowns of authority, to assert the great right of Freedom of the Press, without which most other rights would be valueless.

Preceding, by fifty years, the great English lawyer who finally established this principle of Liberty, he had used the same course of argument, and we may justly claim for him the larger share of honor—an honor also to be given to the honest jury. In those days there was no small courage required to oppose the authorities in a King's Colony, where so much depended on royal favor.

Andrew Hamilton died at Bush Hill, in the summer of 1741, and was buried in the family graveyard on the estate; but on its sale, his remains, with those of his children, were removed to a spacious mausoleum in Christ Church-yard, which was closed on the last of his name in 1848.

His children were James Hamilton, who, by two appointments, and for many years, was Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania: a gentleman of great dignity and private worth; distinguished for liberality and independence; the only native Governor before the Revolution, and probably the most esteemed by his countrymen as well as the Proprietary family. He was one of the early patrons of Benjamin West, by whom there is a very fine full-length portrait now in the possession of his collateral descendant, Mr. Hamilton Beckett, who married a daughter of Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst and resides in England. He patronized and encouraged all public enterprises; and was the President of the American Philosophical Society before its union with the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, under the auspices of Dr. Franklin. James Hamilton died in the year 1782. His brother, Andrew Hamilton, married a

daughter of William Fell, Esq.; and their son, William, was distinguished as probably the earliest collector of pictures and cultivator of ornamental gardening. In his day there was no country-seat equal to the Woodlands, for trees and shrubbery and plants imported from every region; for pictures, many of them selected by West; and other objects of taste. In the cemetery, to which it is now converted, there are few remains of its picturesque beauties; and the gloomy appropriation makes a sad contrast to the hospitalities and gayeties of which it was the scene, within the recollection of the writer. William Hamilton, the younger, like his uncle, the Governor, never married. His brother Andrew, married to Miss Abigail Franks, daughter of David Franks, of New York, had a numerous family, who had descendants; but there are none of the name now A fourth Andrew Hamilton in succession lived in living. England; and his daughter married a Captain Palairet, of the British Army, whose children have in their possession the gold box in which the freedom of the city of New York was presented to their ancestor "for his learned and generous defense of the Rights of Mankind and the Liberty of the Press."

The only daughter of Andrew Hamilton, the elder, was married to William Allen, who filled the office of Provincial Chief-Justice with great respectability. He probably owed his professional education to his wife's accomplished father, and his official promotion to the influence of Mr. Hamilton. He was a man of great wealth, and his children had the most prominent places in our provincial society. One of his daughters married John Penn, son of Richard, the last Proprietary Governor of Pennsylvania, who built and resided at Lansdowne, one of the finest seats on the river He died at Philadelphia, and is buried at Schuylkill. Christ Church. He had no children, and his widow went to England soon after the Revolution. The sons of Chief-Justice Allen were all supposed to take the part of England in the War of Independence, and some of them were seriously implicated. Those who survived the war abandoned

their native country, and left, I believe, no sons; and the name of Allen, as that of Hamilton, is now extinct. The Borough of Allentown, in Northampton (now Lehigh) County, takes its name from them, as it was the centre of their immense family possessions. It is believed there is nothing left of this great estate to the descendants, in the female line, still among us.

The foregoing are all the facts that can now be collected of the first Andrew Hamilton. After the space of four generations traditions of character are rarely preserved; but there is happily in existence an obituary notice, attributed to Dr. Franklin, printed, at all events, in his paper, which, if it errs on the side of eulogy, can hardly be without a substantial basis of truth. Such a character would else be only satire in disguise.

The Obituary referred to appeared in the *Pennsylvania* Gazette, of August, 1751, as follows:

"On the Fourth instant, died Andrew Hamilton, Esq., and was next day interred at Bush Hill, his Country Seat. His Corpse was attended to the grave by a great number of his friends, deeply affected with their own but more with their Country's loss. He lived not without enemies; for, as he was himself open and honest, he took pains to unmask the hypocrite, and boldly censured the knave, without regard to station or profession. Such, therefore, may exult in his death. He steadly maintained the Cause of liberty; and the laws made during the time he was Speaker of the Assembly, which was many years, will be a lasting monument of his affection to the people, and of his Concern for the welfare of this Province. He was no friend to power, as he had observed an ill-use had been frequently made of it in the Colonies; and therefore was seldom on good terms with the Governors. This prejudice, however, did not always determine his conduct towards them, for, when he saw they meant well, he was for supporting them honourably, and was indefatigable in endeavoring to remove the prejudices of others. He was long at the top of his profession here; and had he been as griping as he was knowing, he might have left a much greater fortune to his family than he has done. But he spent much more time in hearing and reconciling differences in private, (to the loss of his fees,) than he did in pleading cases at the bar. He was just when he sat as Judge, and though he was stern and severe in his manner, he was compassionate in his nature, and very slow to punish. He was a tender husband and a fond parent. But these are virtues which fools and knaves have sometimes, in common with the wise and honest. His free manner of treating religious subjects gave offence to many, who, if a man may judge from their actions, were not themselves much in earnest. He feared God, loved mercy, and did justice. If he could not subscribe to the Creed of any particular Church, it was not for want of considering them all, for he had read much on religious subjects. He went through a tedious sickness with uncommon cheerfulness, constancy and courage. Nothing of affected bravery or ostentation appeared; but such a composure and tranquility of mind as results from the reflection of a life spent agreeably to the best of man's judgment.¹ He preserved his

¹ The reference to Andrew Hamilton's want of religious faith in the above Obituary suggests a quotation from a MS. satirical production of the year 1727, in which many of the more eminent of that day in the Province are catalogued with considerable ironical humour.

It is called Advice and Instruction to the Palatines newly arrived in the Province of Pennsylvania, by their countryman, H. J. Z., a Freeholder, translated from the High Dutch.

The list terminates with the three following :

"If you are staggering in your Faith and desire to be confirmed in the Belief of the Christian Religion, seek ghostly counsel from A-----w H-----n.

"If you would desire strict Justice in your Lawsuits let honest D----d -----d be vour Judge. L-

"If you would learn the art of Dissimulation to impose on the Ignorant, make fine Speeches and promise without any meaning; borrow of everybody without any intention to pay; cheat all you deal with, and nevertheless be a fine Gentleman, follow the example of Sir W----m.

"If you desire to possess a perfect calmness of thought-to sleep sound and enjoy a good measure of health-drink hard, laugh loud and run deeply in debt."

understanding and his regard for his friends to the last moment. What was given as a rule by a poet, upon another occasion, may be justly applied to him upon this:

Qualis ab^{*}incepto processerit, et sibi constet."

Finding himself unable to do justice to the professional and public services of this great lawyer and statesman, Andrew Hamilton, the writer applied to his friend the learned Judge Cadwalader, as, of all our jurisconsults, the one most familiar with the judicial history of the Province, and, at the same time, best able to estimate at their true value the professional ability and attainments as well as the public services of this almost forgotten patriot and statesman; and he is permitted to extract from Judge Cadwalader's answer the following pages. In those preceding, Judge Cadwalader had given some memoranda for the private and family history of Mr. Hamilton, to which the composition of the above imperfect biographical sketch is partly indebted.

Judge Cadwalader writes: "After the above hasty outline of the little biographical knowledge of Mr. Hamilton which I possess, I proceed to answer directly your inquiry what is my opinion of him as a lawyer.

"This opinion is formed solely upon consideration of his argument in Zenger's case. This trial, we are told, 'made a great noise in the world.' [17 State Trials, 675 (n.).] That which principally made it remarkable was the argument of Mr. Hamilton and its effect. The novelty, in his day, of some of his propositions and of the reasoning by which he supported them, explains the ill-natured contemporaneous criticisms of his argument in certain publications inserted in the State Trials. The authors of great reformations are always thus censured by the short-sighted of their own day.

The whole may be found inserted in a folio volume of tracts and broadsides of great rarity, belonging to the American Philosophical Society. It may be presumed that the "Advice to the Palatines" was never printed. Its authorship has been attributed to Franklin.

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18 Andrew Hamilton, Esq., of Pennsylvania.

These criticisms were written before the impression of his views had been stamped, as it has subsequently been, upon the institutions of a nation. Reform, through legislation, may be effected with little difficulty as compared with administrative reformation of jurisprudence without legislative aid. The Advocate who can effect the latter, especially where political considerations are involved, must be a mental giant. One great excellence of the system of trial by jury is, that it affords the means of gradually producing such reformations without revolutionary perils. Propositions in this argument, which were, strictly speaking, untenable as points of Anglo-American Colonial law, prevailed, nevertheless, at that day, with the jury. These propositions have been since engrafted permanently upon the political jurisprudence of this Continent. If that speech to the jurors who acquitted Zenger had never been uttered, or had not been reported, the framers of the Constitutions of the several States might not have been prepared for the adoption of provisions like that of the Seventh Section of the Declaration of Rights in Pennsylvania. This provision is 'that the printing presses shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the Legislature, or any branch of Government; and no Law shall ever be made to restrain the right thereof. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man; and every citizen may freely speak, write, and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty. In prosecutions for the publication of papers investigating the official conduct of officers or men in public capacity, or where the matter published is proper for public information, the truth thereof may be given in evidence; and in all indictments for libels, the jury shall have a right to determine the law and the facts, under the direction of the Court, as in other cases.' I thus quote the Constitution partly in order to introduce a remark upon the well-known British Act of Parliament, of the year 1792, which is the same in effect as the last sentence of the Constitutional provision. This British Statute was passed in consequence

of the effect upon public opinion produced in England by the speeches, in two previous cases, of a celebrated English barrister, afterwards Lord Chancellor. In one of the cases, this English lawyer had set himself in opposition to the Court, and to its ruling of the law as previously laid down in books of Reports, quite as earnestly as Mr. Hamilton in Zenger's case, and no less pugnaciously.

"Mr. Hamilton argued three propositions. One, that the jury have, in prosecutions for libels, the same right as in other criminal prosecutions, to determine the law as well as the facts under the direction of the Court, has already been mentioned. Another was, that as the alleged libel concerned the official conduct of persons acting in public capacities, the publication was justifiable if the statements were true. The other was that whether they were true or false, the limits of fair discussion of subjects of general public interest had not been exceeded. But the last proposition, though argued, was not stated by him. It was blended with the other; and he rested the case professionally on the question of truth or falsehood. Whether this was a defect in his argument should be decided with a cautious reference to its date. The two propositions which he stated were, in his day, thought innovations. To have stated the third proposition distinctively might then have been an imprudence. It might have been thought demagoguism, and have injured the case of his client. The lights of after-born wisdom have been since cast upon this part of the subject. Its distinct development was not a duty of the Advocate unless necessary to the success of the defence. His immediate function was not that of the Statesman or political philosopher.

"I do not think that the argument was improved by the references near its close to occurrences of Roman history. But these are spots of the sun. I have stated every question which a fault-finding critic of the present day could suggest in order to qualify the praise due to this argument. As a simple forensic effort it is not surpassed by anything of the kind which is in print as having been uttered by Webster, Erskine, or Pinckney. The remark of Mr. Hamilton (17 State Trials, 703), that he had 'seen the practice in very great Courts,' might suggest the notion that he had schooled himself upon the observation of some great English models of his day, perhaps one of the Yorkes, or a Murray.

"But it is not merely a great forensic effort. It displays accuracy of scientific learning, and the result of severe selfdiscipline as a lawyer. The speech is a sufficient biography of him as a student of legal science. His method of referring to authorities tests the depth of his research and the clearness of his judgment not less than the copiousness of his intellectual development. Ordinary lawyers work from authorities as their only source of professional knowledge. They thus work, as it were, from below upwards. But great lawyers look upon the same precedents from above downward, using them as the tests, or as examples, of rules or principles deduced from independent and higher sources of thought. Of this class was Mr. Hamilton. His learning must have been profound. But he made no parade of it. He stated his propositions in such a form as to dispense with citations from books; and yet such citations were obviously at his command; and he seems to have stated no proposition which he had not previously subjected, in the course of private study, to the standard of a rigid comparison with precedents. It is obvious that he had educated himself in general public law, and was familiar enough with its principles to incorporate them with his argument without pausing to state them. If short-sighted men of his own day thought him a demagogue, which I do not believe, those of greater forecast must have recognized the traits of a statesmanlike lawyer, whose works would produce their memorials to be appreciated in a future generation.

"I have thus given my opinion of him as a lawyer. You ask also my opinion of him as a legislator. He was, I think, of the class of lawyers who usually make the most judicious legislators. But I am not able to form any opinion of his actual capacity in this respect. I do not know what Laws he may have written, or assisted in writing; and have

not sufficient means at hand of obtaining the knowledge. I am, however, under the impression that, in Pennsylvania, the legislation of his era was much less important than that of anterior and subsequent periods.

"All that I have written is the result of investigations made some years ago, which are, in part, forgotten, and which I regret that I have not, at this time, leisure particularly to renew.

> "Yours, very truly, "JOHN CADWALADER.

"J. FRANCIS FISHER, ESQ."

To this may be added the recollections of the writer of the above Memoir, that there were found at the Woodlands, when that family seat was broken up, many boxes and trunks full of legal papers, including Briefs and Opinions evincing great learning and labor, and indicating extensive practice throughout the Middle Colonies. Much that was interesting and valuable might have been rescued; but the writer was at that time too young to estimate their worth, and they were left to the ordinary fate of worm-eaten family papers. Among the books which had been inherited by Mr. William Hamilton, were a few with the name of his grandfather in various departments of literature, some of them with annotations in English and Latin, indicative of deep and curious learning. The law books had probably passed into the possession of Chief-Justice Allen, who married Andrew Hamilton's daughter, some of whose sons were also members of the legal profession. There was not much learning of any kind among the later representatives of the Hamilton name.

It has not been thought necessary to quote at length the great Argument in the Case and Trial of John Peter Zenger, which is to be found in the *British State Trials* and in several pamphlets printed at the time, in England and America the rarest of which is that, in folio, from the press of Zenger himself—New York, MDCCXXXVI. The peroration, embodying the noblest sentiments, and exhibiting some of his peculiar powers as an advocate, is worthy of being reproduced at this time, and is as follows:

"But why do I go to heathen Rome to bring instances of the love of Liberty? The best blood in Britain has been shed in the cause of Liberty; and the freedom we enjoy at this day may be said to be, in a great measure, owing to the glorious stand the famous Hampden and other of our countrymen made against the arbitrary demands and illegal impositions of the times in which they lived; who rather than give up the rights of Englishmen, and submit to pay an illegal tax of no more, I think, than three shillings, resolved to undergo, and for the liberty of their country, did undergo the greatest extremities, in that arbitrary and terrible Court of Star Chamber, to whose arbitrary proceedings, (it being composed of the principal men of the Realm, and calculated to support arbitrary government) no bounds or limits could be set, nor could any other hand remove the evil but a Parliament. Power may justly be compared to a great river, which while kept within its due bounds, is both beautiful and useful; but when it overflows its banks, it is then too impetuous to be stemmed; it bears down all before it, and brings destruction and desolation wherever it comes. If then this is the nature of Power, let us at least do our duty, and like wise men, (who value freedom) use our utmost care to support Liberty,-the only bulwark against lawless power, which in all ages has sacrificed to its wild lust and boundless ambition the blood of the best men that ever lived.

"I hope to be pardoned, Sir, for my zeal upon this occasion. It is an old and wise caution—*That when our neighbour's house is on fire, we ought to take care of our own.* For tho' blessed be God, I live in a Government where Liberty is well understood and freely enjoyed; yet experience has shown us all (I'm sure it has me) that a bad precedent in one Government is soon set up for an authority in another; and therefore I cannot but think it mine and every honest man's duty, that, while we pay all due obedience to men in authority, we ought at the same time to be upon our guard against power wherever we apprehend that it may affect ourselves or our fellow-subjects.

"I am truly very unequal to such an undertaking on many accounts. And you see I labor under the weight of many years and am borne down with great infirmities of body; yet old and weak as I am, I should think it my duty if required, to go to the utmost part of the land, where my service could be of any use in assisting to quench the flame of prosecutions upon informations, set on foot by the Government to deprive the people of the right of remonstrating (and complaining too) of the arbitrary men in power. Men who injure and oppress the people under their administration, provoke them to cry out and complain; and then make that very complaint the foundation for new oppressions and prosecutions. I wish I could say there were no instances of this kind. But to conclude; the question before the Court and you, Gentlemen of the Jury, is not of small nor private concern; it is not the case of a poor printer, nor of New York alone which you are trying. No! it may in its consequence affect every freeman that lives under a British Government on the main of America. It is the best cause. It is the cause of Liberty, and I make no doubt but your upright conduct, this day, will not only entitle you to the love and esteem of your fellow-citizens; but every man who prefers Freedom to a life of Slavery, will bless and honor you, as men who have baffled the attempt of tyranny; and by an impartial and uncorrupt verdict, have laid a noble foundation for securing to ourselves, our posterity, and our neighbors, that, to which nature and the laws of our country have given us a rightthe Liberty both of exposing and opposing arbitrary power (in these parts of the world, at least) by speaking and writing Truth."

At the close of this remarkable speech there was considerable sharp discussion between "Mr. Attorney," the Judges of the Court, and Mr. Hamilton, the latter of whom maintained his position with that manly dignity by which he was ever characterized.

The jury then retired; but after a short absence, returned. When asked for their verdict, the foreman, Thomas Hunt—whose name deserves to be remembered—said "Not guilty."

As soon as the verdict was announced, the people, who crowded the hall where the court was held and were fully aware of the magnitude of the question at stake, and strongly sympathized with Zenger, gave "three Huzzas in the Hall," doubtless to the great chagrin of the Judges, who had confidently anticipated a different result.

To this pamphlet are appended the proceedings of the Corporation of the City of New York, conferring the Freedom of the Corporation. The grant, which was voted on the 16th of September, 1735, by the Mayor, Deputy Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Assistants, is in the following words and form, viz. :

" City of New York,	Paul Richards, Esq.; the Recorder, Alder- men and Assistants of the City of <i>New</i> <i>York</i> , convened in Common Council, To all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting.
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"WHEREAS, Honour is the just Reward of Virtue and publick Benefits demand a publick Acknowledgment. We therefore, under a grateful Sense of the remarkable Service, done to the Inhabitants of this City and Colony, by Andrew Hamilton, Esq., of Pennsylvania, Barrister at Law, by his Learned and generous Defence of the Rights of Mankind, and the Liberty of the Press, in the case of John Peter Zenger, lately tried on an Information exhibited in the Supreme Court of this Colony, do by these Presents, bear to the said Andrew Hamilton, Esq., the publick Thanks of the Freemen of this Corporation for that signal Service, which he chearfully undertook under great Indisposition of Body, and generously performed, refusing any Fee or Reward; And in Testimony of our great Esteem for his Person and Sense of his Merit, do hereby present him with the Freedom of this Corporation. These are therefore to Certify and Declare, that the said Andrew Hamilton, Esq., is hereby admitted, received and allowed a Freedom and Citizen of the said City, To Have, Hold, Enjoy and Partake of all the Benefits, Liberties, Privileges, Freedoms and Immunities, whatsoever granted or belonging to a Freeman of the said City. In Testimony whereof the Common Council of the said City, in Common Council assembled, have caused the Seal of the said City to be hereunto affixed this Twenty Ninth Day of September, Anno Domini, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty Five.

"By Order of the Common Council.

"WILLIAM SHARPAS, Clerk."

At the same time, as is recorded, "Sundry of the Members of the Corporation and Gentlemen of the City voluntarily contributed sufficient for a Gold Box of five Ounces and a half for inclosing the Seal of the said Freedom," which being completed as desired, Alderman Bayard, on behalf of the Corporation, proceeded to Philadelphia and delivered to Mr. Hamilton the Diploma with the Seal enclosed in the Gold Box, which is still preserved as an heirloom by the children of Captain Palairet, who married a daughter of Andrew Hamilton—the fourth of that name in direct descent, and the last in the line of males.

Round the lid of the box there is engraved, not only the Arms of the City of New York, but also this Motto, in a Garter:

Demersæ Leges - Timefacta Libertas - Hæc Tandem Emergunt.

On the inner side of the lid of the box, showing itself at the same time with the Certificate of the Freedom, there are engraved, in a Flying Garter, these words:

Andrew Hamilton, Esq., of Pennsylvania.

NON NUMMIS-VIRTUTE PARATUR.

As an incentive to public virtue, on the front of the rim of the box, there is engraved a part of *Tully's* wish:

ITA CUIQUE EVENIAT, UT DE REPUBLICA MERUIT.

In conclusion, it may be mentioned that there exists a portrait of Andrew Hamilton, a fine picture by Wertmuller, copied from a rude original which was destroyed—a handsome shrewd face, in the wig, gown, and bands of an English barrister. The original was in the possession of Mr. Becket; and a copy is preserved in the Hall of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

NOTE.

Zenger had employed as his counsel James Alexander, Esq., and William Smith, Esq., two of the most eminent lawyers of New York. On the 16th of April, 1735, and during the progress of the trial, the Judges, in a most summary manner, struck their names from the list of attorneys, because they had put in exceptions, in Zenger's name, to the Information, denying the legality of the Judges' commissions.

The following letter shows that they were not soon forgiven; and that they, instead of Zenger, were the sufferers—a rather unusual result, in legal matters, at least at this day:

"NEW YORK, July 16th, 1737.

"SIR,—We think the state of publick affairs here afford some Probability that we may have relief in a course of Justice for that act of silencing us in the case of Zenger, and as you were so kind as to offer us your assistance, we beg leave to send you herewith a draught of a Declaration for your perusal and amendment.

"We send you also some authorities that we have read on that head which seem generally to look against us. There are two distinctions which we think may support our action, *malo animo* and *coram non judice*. There appear some faint traces of these distinctions in the authorities. We wish we had them more plain.

"Our Judges have valued themselves upon a Dilemma, they thought they had us in, viz: If they were Judges, then what they did was in that capacity, and no relief is against them for it as such. If they were not Judges, then what they did was void and did not hinder us from being attorneys, &c. The first draught of the Declaration inclosed, and second conclusion we thought would not well enough bring us within the distinctions named in that Dilemma. The third conclusion inclosed is an endeavor to amend in those points. All which we submit to you,

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and we desire your opinion whether we ought to pay any regard to their quibble or not.

"We send now a like copy to Mr. Kinsey. We beg you would compare your observations and amendments with his, and agree upon one of the Declarations to send back to us if conveniently you can by the Post after this, because our Supreme Court begins the last Tuesday of this month, and ends the first Tuesday of August, in order that we may file the Declaration on the Monday before the end of the Term.

"We are

"Your Humble Servants,

"JA. ALEXANDER "Wm. Smith.

"TO ANDREW HAMILTON, ESQ."

THE CAMP BY SCHUYLKILL FALLS.

READ BY WILLIAM S. BAKER BEFORE THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, JANUARY 11, 1892.

The movements of the Continental army around Philadelphia in the campaign of 1777, and the efforts of the Commander-in-Chief to preserve the integrity of the city, make this period of our Revolutionary annals extremely interesting, although the picture as presented is somewhat sombre in character; the shadows many and heavy, the lights scattered and few.

As we consider it through the medium of history and tradition, the picture *seems* to be finished, every incident related, every locality set forth; but a more careful examination reveals a neglected corner, a bit of canvas uncovered, a story untold.

Let us, then, fill in this corner, cover the canvas, and tell the story.

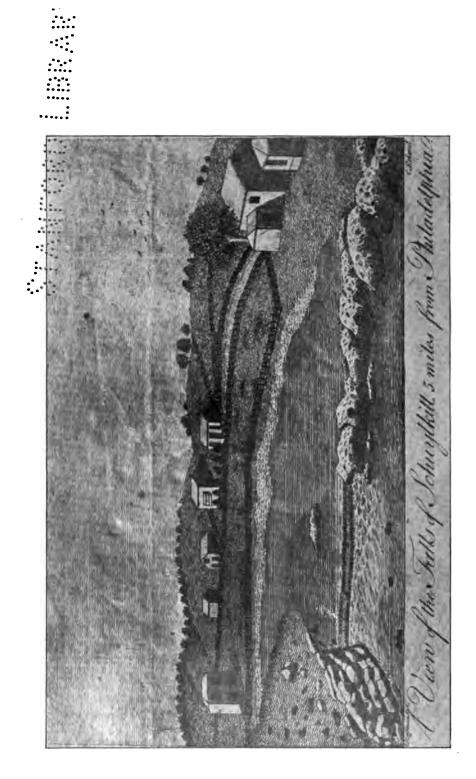
In the Itinerary of General Washington for the year 1777 (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XIV.), I stated, on the authority of Colonel Pickering, adjutant-general,¹ that the main Continental army encamped the first week of August and for two days in September, before and after the battle of Brandywine, between Germantown and the Schuylkill River, near the Falls of Schuylkill, five miles from Philadelphia; but was not able to designate with any certainty the ground occupied.

A letter from the Commander-in-Chief to Edward Rutledge, of South Carolina, dated *Fishkill*, 5 October, 1778 (Sparks, VI. 82), which escaped my notice at the time, in

¹ Timothy Pickering was appointed adjutant-general June 18, 1777, and served until January 30, 1778, when he left the camp at Valley Forge, to enter upon his duties as a member of the Board of War. During his connection with the army, Colonel Pickering kept a journal of events, which is printed in Volume I. of his Life, published at Boston, in 1867. As a record of the movements of the army it is invaluable.

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which he says, "In the month of August last year [1777], from the house of Mr. Hill near Germantown, where I was then encamped, I wrote you a long letter," enables me, after having made the necessary examinations, to fix the exact location of this encampment, an historical fact, which, so far as I know, has never been noted.

Henry Hill, at whose house or country-seat this letter was written, was the owner, in 1777, of a large tract of land, partly in Roxborough Township and partly in Penn Township, Philadelphia County,² situate and forming part of an elevated plateau of several hundred acres east of the Schuylkill River, bounded on the north by School Lane, on the east by a road dividing Roxborough Township from Germantown Township, known as the Township Line Road, and sloping sharply on the west to the river, or to what may be properly termed its boundary on that side, the Manatawny or Ridge Road; on the south, the plateau gradually fell away to lower land on a line with the Schuylkill Falls.

The Falls, in consequence of the construction in 1821 of the dam at Fairmount, three miles lower down the river, are no longer visible. Their location, however, is marked by a rock just below the Falls village, on which a part of the eastern abutment of the railroad bridge is built; this rock extended about two-thirds of the distance across the river, forming a complete natural dam, a part of it overhanging on the lower side. In high freshets the water flowed over it and made a beautiful cascade; at other times it forced the river into a narrow channel on the western side, through which it ran with great rapidity and much noise, falling some five or six feet in a distance of about one hundred and fifty yards. The backing up of the water from the dam has changed all this, and the *Falls of Schuylkill* are a thing of the past.

¹ This letter is not printed either in Sparks's or Ford's "Writings of George Washington," and as there is no transcript of it in the Washington correspondence in the Department of State, the exact date cannot be furnished.

² Now in the Twenty-eighth Ward of the City of Philadelphia.

Mr. Hill's land, extending southward from School Lane, lay on both sides of Indian Queen Lane (termed in early deeds a road leading from Germantown to Schuylkill Falls, *alias* Roberts Ferry), the house and farm buildings being in Roxborough Township, on the upper side of the lane, a short distance west of the Township Line Road,¹ about one mile from the Falls, and the same distance from Germantown, which at that time consisted of but a single long street or road.

It was therefore about this old Roxborough farm-house, and on this and adjacent land of the plateau, that the main Continental army, commanded by Washington, encamped during the first week in August, and for two days in September, 1777, before, and immediately after, the battle of Brandywine.

Subsequently, in 1780, Mr. Hill erected a more imposing structure on the site of the old farm-house; this is still standing, owned and occupied by the heirs of Cornelius S. Smith, who purchased, in 1840, eighty-five acres of the land, including the mansion. Situated on a slight elevation, well back from the lane, with graceful portico, primeval trees, and ample lawn, it presents a picture of peace and rest not in the least suggestive of the tented field or hideous war.

Upon the occupation of Philadelphia by the British (26th September, 1777), the left wing of their army under General Knyphausen was stationed on these grounds until October 19, and a stone building situate on that part of the Hill estate south of Indian Queen Lane, erected in 1782, was used as a smithery for the cavalry. In recent years the building was several times enlarged, and is still standing; it is well known as having been the country-seat of the late Dr. Horace Evans, son of Griffith Evans, who purchased the property in 1818.

Henry Hill, son of Dr. Richard Hill, was born in 1782 on his father's Maryland plantation. He was educated as a merchant and settled in Philadelphia, engaging extensively in the Madeira wine trade, his father having removed to that

¹ Now known as Wissahickon Avenue.

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island in 1739, where he established a prosperous business. "Hill's Madeira" was widely known as one of the choicest brands in the Philadelphia market. He was justice of the peace in 1772; member of the Carpenters' Hall conference of the committees of safety, 1776, and of the Constitutional Convention of 1776. He commanded a battalion of Associators in 1776,¹ and in 1780 subscribed five thousand pounds to the Pennsylvania Bank, an institution organized for the purpose of procuring provisions for the use of the Continental army. Mr. Hill was also one of the original subscribers to the Bank of North America and a director from 1781 to 1792. From 1780 to 1784 he was a member of the Assembly, and of the Executive Council from 1785 to 1788.

Henry Hill married a daughter of Reese Meredith, whom he survived. He died of yellow fever, September 15, 1798, leaving no issue. His town house, which he built, was at the corner of Fourth and Union streets. This house is still standing, and in after-years was the residence of Dr. Philip Syng Physick.

The movement of the army to this camping ground, which was reached on Friday, the first day of August,³ and its purpose is best described by Washington himself in a letter written from the old Roxborough farm-house to his brother, John Augustine Washington, and dated August 5, 1777.

"Since General Howe's remove from the Jerseys [June 30], the troops under my command have been more harassed by marching and countermarching than by any other thing that has happened to them in the course of the campaign. After Gen¹ Howe had embarked his Troops, the

¹ Henry Hill was one of the original members of the "First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry," organized November 17, 1774, and an honorary member of "The Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick," organized in 1771, the parent of the present "Hibernian Society." He was also a member of the "American Philosophical Society," elected January 18, 1771.

³ "August 1st. 1777.—The army arrived at its encamping ground between Germantown and Schuylkill River."—*Pickering's Journal.*

presumption that he would operate upon the North River, to form a junction with General Burgoyne was so strong. that I removed from Middle Brook to Morristown, and from Morristown to the Clove (a narrow passage leading through the Highlands), about eighteen miles from the river. Indeed, upon some pretty strong presumptive evidence, I threw two divisions over the North River. In this situation we lay till about the 24th ult., when receiving certain information that the fleet had actually sailed from Sandy Hook (the outer point of New York Harbor) and the concurring sentiment of every one (tho' I acknowledge my doubts of it were strong), that Philadelphia was the object, we countermarched and got to Coryell's Ferry on the Delaware [now New Hope], about thirty-three miles above the city, on the 27th, where I lay till I received information from Congress that the enemy were actually at the Capes of Delaware. This brought us in great haste to this place for the defence of the city.¹ But in less than twenty-four hours after our arrival, we got accounts of the disappearance of the Fleet on the 31st; since which, nothing having been heard of them, we remain here in a very irksome state of suspense; some imagining that they are gone to the Southward, whilst a majority (in whose opinion upon this occasion I concur), are satisfied they are gone to the Eastward. The fatigue, however, and injury, which men must sustain by long marches in such extreme heat, as we have felt for the last five days, must keep us quiet till we hear something of the destination of the Enemy."

The army at the camp by Schuylkill Falls, composed of

¹ Washington left Coryell's Ferry on July 31, in advance of the army, and arrived at Philadelphia about 10 o'clock the same evening, stopping at the City Tavern, Second above Walnut street. On the following day, August 1, he examined the defences of the Delaware, and passed the night at Chester. He returned to the city on the 2d, and remained until the afternoon of the 4th, when he joined the army at the camp by Schuylkill Falls, making his head-quarters at the house of Henry Hill. These quarters were retained until the morning of the 10th, when, after writing a lengthy letter to Congress, relative to the defences of the Delaware, he left for the army, then on its march to the northward. troops from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, was the second one raised for the cause of independence. It was the successor of that of 1776, which, enlisted in front of Boston, had fought at Long Island, Harlem Heights and White Plains, at Trenton and at Princeton.

It is thus described by the Marquis de Lafayette, who had just offered his services to Congress: 1 "About eleven thousand men, ill armed and still worse clothed, presented a strange spectacle to the eye of the young Frenchman: their clothes were parti-coloured, and many of them were almost naked; the best clad wore hunting shirts, large grey linen coats which were much used in Carolina. As to their military tactics, it will be sufficient to say that for a regiment ranged in order of battle to move forward on the right of the line, it was necessary for the left to make a continued counter march. They were always arranged in two lines, the smallest men in the first line; no other distinction as to height was ever observed. In spite of these disadvantages, the soldiers were fine, and the officers zealous; virtue stood in place of science, and each day added both to experience and discipline."³

"Ill armed, still worse clothed," without discipline; it is, unfortunately, too truthful a picture. But they were the soldiers of the Continental army of 1777-78; the army that fought at Brandywine and Germantown; the soldiers whose

¹ The Marquis de Lafayette set sail on a vessel fitted out at his own expense ("La Victoire"), from Passage, a Spanish port, 26 April, 1777, with De Kalb and eleven other officers, and landed 15 June, at Georgetown, South Carolina, whence he proceeded to Charleston. After a journey of more than a month on horseback, he arrived at Philadelphia on the 27th of July. Congress at that time was beset with so many applications from foreign officers in quest of adventure, that Lafayette at first met with a rather cold reception; but, after declaring his wish to serve as a volunteer and at his own expense, he was appointed major-general, July 31. He was invited by Washington to become a member of his military family, and joined the army at the "Neshaminy Camp," on the 20th of August. At this time Lafayette was not quite twenty years of age.

² Memoirs and Correspondence of General Lafayette, page 18.

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sufferings have made the bleak hills of Valley Forge sacred soil for Americans.

And who were the commanders? let us group *them* for a moment! Greene, of Rhode Island; Knox, of Massachusetts; Stirling and Maxwell, of New Jersey; Wayne and Moylan, of Pennsylvania; Stephen, Muhlenberg, Weedon, and Morgan, of Virginia, and Nash, of North Carolina.

As they stand by the old Roxborough farm-house, how familiar they all seem; their faces are as well known as their deeds, and *they* cannot be forgotten. But another draws near! We see a figure, noble and tall, a face of strength, of sincerity, a face of command. All turn with respect. It is the chief! it is WASHINGTON, second to none.

The records of the encampment present the usual routine of an army at rest.

Divine services were held on the afternoon of Sunday, the 8d; courts-martial sat at Palmer's Tavern, at the Falls, on the 6th, and at Leech's Tavern in Germantown, on the following day; on the 7th, a board of general officers to make inquiry why the pay-abstracts were not made out, and for the consideration of other matters, was convened at the quarters of General Stephen, near the Falls;¹ and on the 8th, returns were made to the Commander-in-Chief of a court-martial held on July 18 and 19, when head-quarters were at Suffern's Tavern, in New York. Some offenders were pardoned, others were punished.

At ten o'clock on the morning of the 8th, the troops of the whole line were reviewed, and in the afternoon, under the belief that the enemy had abandoned all designs against Philadelphia, the army was started back on its march to the Hudson.²

¹General Stephen's quarters were at the house of the Rev. William Smith, D.D., between Indian Queen Lane and the Ridge Road, about two hundred yards from the Falls. Dr. Smith, the first provost of the "College and Academy of the Province of Pennsylvania," afterwards (1791) the "University of Pennsylvania," died in 1803. The house, erected in 1773, is still standing, although materially altered.

"" August 8th.—The army was reviewed, and in the afternoon marched about nine or ten miles back from Germantown. But it was a On the evening of the 10th, however, information having been received that a fleet had been seen on the 7th off Sinepuxent Inlet, about sixteen leagues southward of the Capes of Delaware, the troops were halted, and went into camp on the Old York Road near the Neshaminy Creek, about half a mile above the present village of Hartsville, Bucks County, formerly known as the Cross-Roads.¹

A general order issued the day after the arrival of the army at the Neshaminy, would indicate that the soldiers had been unusually careful in the use of the fences in the vicinity of their late encampment, an uncommon occurrence in the history of armies. It is, however, a matter of record that the weather at the time was extremely hot, a fact which may have had something to do with this unwonted morality. The order is as follows:

"Cross Roads, Augt. 11th, 1777.—That few complaints were made for damage done to fences and other property while the troops lay at or near Germantown has given much satisfaction to the well disposed Inhabitants of that Neighborhood, and such peculiar pleasure to the Gen¹ that he thinks it an act of Justice to express his approbation of their conduct in a General Order."

The house occupied by Washington as head-quarters at

hot day; the troops fatigued by being under arms from six o'clock in the morning till one or two in the afternoon; and the march afterwards hurt many of them, especially as some did not arrive at their ground till late in the evening. But the General did not intend they should have moved so far by four or five miles. The Deputy Quartermaster-General miscalculated the distance; and, besides, did not take the route which led most directly to Coryell's Ferry, so that the army marched, this and the following day but one, five or six miles for nothing."—*Pickering's Journal.*

¹ "August 8th.—At 4 P.M., we marched from the plains and proceeded thro' Germantown to White Marsh, where we encamped . . August 9th. —Early we marched into Upper Dublin township where we encamped. I am nearly sick of marching . . August 10th.—At dawn the General beat, when all tents were struck. We passed Wells's tavern, the Crooked Billet [now Hatborough] and reached Cross Roads where we encamped."—MS. Journal of Captain James McMichael, Pennsylvania Line. the "Neshaminy Camp," a substantial stone dwelling, is still standing on the Old York Road near the northeast end of the present bridge over the Little Neshaminy Creek, at the foot of a long and rather steep elevation known as Carr's Hill. At the time of the Revolution it was one of the bestfinished houses in the neighborhood.¹

A letter to Robert Morris, written at this house, is so suggestive of Washington's invariable attention to detail and innate love of accuracy, that it is well worth transcribing:

"Cross Roads near Neshaminy Bridge, Aug. 14th, 1777. DEAR SIR: In looking over my private acct. with the Public, I find a credit to it of a blank number of Silver Dollars sent me by you whilst I lay at Trenton about the first of Jan⁷—for want of the Sum, I cannot Bal[•] the Acct. and shall thank you for information on this head."

These were days of anxiety and doubt; of weary waiting and vexing delay, yet the Commander-in-Chief, sitting in the house "near Neshaminy Bridge," quietly examines his accounts, discovers the omission, and seeks a solution. The account was balanced, as appears by the following entry: "January, 1777. By Cash of Robert Morris in specie per acc . . . £124. 7. 8." The life of Washington reveals many accounts that were balanced; we need not say how well they were balanced.

A week later, August 22, news of the brilliant victory at Bennington, on the 16th, the first stroke at Burgoyne, and the precursor of Saratoga, was announced to the army at the "Neshaminy Camp,"² and on the same day positive ¹ "Washington's Encampment on the Neshaminy," by William J.

Buck.—Penneylvania Magazine, I. 275.

² "The Commander-in-Chief has the happiness to inform the army of the signal victory obtained to the northward. A part of General Burgoyne's army, about 1500 in number, were detached towards New Hampshire, and advanced with a design to possess themselves of Bennington. Brigadier-General Starke, of the State of New Hampshire, with about 2000 men, mostly militis, attacked them. Our troops behaved in a very brave and heroic manner. They pushed the enemy from one work to another, thrown up on advantageous ground, and from different posts with spirit and fortitude, until they gained a complete victory over them."—Orderly Book, August 22. information that the British fleet had arrived in Chesapeake Bay was received.

Early on the morning of the 23d, all doubts as to the destination of the enemy being removed, the army was again put in motion down the Old York Road, and encamped for the night in the vicinity of the present Nicetown, Washington making his head-quarters at "Stenton," the homestead of the Logan family.

An interesting account of this visit of the Commanderin-Chief to "Stenton," is given us by Deborah Norris Logan, widow of Dr. George Logan, in a biographical sketch of her husband, written in 1821 (the year of his death), but still remaining in manuscript:

"When the army was passing down in August 1777, to intercept the British armament which was on the coast, and about this time landed at the head of Elk in Maryland, General Washington with his staff (about twenty officers and their servants) stopped at Stenton, then unoccupied by the family, where his guards and an aide-de-camp had arrived before him and where they all took up their quarters for that night. The General arrived about noon, and at three o'clock they dined on a sheep they had bought of the tenant, and killed and prepared immediately. One of the family who was accidentally there, remarked that they were all exceedingly civil and very quiet, and that the General himself appeared extremely grave and thoughtful, and was very silent."

The house at "Stenton," erected by James Logan in 1728, is still standing, but how different in its surroundings! In 1777, the ornament of broad acres, encircled by majestic trees, far from the city. In 1892, abutted by streets, a few straggling old trees, in the city itself. Then, a home! now, a relic of the past!

The following general order was issued at "Stenton," by the Commander-in-Chief:

"Head-quarters, Stenton, near Germantown, August 23, 1777. No officer or soldier is to leave the encampment this evening without leave in writing from the Major or Brigadier under whom he acts, and they are desired not to give such leave unless there is apparent cause for it. The army is to move precisely at four o'clock in the morning, if it should not rain. The Division commanded by General Wayne is to join its proper place in the line, between Lord Stirling's and General Stephen's Divisions, and it is strongly and earnestly enjoined upon the commanding officers of corps, to make all their men who are able to bear arms, except the necessary guards, march in the ranks, for it is so great a reflection when all orders are disobeyed, and to see such a number of street-rollers (for they cannot be called guards) with the wagons, that it is really shocking.

"The army is to march in one column through the city of Philadelphia, going in at and marching down Front Street to Chestnut, and up Chestnut to the Common. A small halt is to be made about a mile this side of the city until the rear is clear up and the line in proper order. . .

"That the line of march through the city may be as little encumbered as possible, only one ammunition wagon is to attend the field-pieces of each brigade and every artillery park. All the rest of the baggage wagons and spare horses are to file off to the right, to avoid the city entirely, and move on to the bridge at the middle ferry [Market Street] and then halt, but not so far as to impede the march of the troops by preventing their passing them. . .

"The drums and fifes of each brigade are to be collected in the centre of it, and a tune for the quick-step played, but with such moderation that the men may step to it with ease, and without *dancing* along, or totally disregarding the music, as has been too often the case."

On the following day, Sunday, August 24, the army marched through Philadelphia,¹ encamping for the night at

[&]quot;I saw our army with the commander-in-chief at its head, pass down Front street. It amounted to but about eight or nine thousand men, according to Mr. Marshall; but these, though indifferently dressed, held well burnished arms, and carried them like soldiers, and looked, in short, as if they might have faced an equal number with a reasonable prospect of success."—Graydon's Memoirs.

Darby,¹ and arriving at Wilmington on the 26th; the heights of Brandywine were reached on September 9.

The story of Brandywine has often been told, every detail brought together, carefully noted and recorded, there is nothing new; suffice it to say, that the army, unpursued by the enemy, passed the night of September 11 " behind Chester," the Commander-in-Chief making his quarters at the McIlvain house (still standing), a short distance back or north of the village of Ridley, now Leiperville, and east of Crum Creek.

On Friday, the 12th, the day after the battle of Brandywine, the troops marched through Darby, crossed the Schuylkill on the floating bridge, at the Middle Ferry, and returned to the camp by Schuylkill Falls.²

On the 13th the following general order was issued from the old Roxborough farm-house: "The General, with peculiar satisfaction, thanks those gallant officers and soldiers who on the 11th inst. bravely fought in their country's cause. If there are any whose conduct reflects dishonor on soldiership and their names not pointed out to him, he must for the present leave them to reflect how much they have injured their country, how unfaithfully they have

³ "Head Quarters, Chester Sep^r 12, 1777.—The troops are to march in good order through Derby, to the Bridge over the Schuylkill, cross it and proceed up to their former ground, near the falls of Schuylkill and Germantown, and there pitch their tents. Gen¹ Greene's Division will move last and cover the baggage &c. Gen¹ Maxwell's light troops will remain at Chester to collect all the stragglers they can and to-morrow follow the army, the Directors of the Hospital will see that all the sick are sent to Philadelphia."—Orderly Book.

"September 12th.—This day the army marched to the Schuylkill, part crossing and marching to our old camp by Schuylkill Falls . . 13th.— The rest of the army crossed, and the whole collected at the old encampment, vast numbers of stragglers coming in."—Pickering's Journal.

¹ "August 24th.—The army marched through the city, and was allowed to make a fine appearance, the order of marching being extremely well preserved. We advanced to Derby . . 25th.—The army marched through Chester to Naaman's Creek, the General and family advancing to Wilmington, a pretty town and pleasantly situated."—*Pickering's* Journal.

proved to their fellow-soldiers; but with this exhortation: that they embrace the first opportunity which may offer to do justice to both and to the profession of a soldier.

"Although the events of that day, from some unfortunate circumstances, were not so favorable as could be wished, the General has the satisfaction of assuring the troops that from every account he has been able to obtain, the enemy's loss vastly exceeded ours, and he has full confidence that in another appeal to Heaven, with the blessing of Providence, which it becomes every officer and soldier to supplicate, we shall prove successful.

"The honorable Congress, in consideration of the gallant behavior of the troops on Thursday last, their fatigue since, and from a full conviction that on every future occasion they will manifest a bravery worthy of the cause they have undertaken to defend, having been pleased to order thirty hogsheads of rum to be distributed among them, in such manuer as the Commander-in-Chief shall direct, he orders the Commissary-general of Issues to deliver one gill per day to every officer and soldier while it lasts.

"The order of the Encampment at this place need not be attended to, as our stay here will be short, each Division is to encamp in as compact order as possible to-night."

Henry Knox, Washington's chief of artillery and trusted friend, wrote two letters on September 13, from the camp by Schuylkill Falls: one to General Artemas Ward, President of the Executive Council of Massachusetts, transmitting a brief but very clear account of the battle of Brandywine, and the other to his wife, assuring her of his safety. This we transcribe.

"Camp near Schuylkill, 13 Sept., 1777.—My dear girl will be happy to hear of her Harry's safety; for my Lucy, Heaven, who is our guide, has protected him in the day of battle. You will hear with this letter of the most severe action that has been fought this war between our army and the enemy. Our people behaved well, but Heaven frowned on us in a degree. We were obliged to retire after very considerable slaughter of the enemy: they dared not pursue a single step. If they advance, we shall fight them again before they get possession of Philadelphia; but of this they will be cautious. My corps did me great honor; they behaved like men contending for everything that's valuable."

In a review of the life of Henry Knox, it is difficult to determine which most to admire, his love for his country, or his devotion to his wife Lucy. We *honor* him for one, but we *love* him for the other.

On Sunday, September 14, the army, "having cleaned their arms, and received ammunition to complete forty rounds a man,"¹ marched from the camp by Schuylkill Falls, recrossing the river at Matson's Ford, now Conshohocken; when Washington, "steel proof against despair,"² moved towards the enemy again.

The years in their ceaseless course have rolled steadily on, and from the day the soldiers of the Revolution left their beautiful camp, we number more than one hundred, more than a century. Officers and soldiers have gone to their rest: the old Roxborough farm-house has long since disappeared; of the camp, not a vestige remains.

Other armies have encamped, other head-quarters are known, other soldiers have lived, have fought, and have died; the pages of history are filled with their deeds, and the UNION was saved. All this will be remembered: it is a memory for all. But it is for us to remember, that the army which fought to establish the Union, the army commanded by WASHINGTON, rested for awhile at the camp by Schuylkill Falls.

¹ Pickering's Journal.

^a Edward J. Phelps.—Oration at Bennington, August 19, 1891.

A LIST OF THE INHABITANTS OF GERMANTOWN AND CHESTNUT HILL IN 1809.

(Concluded from Vol. XV. p. 480.)

BY THOMAS H. SHOEMAKER.

Saml Cook E Eye g	•	•	20 all	20
John Cook E Eye g	•	•	50 "	50
George Bensell M D ¹	•	. 8145	1 paid	16.72
& 7 acres of land .	•	. 175	••	87
William Ashmead ²	•	. 1255	33"	6.60
James Ashmead ^s .	•	. 65	40 ''	72
Thomas Armatt ⁴ .	•	. 1505	75"	8.27
George Bringhurst ⁵	•	. 715	""	3.57
Robert Bringhurst ⁶	•	. 40	50 ''	70
William Bringhurst ⁶	•	•	50"	50
Philip Warner .	•	•	50"	50

¹ Dr. George Bensell, born in 1757, in Germantown, and for a long time the only physician in the place. He owned both corners of School Lane and Germantown Avenue, having built the large house, No. 4794, which he occupied, and which has since made way for the Germantown Saving Fund.

² William Ashmead, first person to introduce carriage-building in the town. He lived at No. 4790 Germantown Avenue, where his family, in 1711, took up five hundred acres of land.

³ James Ashmead, a son of William, born 1770, and lived at No. 4792 Germantown Avenue. The Ashmead houses still stand, and are occupied by the family. James was a storekeeper.

⁴ Thomas Armatt, born in England, in 1748, became a merchant in Philadelphia, and later located at No. 4788 Germantown Avenue, opposite Market Square. The house still stands. He was a man of means, which he used with much liberality.

⁵ George Bringhurst resided at No. 4784 Germantown Avenue, still standing, and occupied by the Rev. C. W. Schaeffer.

⁶ Robert and William Bringhurst, brothers of George, and, like him, coachmakers, and apparently living with him at this time.

Inh	abitant	B of	German	toron and	Chestnut	Hill in 1809.	. 43
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Jno & Elliston Perot ¹		. 1475	paid	7.37
John Ashmead ² .	•	. 1865	75 -"	10.07
James Hooper .	•	•	25 "	25
Samuel Harman ³ .	•	•	25 ''	25
Jacob Butcher ⁴ .	•	•	25 "	25
Jacob Nevil g .	•	•	50 all	50
George Bowers .	•	•	50 paid	50
Thomas Dobsons Est		. 500		2.50
Jacob Emhardt ⁵ .	•	•	25 "	25
Christopher Shull g		•	50 all	50
John Rose ⁶ .		. 1633	40 paid	8.56
Charles Buckius ⁷ .	•	•	50	50
John Alexander g .	•	•	50 all	50
Christr Buckius ⁸ .		. 2125	paid	10.87
Andrew Hess ⁹ .			25 `''	25
Andw & Chritn Hess ⁹	•	. 415		2.07
Christian Hess?		•	25 all	25

¹ John and Elliston Perot, descended from a French family, merchants of Philadelphia, who in 1804 purchased the old Deshler house, No. 4782 Germantown Avenue, now occupied by Elliston's grandson, E. P. Morris. The house was rendered historic by being the residence of General Washington in 1793, when driven from Philadelphia by the yellow fever, and previously by Sir William Howe during the Revolution.

³ John Ashmead carried on an extensive carriage manufacturing business at No. 4770 Germantown Avenue, still owned and occupied by his descendants. He lived at No. 4774. Both houses still stand.

³ Samuel Harman, shoemaker, lived at No. 4766 Germantown Avenue.

⁴ Jacob Butcher lived in an old stone house on School Lane, west of Wayne Avenue.

⁵ Jacob Emhardt, tailor, who lived in a frame house which stood where No. 4762 Germantown Avenue now does.

⁶ John Rose, a butcher, whose house stood at No. 4760 Germantown Avenue, now the site of the Friends' Library.

⁷ Charles Buckius, a son of Christophel. Charles afterward purchased the Ship House, Germantown Avenue, above Washington Lane, where he carried on the tanning of sheepskins. The house is still occupied by his daughters.

⁸ Christophel Buckius, farmer. His house stood on the west corner of Coulter Street and Germantown Avenue, where the Coulter House now is.

⁹Andrew and Christian Hess, hatters, who lived on Germantown Avenue, just below Coulter Street.

44	Inhabitants	of	Germantown	and	Chestnut	Hill in 1809.
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Daniel Hess g .		•	20 all	2 0
Peter Buckius .	•	. 415	25 paid	2.32
Catharine Keysers Est ¹		. 240	66	1.20
George Waterman ²	•	•	50	5 0
John Street		. 40	40 "	60
& for John Crouts Est	•	. 665	"	3.32
Philip Fisher ³ .		. 605	25	3.27
Catharine Kinleys Est ⁴		. 345	"	2.72
John Fry Jr .	•	•	50 "	50
John Fry ⁵	•	. 1320	"	6.60
John Harchee poor ⁶			20 all	20
William Bunner ⁷	•	. 330	25 paid	1.90
Emanuel Fox ⁸ .	•	. 950	33	5.08
Peetr Baynton ¹⁰ .	•	•	33"	33
Joseph Bullocks Est ⁹	•	. 800	75"	4.75

¹ Catharine Keyser's estate was located just below the market-house.

² George Waterman, a hatter, and probably worked for the Hesses.

³ Philip Fisher, a carpenter, who lived on Germantown Avenue, just above Penn Street.

⁴ Catharine Kinley's estate, next to Fisher's.

⁶ John Fry was located on the west corner of what is now Penn Street and Germantown Avenue. Here he had his store, and carried on an extensive business with the farmers, who brought their produce down to trade off for store goods. He was a brother of Jacob, who was in the same business where the Germantown Trust Company is now located.

⁶John Harchee, a Hessian soldier, who deserted from the British. His grandson, William A. Ulmer, wrote quite an interesting account of him for Hotchkins. See page 113.

⁷ William Bunner, a carpenter, who lived on the south corner of Penn Street and Germantown Avenue.

⁸ Emanuel Fox, manufacturer of lampblack. His place was about where Trinity Lutheran Church now is. His son George continued the business. Their product was so fine that "Germantown lampblack" is the title bestowed on the highest quality still.

⁹ Joseph Bullock's estate. This is the house now the parsonage of the Lutheran Church, west corner of Queen Lane and Germantown Avenue. It was in the cellar of it that Christopher Sower cast his first type.

¹⁰ Peter Baynton, known in the town as "Squire" Baynton, occupied Joseph Bullock's house, corner of Main and Queen Streets. Afterward he moved to No. 4630 Germantown Avenue. His father was an eminent merchant of Philadelphia, being of the firm of Baynton, Wharton & Morgan.

Michael Ritter ¹ .		. 1150	50 paid	6.25
Robert Street ² .		. 10	38 ⁻ "	38
Joseph Cross .	•	•	50 "	50
Christopher Lawshet ⁸	•	. 2082	33 ''	10.74
Christian Lawshet 4	•	•	50 "	50
Alexander Provost ⁵	•	. 775	33"	4.20
William Forbes Est ⁶	•	. 4155	66	20.77
John Zenno	•	•	50"	50
David Cunningham ⁷	•	. 40	50 "	70
John Harlands Est ⁸	•	. 1000	"	5.00
John Bringhurst .	•	•	50	50
Saml Bringhurst [•] .	•	. 985	25 "	5.17

¹ Michael Ritter kept the Indian Queen Hotel, at the south corner of Indian Queen Lane and Germantown Avenue.

² Robert Street, a shoemaker, who lived just below Queen Lane.

^a Christopher Lawshet, whose proper name was Van Lauchet, lived at about what now is No. 4650 Germantown Avenue, where Woltemate's greenhouse is. The old house had the regulation half-door. The upper half had a deep cut running diagonally across it, made by a British officer with his sword. A man, who was standing inside, offended the officer, and had just time to pull the door to and let it receive the blow intended for his head.

⁴ Christian Van Lauchet, a carpenter and pump-maker, who lived at about No. 4650 Germantown Avenue. He was a bachelor.

⁶ Alexander Provost, a stone-mason, who lived at this time in No. 4646 Germantown Avenue, now Woltemate's. He afterward lived in No. 4636, two doors below.

⁶ William Forbes's estate. This is a stone house still standing, No. 4636 Germantown Avenue, which for many years has been occupied by the Howell family.

⁷ David Cunningham, whose proper name was David H. Conyngham, lived in the stone house still standing, No. 4634 Germantown Avenue. He was a prominent merchant in Philadelphia. I presume he had not purchased the house at this date, but that it belonged to William Forbes's estate. It has, since 1844, been the home of the Hacker family.

⁸ John Harland's estate. This house, still standing at No. 4626 Germantown Avenue, was, at first, the summer home of the family, but has been for many years their permanent one.

⁹ Samuel Bringhurst, manufacturer of ironwork for carriages, No. 4622 Germantown Avenue. His house is now occupied by Mr. W. W. Wister. It was on this property that Gilbert Stuart painted his famous portrait of General Washington.

46 Inhabitants of Germantown and Chestnut Hill in 1809.

William Shippen's Est ¹ .		1220	1	paid	6.10
Daniel King's Est ² .		1070	•	"	5.35
John Foos ³		34 0	50	"	2.20
Jacob Smith		10	25	"	30
Jacob Sommers Sr .		1419	40	"	7.49
for Edward Shippens G R		70		"	35
John Burrell ⁴ .		340	25	"	1.95
& for Willm. Shippen's G R	•	70		"	35
Samuel Lehman's Est .		455			2.27
Lewis Lehman ⁵ .			25	"	25
& for Rudolph Regar's Est			155	"	77
Leonard Regar ⁶ .		60	33	"	63
Jacob Regar		995	50	"	5.47
& for Wm. Shippen's G R	•	105		"	52
William Regar			33	"	33
Widow Helm's Est .		520		"	2.60
John Ellison			50	"	50
& for Robert Whittle's Est 7		833		"	1.66
& for Willm. Shippen's G R		187		"	93
Saml Fleckenstein ⁸ .	•	400	33	"	2.33

¹ William Shippen's estate. William was a son of Joseph Shippen, who purchased one hundred acres of land and built a summer residence thereon. It became known afterward as the Buttonwood Hotel, which was torn down by Casper Heft, when he built his house, No. 4612 Germantown Avenue.

² Daniel King's estate. This is the old house now occupied by the Greens, hatters, Nos. 4562-64 Germantown Avenue.

³ John Foos, a music teacher, who lived in the house still standing, No. 4558 Germantown Avenue.

⁴ John Burrell lived on Manheim Street, about where Green Street now is.

⁶ Lewis Lehman, a carpenter, who lived on the upper side of Manheim Street.

⁶ Leonard Regar kept a livery-stable a few doors in from Germantown Avenue, on Manheim Street.

⁷ Robert Whittle kept a tavern at the south corner of Germantown Avenue and Manheim Street.

⁸ Samuel Fleckenstein lived in Spring Alley, a small street off of Manheim, near Germantown Avenue. It is supposed, like his son and grandson, who occupied the old homestead, that he was a mechanic, they being noted for their ingenuity and small charges.

Charles Colladay ¹ .	•	•	385	25	paid	2.17
Thomas Cox	•	•	585	40	- "	3.32
Jos Shoemaker's Est ²	•		1750		"	8.75
Richard Pitt	•	•		25	"	25
John German	•		712	83	66	3 .89
Widow Wood's Est ³	•	•	300		"	1.50
Samuel Mechlin ⁴ .	•	•		75	"	75
Samuel Mechlin, Sr ⁵	•	•	2022	33	"	10.44
William Currey's Est		•	850		"	4.25
John Hartley's Est .	•	•	1617		"	8.08
Thomas W. Armatt's Es	t ⁶	•	1100		"	5.50
Absalom Williams ⁷	•		570	33	"	3.18
Emanuel Walker's Est	•		125		"	62
Joseph Taggart's Est ⁸	•		800		"	4.00
Matthew Huston's Est	•	•	80		"	40
Thomas Forrest's Est ⁹	•	•	4 55		"	2.27

We know that he held public office, as he was the collector of this tax list.

¹ Charles Colladay lived on Manheim Street near Spring Alley. He was for a time Tax Collector.

² Joseph Shoemaker's estate. This was the property now owned by the Royals, No. 4506 Germantown Avenue.

³ Widow Wood's estate. Husband's name, Andrew, was on the site now occupied by the Henry house, No. 4436 Germantown Avenue, opposite Fisher's Lane.

* Samuel Mechlin, son of Samuel, Senior, and lived in the same house.

⁶ Samuel Mechlin, tanner, born 1730, died 1817. His house and tanyard were at No. 4434 Germantown Avenue. The house served as a hospital during the battle of Germantown, and still stands.

⁶ Thomas Wright Armatt, son of Thomas Armatt, and for a time his partner in Philadelphia. In 1801, Thomas built for him "Loudon," on the west side of Negley's Hill, No. 4356 Germantown Avenue. It is still owned and occupied by his granddaughter, Mrs. G. G. Logan.

⁷ Absalom Williams lived on the lower side of Manheim Street.

⁸ Joseph Taggart's estate. Located on Manheim Street opposite the Betton property. On this land the British infantry were encamped during the Revolution. Joseph Taggart was a president of the Farmers and Mechanics' Bank.

• Thomas Forrest's estate. This, from its location on Manheim Street, is, I presume, "White Cottage," purchased, probably, by Colonel Forrest for his daughter, who married Dr. Samuel Betton. It is still in the possession of the Betton family.

48 Inhabitants of Germantown and Chestnut Hill in 1809.

Christian Clouse Est			155	25	paid	1.02
Robert Bordman ¹ .	•	•	515	33	Para	2.90
Edward Bordman gone	•	•	010		all	2.00
Joseph Rapp's Est. ²	•	•	160	20	paid	80
Samuel Blair's Est.	•	•	540		all	2.70
Levi Jones ⁸	•	•	475	95		2.62
	•	•		20	paid "	
Catharine Seller's Est	•	•	70			35
John Sellers ⁴ .	•	•	540	25	.66	2.95
George Heyle .	•	•	100	50	"	1.00
Lewis Clapier's Est ⁵	•		2335		"	11.67
John Gunter	•		120	25	"	85
& for William Shippen's	s Est		570		"	2.85
James Miller gone	•		130	25	all	90
& for John Cochran's E	st	•	1105		paid	5.52
Capt Dobbin's Est .	•		40			20
Jacob Kulp's Est .	•		40		"	20
William Shippen's Est	•		1729		"	8.64
William Reed .	•		•	50	"	50
& for Henry Frailey's Ea	st		470		""	2.35
Peter Rice ⁶	•	•	130		"	65
Isaac Lowden gone	•			20	"	20
Benjamin Say's Est	•	•	40		"	20
Henry Frailey's Est ⁷	•	•	1090		"	5.45

¹ Robert Bordman, carpenter, who lived on the upper side of Manheim Street, just beyond Dr. Betton's, marked Thomas Forrest's estate.

² Joseph Rapp's estate. He owned a house on Manheim Street, just in from Germantown Avenue, where he kept a school.

³ Levi Jones, a small farmer, who lived on the lower side of Manheim Street, just beyond Wayne Avenue.

⁴ John Sellers, farmer, just beyond Jones.

⁵ Louis Clapier, a French merchant, who came to Philadelphia in 1796. He had a country-seat containing one hundred and forty-nine acres at the lower end of Germantown, now partially owned by H. P. McKean.

⁶ Peter Rice, farmer, who lived on Manheim Street.

'Henry Frailey's estate. Frailey was a manufacturer of drums and a prominent man in the affairs of the town. He resided on Germantown Avenue below Bringhurst Street; this property was a tract of land he owned on Manheim Street, which now forms a part of the Germantown Cricket Club grounds.

Inhabitants of German	own and Chestnut	Hill in 1809.	49
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John Butcher ² . . 185 25 . 1.1 Philip Smith ³ . . 260 25 . 1.5 John Anneshensel . . . 20 . .	55 20 70 25
	20 70 25
	70 25
	25
John Nutz's Est 1140 " 5.7	
George Keel ⁴ 10 20 " 5	••
& for Joseph Simm's Est . 200 " 1.0	00
	25
George Tillman ⁶ 505 " 2.4	52
	68
Frederick Yonker ⁷ 290 1.4	45
Wager's Est 10 paid	5
John Sommer's Est 395 " 1.5	97
Robert Brashier gone 25 all	25
John Smith 20 paid	20
Jacob Gardner 135 "	67
George Smith 10 33 "	38
-	97
James Frailey gone 25 all	25
William Saxton 85 25 paid	67
& for Jacob Kirk's Est	97
Matthias Tustin ⁸	83
William Buckius' Est 120 "	60
Stephen Dutilh's Est 2630 " 13.3	15
John Newcamp gone 25 all	25

¹ Jacob Tripler is better remembered as the proprietor of the King of Prussia, Germantown Avenue above School Lane, than as a resident of this quarter.

² John Butcher, stone-mason, who lived on Township Line above Manheim Street, a brother of William, who lived on Germantown Avenue.

⁸ Philip Smith, a small farmer, who lived next to Butcher.

⁴ George Keel lived a short distance above Smith.

⁶ Godlieb Cleaver, a German laboring-man, who resided on the same street.

⁶ George Tillman, a farmer, who lived in a stone house, recently torn down, on Queen Street, west of Wayne Street.

⁷ Frederick Jungkurth, father of the coachmaker of that name. He lived on the lower side of Queen Street.

⁸ Matthias Tustin, a stone-mason, who lived on Queen Street.

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50 Inhabitants of Germantown and Chestnut Hill in 1809.

Taba Taman		05	05
John Lower		25 paid	25
George Bensell's Est .	. 300		1.50
Rudolph Frailey poor .	. 10	25 " 、	30
& for Catharine Conrad's Ea	st. 200		1.00
Robert Hare's Est	. 1255	66	6.27
James Hood's Est	. 30	"	15
James Mathews	. 1275	"	6.37
Andrew Trullinger .	. 1310	50 "	7.05
Jacob Fisher	•	25 "	25
Martin Brownhultz gone ¹	•	25 all	25
Joseph Gorgas' Est	. 295	paid	1.47
Owen Gillaspie	. 250	25 - ''	1.50
& for William Leibert's Est	. 930	"	4.65
Joseph Gorgas ² .	. 1935	50 "	10.17
Henry Nickham	•	25 "	25
Charles Hubb's Est .	. 175	"	87
Jacob Strucher gone .	•	50 all	50
John Sharpnack	. 717	33 paid	3.91
Henry Rittenhouse 3 .	. 655	25	3.52
Abraham Deaves ⁴	. 1070	50 "	5.85
Peter Ketz gone	•	20 all	20
Samuel Deaves	. 1232	33 paid	6.49
Abraham Deaves' Est .	. 2285	• • •	11.42
John Niel gone		50 all	50
William Chancellor's Est	. 1640	paid	8.20
Henry K. Paul		50 "	50
William Huttenstein ⁵ .	. 2590	40 "	13.25
w main muttenstein .	. 2070	TU	10.40

¹ The Brownhultz family lived in a small story-and-a-half house, on the east side of Queen Street, west of Wayne Avenue.

² Joseph Gorgas, a member of the old Gorgas family, who owned property on and gave the name to the road now known as Gorgas Lane.

³ Henry Rittenhouse owned and occupied the old house still standing on the east corner of Germantown Avenue and Gorgas Lane. It was erected originally by a Gorgas, but since 1812 has been the home of the Paul family.

⁴ Abraham Deaves owned and occupied the old house still standing, No. 5635 Germantown Avenue.

⁶ William Hottenstein built the old stone house still standing on Germantown Avenue above Mount Pleasant Avenue, about what should be No. 5655.

Inhabitants of Germantown and Ches	tnut Hill in 1809. 51
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Christian Goodnight	•	•	25 paid	25
Bernard Shugart .		. 2000	<u>33 ~ ''</u>	10.30
Peter Heisler's Est .	•	. 605	"	3 .0 2
Adam Dickhart .	•	. 850	33 ''	4.58
William Hergesheimer	•	. 700	33 "	3.83
Henry Talbert gone	•	•	25 all	25
John Nungesser .		. 10	33 paid	38
David Hoffman .		. 1780	33 ⁻ "	9.23
Isaac Benner		•	50 all	50
Frederick Galley .		. 670	33 paid	3.68
Jacob Reese		. 40	75 "	95
Frederick Smith .	•	. 1665	50 "	8.82
Henry Sweyer .		. 2780	75 "	14.65
Christian Keyser		. 35	33 "	50
& for Isaiah Evans Est	•	. 900	"	4.50
Benjamin Gorgas ¹ .	•	•	83 "	88
Casper Foller	•	. 249	25 "	1.49
Benjamin Gorgas Sr ³	•	. 1430	3 8 "	7.15
Conrad Nell	•	•	20	20
Turnpike Est	•	. 150	"	75
Savers Brosius ³ .	•	. 70	"	35
Donats Est	•	. 3735	"	18.67
Jacob Getz ⁴	•	. 860	33 ''	4.63
Brooks Est	•	. 270	"	1.35
Jacob Sellers		•	50 "	50
Peter Conrad	•	•	25 "	25

¹ Benjamin Gorgas, son of Benjamin, Sr., also an occupant of the old Gorgas homestead.

² Benjamin Gorgas, Sr., built the old Gorgas house, Nos. 5728 and 5780 Germantown Avenue, now the south corner of Allen's Lane and Germantown Avenue. A portion of the building was used as a store for many years.

³ Savers Brosius, whose proper title was Rev. Francis Xavier Brosius, came to America in 1792 with the prince priest Galitzin. Brosius founded Mount Airy College in 1807, in Judge Allen's house, Main opposite Allen's Lane, since torn down. The Lutheran Theological Seminary now occupies the site.

⁴ Jacob Getz was probably the person mentioned by Hotchkins as Jacob Ketz, who, he says, built the house, still in possession of the family, on the west side of Germantown Avenue near Allen's Lane.

52	Inhabitants of	Germantown and	Chestnut Hill in 1809.
	2		01100011000 22000 010 200001

•							
Joseph Miller ¹ .		•	•	4908	50	paid	25.04
Ludwick Shaffer .		•	•	555	83	"	3.10
Conrad Wolf		•	•	405	40	"	2.42
Andrew Barnet .		•	•	920	33	"	4.93
Jacob Roht		•			25	"	25
Martin Fries		•	•	10	25	"	30
& for Widow Losher	rs Ea	st	•	650		"	3.25
Jacob Mason			•		50	66	50
Daniel Heins		•	•		50	"	50
Samuel B. Orneg go	ne		•		50	all	50
Francis Bockius [*] .		•	•	950	40	paid	5.15
Garret Rittenhouse		•		2115	33	- "	10.90
Peter Mason		•	•	260	25	"	1.55
John Nace ³ .		•	•	40	83	"	5 3
Elizabeth Mason's E	st	•	•	1870		"	9.35
Casper Geiger .		•	•	10	33	"	53
Jacob Nace		•	•	1420	25	"	7.35
John Burnheiter .		•	•	9 0	33	"	78
& for Levi Rex's Est		•	•	1350		"	6.75
Peter Nace's Est .		•	•	705		"	3.52
Anthony Conrad's E	st	•	•	36 5		""	1.82
William Holgate .		•	•		33	"	33
William Hansberry		•	•		25	"	25
Jacob Holgate .		•	•	2520	50	"	13.10
Frederick Weiss .		•	•		25	"	25
John Hammer .		•	•		25	"	25
David Dermount gor	ne	•	•		25	all	25
Jacob Pennock	•	•	•		25	paid	25
William Stillwaggon	goi	ne	•		33	all	33
Jabob File gone .		•	•		20	"	20
Martin Painter	•	•	•	855	33	paid	2.10

¹ Joseph Miller, born 1757, died 1825. Built the fine old house still standing, No. 5769 Germantown Avenue, in 1792. The family of the late James E. Gowen, who was his grandson, occupy it.

² Francis Bockius, who came from Germany, built the old stone house on the east side of Germantown Avenue, second above the Swan Hotel, Mount Airy.

³ John Nace owned the house still standing, though somewhat altered, on Mr. John Jenks's place, Bethlehem Pike above the Eldon.

Inhabitants of Germantown a	nd Chestnut	Hill in 1809.	53
John Wentz ¹	. 310	25 paid	1.80
John Altimose	. 1370	38 ⁻ "	7.18
Jacob Altimose	•	50 "	50
Emanuel Eyres Est	. 750	66	3.75
Joseph Donaldson	. 1685	75 "	8.42
Christian Fisher's Est .	. 90	"	45
Patrick Flinn gone .	•	33 all	83
Jacob Mock	•	50 paid	50
Casper Bechlor g	. 50	20 all	45
Charles Nice	. 2192	50 paid	11.46
Cornelius Roop	. 850	33 ''	4.58
Frederick Kerper	. 1140	33 "	6.03
Jacob Haas	•	25 "	25
Joshua Hollowell	. 190	33 all	1.22
& for Andrew Crouses Est	. 320	paid	1.60
Jesse Hollowell's Est .	. 120	"	60
Jacob Kirk's Est	. 190	66	95
Joseph Miller	•	25 "	25
& for Ann Miller's Est .	. 790	66	8.95
Peter Mason's Est	. 500	"	2.50
John Miller's Est	. 1640	50 "	8.70
Charles Hinkle	. 25	25 "	37
& for Joseph Miller's Est	. 695	"	3.47
John Beccher gone .	. 40	25 all	45
Christianna Milles Est .	. 365	paid	1.85
John Nickham	•	25 "	25
Jacob Hine g	. 10	33 all	88
& for William Stallman's Est	. 350	paid	1.75
John Rex	. 2207	50 "	11.53
& for Wm Ashmead's G R	. 121	66	60
Jacob Nickham g	•	25 all	25
William Stallman	. 180	33 paid	1.23
& for Julius Kerper's Est	. 430		2.15
Peter Lower	. 55	25 ''	52
George Patterson's Est .	. 2060	50 "	10.80

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¹ John Wentz, from 1801 to 1831, owned the Log Cabin, still standing and the last in this section, at the corner of Mermaid Lane and Germantown Avenue.

Isaac Conrad	•	88 all paid	33
& for Enoch Rex's Est .	. 80		40
George Rex's Est	. 595	"	2.97
Enoch Rex	. 1802	50 "	9.51
William Rex	. 1935	50 "	10.17
John Peters Sen ¹ .	. 3220	40 "	16.10
William Becher gone .	•	25 all	25
George & W ^m Cress's Est	. 1130	paid	5.65
Samuel Campbell	•	50 "	50
Henry Shermer's Est .	. 218	66	1.09
Jacob H. Miller	. 25	25 "	87
& for Wm Hicks's Est .	. 590	"	2.95
John Hansberry	•	25 "	25
George Fries	. 348	25 "	1.99
Casper Strouse	. 68	20	54
Jacob Haas	. 495	83 paid	2.80
Timothy Read	. 35	25 "	42
Joseph Minicks Est .	. 570	"	2.85
Michael Fishers Est .	. 120	"	60
George Weinman dead .	•	25 all	25
Fredk Grouskop gone .	. 10	25 ''	30
& for Peter Williams Est	. 505	paid	2.52
Peter Pleckers Est .	. 218	all	1.09
David Wampool	. 50	50 p a id	50
& for William Ottingers Est	. 1105	"	5.52
John Keeley gone	. 50	all	50
Henry Jacobs	. 30	33 paid	48
John Detweller ² .	. 1195	40 "	6.37
George Rahn	•	20 ''	20
Jacob Kerper ³ .	. 425	25 "	2.37
George Kerper ³	. 545	25 "	2.97
Frederick Kerper	. 210	25 ''	1.30

54 Inhabitants of Germantown and Chestnut Hill in 1809.

¹ John Peters owned the pebble-dashed house on the west side of Germantown Avenue below Hartwell Avenue.

² John Detweiler, butcher, owned seventeen acres of land where Southampton Avenue now is.

³ Jacob and George Kerper built the double houses which stand above the Lutheran Church, George building the upper and Jacob the lower one.

Windle Wiant ¹ .		540	25	paid	2.95
Peter Fast gone				all	50
John Graver		60	83	paid	63
Wickard Jacoby ²	•	1125	50	- "	6.12
Godfrey Fleger			33	"	88
& for Doctor Heidricks Est *	•	370		"	1.85
Andrew Bidding	•		25	"	25
Elizabeth Jacobys Est .	•	457		"	2.28
Phillip Wentz Jr		60	25	"	55
& for Willm Rexs Est .	•	1020		"	5.10
Peter Kleins Est	•	575		"	2.87
Jacob Smith gone	•		25	all	25
John McBride poor .	•		25	"	25
Christian Danneckers Est ⁴	•	44 5		paid	2.22
Henry Shermer	•		25	all	25
Walters gone	•			"	50
& for Abrh Heidricks Est		1060		paid	5.30
Peter Riffert gone	•	25	20	all	32
& for Christian Heidricks Est	•	435		paid	2.17
George Cress	•	1348	50		7.24
& for Saml Ashmeads G R	•	37		"	18
Doctor Gregg dead .	•	40	50	all	70
& for Fred Flegers Est .	•	857		paid	4.28
Leonard Redlion		60	20		50
John Peters Jun gone .	•	60	40	1	70
Levi Rex ⁵	•	2210	50	"	11.55
Henry Cress ⁶	•	2965	50		15.32

⁴ Windle Wiant was probably the person whom Hotchkins speaks of as the Weyant family, who lived in the old stone house second below Graver's Lane, on Germantown Avenue. Wiant was a teamster.

² Wickard Jacoby, a carpenter by trade, lived in the stone house near Graver's Lane, which has a frame dwelling at either end.

⁹ Dr. Christopher Heydrick studied medicine in Philadelphia, and graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1792. For a time he practised at Chestnut Hill.

⁴ Christian Dannecker owned the stone house next above Andrew Graves, on Germantown Avenue.

⁵ Levi Rex. His house, erected in 1801, still stands on the Reading Pike, next to Mr. Richard Chapman's.

^e Henry Cress kept the Eagle Hotel, on Germantown Avenue, near

56 Inhabitants of Germantown and Chestnut Hill in 1809.

٠

Saml Ashmead G R .		75		paid	37
John Striker			50	- "	50
John Weyman		10	25	all	30
& for Abram. Heidrick's Es	t.	715		paid	3.57
Jacob Cress ¹		292	50	- "	1.96
& for Abram. Heidrick's Est	3.	124 0		"	6.20
Henry Rinker		185	25		1.17
& for John Dillinger's Est		1095			5.47
John Cress poor		50		all	50
Nicholas Uber gone .	•	50		"	50
Jacob Nace gone		25	25	"	30
& for Henry Williams' Estat	е.	32 8		paid	1.64
Anthony Conrad			25	"	25
Andrew Ardman ³ .	•	542	25	"	2.96
Abraham Kern gone .		50		all	50
John Gettinger ⁴	•	590	25	paid	3.20
Christr. Yeakle	•	2578	50	"	13.39
& for Sam. Ashmeads G R		19		"	9
Joseph Miller's Est .	•	130		"	65
Abraham Rittenhouse .	•	280	25	"	1.65
Christr. Yeakle's Est .	•	270		"	1.75
John Gittinger Jr		60	25	"	55
& for Jacob Rex's Est .		2821	50	"	14.60
& for Sam'l Ashmead's G R	•	56		"	28

Evergreen Avenue. It was owned by his father, Henry Cress, Sr. It was used as a hospital by the American troops during the Revolution, and burned, to be afterwards rebuilt. For a long time it was known as Cress's Hotel.

¹Jacob Cress owned the old house on the west side of Germantown Avenue, a short distance below the Pennsylvania Railroad Depot, now the stores of Charles Still.

² Abraham Heydrick, a son of Belthazar, married, in 1767, Susannah, daughter of Charles Yeakle. After his marriage he kept a store at the foot of Chestnut Hill, in Springfield Township.

³ Andrew Ardman, shoe-dealer, lived in the old house still standing, and built by his father, about the time of the Revolution, on Germantown Avenue, opposite the Pennsylvania Railroad Depot.

*John Gittinger was probably the person intended by Hotchkins when he speaks of the Kittenger family, who owned the house opposite the Pennsylvania Railroad Depot used as an office by Dr. Cheston.

					•••
Jacob Lentz ¹		1400	50	paid	7.50
Willm. Nunnemaker .	•	220	25	- "	1.35
John Link		20			20
& for Michael Fisher's Est		160		"	80
Jacob Geissel		80	25	"	65
& for Christ. Yeakle's Est		1304		"	6.52
John Piper's Est ^a .		850		"	1.75
Michael Fisher		25	25	"	37
& for Chris. Yeakle's Est	•	237		"	1.18
Abraham Hess		70	25	"	60
& for Alexander Mock's Est	•	655		"	8.27
William Huston		285	25	"	1.67
Conrad Emery		835	25	"	1.92
John Fox gone	•		25	all	25
& for Emanuel Fox's Est	•	605		paid	3.02
Jno. & Geo. Streeper's Est	•	120		- "	60
John Kerper	•	46 0	25	"	2.55
Barbara Streeper's Est	•	1405		"	7.02
John Streeper	•		50	"	50
John Huston ³ .	•	2480	75	"	13.15
John Huston Jr	•		50	"	50
Dennis Streeper	•	2497	33	"	12.81
Jacob Paul	•	5788	75	"	29.69
Samuel Paul	•	30	50	"	65
Samuel Hinkle	•	10	25	"	30
Jacob Shoch		497	25	"	2.73
Henry Sheitz	•		50	""	50
Andrew Lace	•		50	"	50
Danl. McGonnagel .	•	457	25	"	2.53
Jacob Adleman	•	.10	25	"	30

¹Jacob Lentz probably owned and lived in the house at the intersection of the Reading and Bethlehem Pikes, which for many years was the only store in the place.

³ John Piper's estate. This tract of land, belonging to John Adam Piper, overlooked the Wissahickon, and is now owned by C. C. English. Down to 1758 a remnant of the Delaware Indians lingered on it, as here is situated their Council Rock, now called Indian Rock.

^{*}John Huston, a captain in the Revolution, owned a large farm at Chestnut Hill, now Mr. J. Lowber Welsh's.

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& for Widow Adleman's Est.	180		paid	90
Jacob Martin		25	- "	25
& for Leonard Streeper's Est .	892		"	1.96
James Bell		75	"	75
Isaiah Bell ¹	5825	75	"	29.87
Peter Hinkle		25	"	25
John Trace	60	25	"	55
William Yerkes	35 8		66	1.79
& for Samuel Ashmead's G R.	22		"	11
Henry Rinker's Est	22 9		"	1.14
& for Samuel Ashmead's GR.	11		"	5
Jesse Jones poor		20	all	20
Frederick Smith	203	25	paid	1.26
& for Samuel Ashmead's GR.	87		• "	18
Robert Holladay gone	75	20	all	57
Joseph Hinkle gone		25	"	25
Samuel Edwards		20	paid	20
& for John Hough's Est	453		- "	2.26
& for Samuel Ashmead's G R.	47		"	23
William Streeper ²	518	25	"	2.84
& for Samuel Ashmead's GR.	47		"	23
John Freed Jr		50	"	50
John Freed	459	25	"	2.54
& for Saml Ashmead's G R .	21		"	10
Patrick Filden gone		20	all	20
Michael Slaughter's Est	551		paid	2.75
& for Samuel Ashmead's G R.	19		- "	9
John Connor gone		25	all	25
John Burnheiter Jr gone .		25	"	25
& for John Thompson's Est .	81		paid	40
& for Saml Ashmead's G R .	21		- "	10
George Berger's Est	193		"	96
& for Samuel Ashmead's G R	37		"	18
Woolery Sheetz	452	25	"	2.51

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¹ Isaiah Bell owned and ran a grist-mill situated on the Wissahickon Creek, at Bell's Mill Road, now Thorp's Lane.

² William Streeper had a farm on the Bethlehem Pike, opposite the Eldon, now the Bohlen place. His house was below the Toll-Gate.

Inhabitants of Germantown	and Chestni	ıt Hill in 1809.	59
George Nice	. 440	paid	2.20
Michael Brownholtz .	•	25 "	25
& for John Reinick's Est	. 290	66	1.45
Henry Bilyard	. 70	25 "	60
& for Jacob Sheetz's Est	. 1519	"	7.59
Jacob Sheetz	. 635	25 "	3.42
Samuel Buzby gone .	•	25 all	25
James McCorkle gone .	•	50"	50
Leonard Kulp gone .	. 10	20 "	25
John Johnson's Est .	. 918	paid	4.59
John Wood	. 10	25 "	30
& for Widow Wood's Est ¹	. 288	"	1.44
Mary Kulp's Est	. 193	66	96
Henry Snyder	. 850	83 ''	4.58
—— Phipps Est	. 625	25 "	8.37
Nicholas Rapine's Est .	. 750	66	8.75
Henry Hinkel	. 1530	25 "	7.90
John Himmelright	. 185	25 "	1.17
John Arthur	. 1115	25 "	5.82
Daniel Thomas ² .	. 5910	75	30.30
John Rapine	. 45	25 "	47
Henry Streeper	. 940	25 "	4.95
Jacob Hallbewle gone .	•	25 all	25
John Crister gone	•	20 "	20
John Dubarry's Est .	. 5180	"	25.90
John V. Beutel gone .	•	25 ''	25
Anthony Miller gone .	. 60	25 "	55
& for John Peter's Est .	. 1210	paid	6.05
William Streeper	. 10	25 ''	30
& for John Cammell's Est	. 255	"	1.27
Joseph Paul Jr	. 390	75 ''	2.70
Jacob Rapine's Est .	. 37	"	18
Joseph Paul's Est	. 3260	"	16.30

¹ Widow Wood's estate. This old house stood about opposite where Gold's Hotel now is, and was built in 1744 by a Mr. Schwenck. In 1809 it was owned by Mrs. Elizabeth Wood.

² Daniel Thomas owned and ran a grist-mill on the Wissahickon at the foot of Thomas's Mill Road.

John Linnensheet	. 10	25 paid	30
John Hinkle	. 55	33 "	60
David Hinkle ¹	. 1295	38 "	6.80
Joshua Hollowell poor .	. 40	33 all	58
John & D. Hinkle's Est	. 2472	paid	12.36
Francis Brownholtz	. 295	25 "	1.72
John Detweiller's Est	. 450		2.25
Henry Shermer	. 50	25 "	50
John Gorgas	. 70	50 "	85
Benjamin Gorgas's Est .	. 1480	"	7.40
Henry Paul	. 1285	"	6.42
Samuel Becker	. 1200	25 "	25
Elizabeth Hinkle's Est	. 90		20 45
Christopher Koon gone .	. 50	50 all	10 75
& for Hezekiah Hopkin's Es		paid	7.67
Peter Bechtel ²	. 2440	50 "	12.70
William Smith	. 2110	50 "	50
Daniel Light	. 160	25 "	1.05
John Johnson	. 40	20 ((20
For John & Jos Livezey's Est		"	8.82
John Smith	. 1435	50 "	7.67
Taba Shaffar	. 1100	40 all	40
Adam Dava	. 485	$\frac{40}{25}$ paid	40 2.67
Ernest Felty	. 458	20 paru 33 "	2.67
Peter Dace	. 400	50 "	2.02 50
Jonathan Scott	. 350	25 "	2.00
		20	2.00 57
Jno & Jacob Geiger's Est William Rittenhouse's Est	. 115	33 "	57 78
w main Kittennouse's Est	. 90	00 ···	10

¹ David Hinkle owned and ran a grist-mill situated on Cresheim Creek west of Germantown Avenue.

² Peter Bechtel was a paper-maker; he ran two mills; both were located on Cresheim Creek. His dwelling, a large yellow house, and one mill were situated at the intersection of Cresheim Creek Avenue and Old Cresheim Road, the dam being afterward known as Carr's.

³ John and Joseph Livezey were millers, and owned and ran the Livezey mill at the foot of Livezey Lane and Wissahickon. This property they are taxed for lay to the north of Allen's Lane and Township Line, and the house is still occupied by the family.

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Thomas Weisser's Est .	. 135	paid	67
George Berger	. 750	<u>33</u> "	4.08
Philip Swartz	. 555	<u> 33</u> "	3.10
Widow Graffley's Est .	. 310	66	1.55
Peter Simon	. 225	20 "	1.32
Thomas Rogers's Est .	. 300	"	1.50
William Weaver gone .	•	20 all	20
Daniel Swartz	•	50 paid	50
Thomas Hurley's Est .	. 1405	- "	7.02
Jacob Shaffer	•	25 "	25
Henry Book		25 "	25
George Fight	. 955	25 "	5.02
Jacob Moyer	. 1215	25 "	6.32
George Moyer	•		
Jacob Moyer's Est	. 195	"	97
Jacob Moyer Jr	. 50	25 "	50
Samuel Hay's Est	. 1150	"	5.75
John Johnson Sr	. 1990	50 "	10.45
Isaac Huntzberry	. 20	25 "	35
& for Michel Brownholtz Est	. 342	"	1.71
Michael Rittenhouse .	. 60	25 "	55
Paul Bishop	. 465	33 "	2.65
Isaac Benner	. 640	3 3 "	3.53
Henry Benner	. 605	25 "	3.27
George Unruh	. 1135	33 paid	6.00
Nicholas Unruh ¹ .	. 2010	<u>83</u> "	10.38
Christian Benner	. 325	20 "	1.82
John Leibert's Est .	. 200	"	1.00
Christian Brooker gone .		20 all	20
Andrew Paul	. 130	25 paid	90
Joseph Paul	•	<u>33</u> "	33
Abraham Paul	. 1625	20 "	8.32
William Unruh	. 1700	25	8.75
& for John Oldnixon's Est	. 1275	"	6.37
John Unruh ²	. 2320	25 ''	11.85

¹ Nicholas Unruh, farmer. His land was situated on the east side of Gorgas Lane and west of the railroad. The old stone house, which served as a hospital during the battle of Germantown, still stands.

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³ John Unruh, farmer. His house and land were on the northwest

T D T			50	• 1	50
Isaac Benner Jr .	•		50	paid "	50
Rush & Stoneburner's E	8 T	. 1035		"	5.17
David Kelter	•	. 1305	33	"	6.85
Jacob Kelter	•	•	50	"	50 (10
Jesse Large	•	. 70	33	"	68
& for —— Shaw's Est	•	. 3505		"	17.52
Abraham Kulp .	•	. 560	33		8.18
Isaac M. Kulp .	•	•	50	66	50
Gabriel Boyer .	•	. 110	25	"	80
Widow Bloyd's Est	•	. 2560		66	12.80
Christian Dillman .	•	. 190		"	95
John Kephart	•	. 325	20	"	1.82
Abraham Kelter .	•	. 480	25	"	2.65
Thomas Armatt's Est	•	. 82		"	41
Amos Shaw gone .	•	•	25	all	25
John Peoples	•	•	25	paid	25
John Nelson .	•	•	25	66	25
James McMullen .	•	•	25	"	25
William Davey .	•	. 3177	75	66	16.63
William Henry gone	•	•	25	all	25
Andw Buckhannon gone	е	•	25	"	25
William Dawson .			25	paid	25
James Lees gone .	•	•	50	all	50
John Bicknell gone	•		50	"	50
Jacob Yarne .	•		50		50
Nicholas Larwood gone	•	•	50	"	50
William Boyd gone		•	50	"	50
James Holt gone .		•	50	"	50
Samuel Ellison gone		•	50	"	50
Samuel Bradshaw gone		•	50	"	50
William Rusher gone		•	50	"	50
Robert Steward .			50		50
Martha Robert's Est	•	. 475		paid	2.37
George Hank's Est .	•	. 184		"	67
Matthias Stroup .	•	. 45	20	"	42
William Steward .		. 1720	50	"	9.10
			-		

62 Inhabitants of Germantown and Chestnut Hill in 1809.

side of Washington Lane, east of Chew Street. He emigrated to the West in 1816.

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Robert Armstrong ge	one.	•		50	all	50
Edward Armstrong	•	•		50	paid	50
Abraham Dannenhov	wer.			25		25
Martin Rittenhouse's	Est		525		"	2.62
Christr Yeakle's Est	•	•	210		"	1.05
James Buckley gone	•			33	all	33
John Balty gone .				33	"	33
Jacob Sommers Jr.				33	paid	33
William Sommers .	•			40	~ "	40
Joseph States gone.	•			50	all	50
John Thompson .	•		877	88	paid	2.21
& for Saml Ashmead	s G R	•	35		- "	17
Samuel Sanders coop	per per	-)		05	"	07
sonal	•	}		25	••	25
David Steel	•	΄.		25	"	25
John Street Est .			5 75			2.87
Peter Goodman .	•			20	"	20
John M. Price .	•			75	"	75
John Sadlers Est .	•		710		"	8.55
Nicholas Jordan .	•	•	255	20	"	1.82
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Inhabitants of Germantown and Chestnut Hill in 1809.

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QUAINT VIRGINIA RECORDS.

BY THOMAS T. UPSHUB, NASSAWADOX, VA.

The Court Records of Northampton County, Virginia, are probably the oldest in the United States. They are unbroken since 1632, and are curiosities. The Clerks, or Clarks, as they were then called, copied not only the indictments, but the evidence also, much of which, given in the quaint phraseology of the Colonial period of Virginia, is very amusing, though doubtless anything but pleasant to the prisoners standing their trials.

The Court consisted of a presiding officer, styled at first the Commander of the Plantacon of Acchawmacke, and seven Commissioners, who were his coadjutors. In the absence of the Commander, one of the Commissioners presided. In 1642 the whole peninsula became Northampton County, and in 1668 the county was divided into Northampton and Accomac Counties.

In these old books I find the names of many persons, the ancestors, doubtless, of those who have become famous in our country's history,-Captain Thomas Cornwallis, the celebrated navigator and trader, Hancock Lee, and Benjamin Harrison; the latter appeared as a witness on the 16th day of May, 1636, in a case where corn was forcibly taken and sold after it had been levied upon by the sheriff, who was Captain William Stone, afterwards the first Colonial Governor of Maryland. On the 5th day of September, 1636, appears the name of Jacob Washington, who was granted an execution upon the goods and chattels of one John Ffur-This is the first record of the Washington name bush. probably in any book in existence, written in America. Whether this old patriarch was allied by blood to our General George Washington or not, I leave for others to find out, if they choose.

In 1615 the region now known as the Eastern Shore was

first settled by colonists from Jamestown, Virginia. Our books contain the petition of Henry Williams, dated May 4, 1635, which is as follows: "Ffor as much as Henry Williams doth make appeare by sufficient testymonie to our Cor⁴ y⁴ he hath remayned in this lande 20 yeares doing much serviss for the Countrie, we therefore certifye the same ffor a truth to the Gov^{*} & Counsell att James Cittie under the title ofe Cor⁴. Itt lyeth Est into the Woods, West on to the Mayne Creeke, North on Henry Charlton's lande."

"To all Cr^{*}, I Cap^{*} John West Esq^{*} Gov^{*} doe with the consent of the Counsell of State, accordinglye give and grant unto Henry Williams One hundred & fliftie acres ofe lande, situate in the County of Acchawmacke, Lying on the Old Plantation Creeke, North on the lande of Henry Charlton, Southwest on the flishing poynt: being dew as flolloweth, vig^{*}. One hundred acres as being an ancient planter in the tyme ofe Sir Thomas Dale, and fliftie acres flor the transportation ofe Susan Andrewes." This grant is dated 6th day of Sep^{*}, 1636.

The date of 1615 is sustained by other authorities also, as that of the colonization of this peninsula. Each immigrant received fifty acres of land for his transportation from England, unless he was an indentured servant or a slave, in which cases the master received the land to indemnify him for expenses incurred. Very many persons, however, for whom land was granted as being servants, were not such in menial capacities; for instance, Francis Stockley paid for the transportation from Eng⁴ of his brother John, and entered John as his servant in his list, when he applied for a grant of land, but John does not appear to have worked for his brother a day; he was employed by Daniel Cugley, Gen⁴, as secretary and business manager.

Among the servants mentioned in the list of Ensign Thomas Savage, I find the names of John Seaverne, Chirurgion, and Bridgett his wife. Now, John Seaverne (Severn) practised his profession, and brought suit many times to collect his bills; consequently he was not a servant in the present acceptation of the word.

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Contempt of Court was an offence never ignored. The Commanders and Commissioners were too jealous of the dignity of their positions, and of that pertaining to their own august persons, to suffer the least infringement upon, or diminution of their meed of reverence.

Obedyance Robins, Gen⁴, was first Commander for several years; he was succeeded by Captain William Roper, Gen⁴, and he by Colonel Nathaniel Llyttleton, Gen⁴, who, after presiding over the Court for several years, was in turn succeeded by Obedyance Robins, Gen⁴, again. Among the Court Orders is the following: "Itt is thought flitt & soe ordered by this Cor⁴ that John Paramore for his unlawful swearing in a contemptuous manner in the fface of the Cor' shall set by the heeles in the stockes for the space of one Complete houre;" and on June 9, 1638, it was "Ordered that John Paramore shall sett by the heeles in the stockes att the tyme ofe Devyne Serviss upon the next Saboth daye ffor being drunke in the fface of the Cort." Mr. Paramore was no worse than many others in that Colony; not so bad, in fact, as far as the Records go, but he appears to have been unfortunate in his selections of audiences.

The first Clark of the Court was Henry Bagwell, Gen⁴. He was succeeded by Thomas Cooke, Gen⁴, who wrote the most peculiar handwriting, and the most difficult to decipher I have ever seen. He was followed by Edwyn Conaway, a scribe of the same school. They seem to have been very proud of their intellectual acquirements, and particularly so of their knowledge of Latin. They frequently interlarded their copies of manuscripts with Latin words, and nearly all of them abbreviated, which adds to the difficulty in reading the old books.

The punishments inflicted by the Court were quite original, it seems. Upon the 2d day of August, 1641, Goody Curtis was trying to milk her cow in the cowpen of the Widow Taylor, but as her cow was unused to being milked in that pen and moreover was not very gentle, she refused to stand still. Goody lost her temper, and the widow's milking having been disturbed by Goody's cow, she got fretted also. Cross words and bad names were soon exchanged, and then the widow proceeded to slap Goody's face, for which breach of the peace the Court "ordered that the Widdowe Taylor shoall pay unto John Curtis or anie other for his use, one potte of milk per daye, at the cowpen of the Widdowe Taylor until the last of September next, and pay all charges expended in this suite."

The Indians on this peninsula were very poor. They subsisted mainly on fish and oysters, apparently were peaceably inclined, and not without gratitude. In 1651, Tepiabiavon, King of the Great Nuswattocks, gave Jonkin Price three hundred acres of land from his reservation, because Price had shown him kindness. About the same year appears the following entry:

"Itt is thought flitt and soe ordered by this Cor that Mr. Phillipp Taylor nor anie other pson or psons unto him the sy^d Taylor in aniewise belonging should presume to disturbe or molest the Indyans formerly seated at Mattawomes Creeke, neither for anie cause or reson by them supputated, to cleare or worke upon the ground whereon they are now seated, by reson that Nathaniel Leyttelton Esqr, Argall Yeardley Esqr, Cap' W^m Stone, Mr. William Andrews & Capt W^m Roper, have taken an espetial review of the place and situation thereof, & doe finde that if the Indyans be displaced of the 200 acres of land which the sy⁴ Mr. Taylor doth laye claim to, they in noe wise can subsist, & further more that the plantation of Phillip Taylor cannot be impaired thereby, he being seated on the one side of the Creeke & they on the other, and not hitherto to have either bought or cleared on that side the Indyans are appointed to dwell."

But although as late as 1651, the Indians were on reservations and actually an object of care and solicitude to the colonists, yet on the 28th day of April, 1643, the colony had been in a great state of fear and excitement, as is shown by the following:

"Itt is ordered by this Cor^t and soe thought flitt by reson of the greate and sudden daynger which is like to come upon the Plantačon by the Indyans, that the powder and shotte which is in the handes of Mr. John Nuthall shall be seized on by the Sheriff and delivered unto the handes of the Commander to be disposed of to those of the inhabitants who are necessitated & that the sy⁴ Mr. Nuthall shall have a valuable consideration in monie or anie other goods payd unto him by the Commander, for the sy⁴ powder & shotte soe taken and disposed of."

The way of the slanderer and scandal-monger was a hard one in those days. They always received the particular attention of the Court. On February 19, 1634, "John Wattham aged 24, Randall Revell aged 21 years, and John Ford aged 25 years or thereabouts, sworne and examined, saye they hard Henry Charlton saye, that if he had had Mr. Cotton without the Church yeard he would have kickt him over the pallyzados, calling of him black rotted raskoll. Upon the complaynt of Mr. Cotton ags^t the sayd Charlton, and the depositions above expressed, it is ordered that the sy^d Charlton shall for the sy^d offence buyld a pare of stockes and sett in them three sevral Saboth dayes in the tyme of Devyne serviss, and there ask Mr. Cotton forgiveness."

Mr. Cotton was the Rector of the Parish, but it seems he did not leave vengeance to the Lord. On 8th of September, 1634, is written: "At this Cor' Edward Drew preferred a petition against Joane Butler for calling of his wife ------ and upon dew examination & the depositions of John Halloway and W^m Baseley who affirmeth the same on oath to be true, that the sayd Joane Butler used these words. Upon dew examination it is thought flitt by this Board, that syd Joane Butler shall be drawn over the Kinges Creeke at the starn of a boat or kanew from one cowpen to the other, or else the next Saboth daye in the time of Devyne serviss between the first and second lessons present herself before the minister and saye after him as followeth: I Joane Butler doe acknowledge to have called Marie Drew -- & hereby I confess I have done her manifest wronge, wherefore I desire before this Congregation that the said Marie Drew will forgive me, and also that this Congregation will joyne and pray with me that God may forgive me."

At the very next Court, Thomas Butler, the husband of Joane, "turned the tables" on Edward Drew by causing Marie Drew to be ordered to repeat the same penitential formula verbatim upon the following Sunday. They were evidently a naughty pair and deserved all the punishment they received.

On the 3d of June, 1642, I find another case of slander recorded as follows:

"Whereas Rob^t Wyard hath in a most disgraceful and barbarous manner blemisht the reputation of Alice Traveller the wife of George Traveller in the most base and ignominious language, by which defamation hath taken away the reputation of the sy⁴ Alice. It is therefore thought ffitt and requisite and accordingly ordered that the sy⁴ Rob⁴ Wyard shall stand three several Sundayes in the time of Deryne serviss before the fface of the whole Congregation in a white sheete with a white wann in his hande which are to be provided by the Church wardens of this County and there shall aske the sy⁴ Alice forgiveness in form and manner as shall be dictated unto him by the minister of this County of Northampton."

The following letter, although not issued by the Government of Great Britain directly, was issued by authority granted to Cap^t W^m Claiborne by the Crown, and may therefore, I think, be considered a letter of marque and reprisal, and is probably the first one issued in America.

"Phillipp Taylor, I understand y^t the Marylanders have taken my Pinnyce the Long Tayle with her company and some other of my men trading in other places. Now whereas his Mat^{iee} Commission to myselfe warranteth mee in the trade with the natives and flor as much alsoe as his Ma^{tiee} Gratious Lords in America doe declare his express pleasure to bee ags^t this their violente and exhorbitante proceedings and contrary to justice and the true intent of his Ma^{tiee} Grant to y^e Lord Baltimore. These are to desire you, that you would with the first opportunitye, with such Com-

Quaint Virginia Records.

pany as are appoynted for you, sett sayle to Patawomack and Patuxant Riv^m or elsewhere and to demande of them my sy⁴ Pinnyce and men, and if you can obtayne them to take possession of them for my use and bring them again unto this place. Or missing of them, make staye of such boates of theirs as you can light on. Wherein I beseech you proceede without violence unlesse y⁴ bee in lawful necessary defence of yo⁵selfe espetially also to avoyd any bloodshed or making any assault upon any of them and to this end I require all your Company to bee obedyente and assistant unto you as if I were there myselfe. Given att the Isle of Kent under my hande & seal this eleventh of May Anno Die 1635.

W. CLAIBORNE. The Seal. Recordat decimo quinto die mensis July 1642.

Until November 30, 1657, Virginia claimed the whole Eastern Shore to the Delaware line. Many difficulties had arisen owing to conflict of authority between the Governor and Council of Virginia and Lord Baltimore of Maryland; but upon that day an agreement was signed in London which defined the lines of the two Colonies.

These old Records, besides the Deeds, Wills, Orders of Court, Powers of Attorney, etc., usually found in Court Records, contain many items of miscellaneous business. Under date of February 15, 1633, I find: "Thomas Butler, aged 27 yeeres; William Payne, aged 27 yeeres, sworne and examined as followeth: These deponents sayeth that, Mr. George Scovell did laye a wager with Mr. Mountney, 10^b starlinge to 5^b starlinge, calling us to witness the same, that Mr. W^m. Burdett should never mach in wedlocke with the Widdowe Sanders while they lived in Virginia. Soe the sy⁴ Scovell, not contented, but would laye 40^b starlinge more to 10^b starlinge that the syd Mr. W^{me}. Burdett should never have the Widdowe Sanders."

Mr. Weller's caution to his son Samuel might have been profitably followed by Mr. Burdett, it seems, if he lost his wager and the widow, too.

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Mr. Thomas Stanton, who was one of the agents of the Lady Elizabeth Dale in this Colony, after her husband's death, and she had returned to England, gave to Thomas Cooke a Power of Attorney to attend to his affairs while he went to England, appended to which is the following letter:

"Mr. Cooke, my kynd love attend you, sirrah,—I am, by God's grace, bound for England this daye; therefore I would desire you lett me therefore heare from you, together with some retorne of my goods, and what you will have or have occasion for send me word and I will furnish you att my return, an it please God. Therefore be Loyal unto me, as I may ffurther make use of you. I reste your loving friend till death, THOS. STANTON."

"Jan'y 13th, 1641. We are under sayle. I can right no more. Send to Fernstreete to Townsend lande, London. To his loving firiend, Mr. Cooke, at Ackowmacke, these I pray you.

"Recordat y[•] Die Aprilis, Ao 1642. "Yme, Тноз. С

THOS. COOKE, Cleri."

Before closing this article, I will give the copies of two wills, the first of peculiar brevity, the second for quaintness of style probably unrivalled in any records :

"Iff itt please God I do dye, my debts being discharged, what debts remayne I give to Goodman Ffisher, and he to see me layd in the ground like a man.

"The mark of WILLIAM "The mark of "J. WILKINSON. "The mark of "JAMES | CRANNE. "27 Oct. 1639."

"In the name of God, Amen, the 23th of April, 1636, I, William Smith, of Acchawmacke, in Virginia, planter, being at this present, blessed be God, sicke and weake in body, but sound and perfit in mynd and memory, doe institute, ordayne and make this my last Will and Testament, vig^t: Ffirst, I bequeath my soule unto the hands of Almighty God, my Maker, who gave it me, and my bodye to the grave from whence it came, being assuredly persuaded of a joyful resurrection.

"Imp[•], I doe give and bequeath to the Church use One hundred pounds of tobacco. Item. My will is that Mr. Cotton shall make my funeral sermon, and he to have for the same 100^{156} of tobacco.

"Item. That Garrett Andrewes, iff he be please to make my coffin, shall have for the same 50 pounds of tobacco, or anie other that shall make it of the best.

"Ite. I give and bequeath to Francis Millesent one of the best shoates and a small Iron pott.

"Ite. I will and bequeath to Elizabeth Harlowe, daughter to John Harlowe, the best sow there is undisposed of, which is the great sow bought of Mr. Wilson.

"Ite. I doe give freely unto my servant, Daniel Pighles, one complete year of his tyme, and one of the best sow shoates.

"Ite. I doe give and bequeath unto Alex^r Wignall one hundred pounds of tobacco.

"Ite. My will is that my servant Daniel shall have all my wearing cloathes, both Wolling and Linning and my peece, shotte bag and Horne.

"Ite. I doe institute, ordayn and make Nicholas Harwood & Walter Scott my true & lawful Executors of this my last Will and Testament, and they equally to have and enjoye, Debts and legacies being payd and discharged, my whole Estate. In witness hereof, I, the sy⁴ William Smith, have hereunto set my hand and seale the daye and year above written.

(Signed)

"WILLIAM W. SMITH.

"Ysence:

"DANIEL PIGHLES,

"ALEX'R WIGNALL."

The oath taken by Captain William Stone, the first Sheriff of this Colony, was as follows:

"Ye shall sweare that well and truely y[•] shall serve the King's Magistie in the office of the Sheriff of the County of Acchawmacke, and doe the King's yffitt in all things that belongeth to yo^u to doe by way of yo^r office as ffar as yo^u can or may.

"Yo" shall truely kepe the King's Right and all that belongeth to the Crowne.

"Yoⁿ shall truely and rightfully treate the people of the Sheriffwicke, and do right as well to the poore as to the Ritch in all that belongeth to yo^r office.

"Yo" shall doe noe wrong to anie man for anie guift or other behest or promise of goods for favour nor hate.

"Yo^u shall disturbe noe man's rights. Yo^u shall truely returne and truely serve all the King's Writts as farr for the as shall be to yo^u cuming.

"Yo^a shall take noe Bayliffe into yo^r serviss but such as yo^a will answere for.

"Yo" shall make such of yo" Bayliffes to take such oathe as yo" make yo'seffe in that belongeth to yo' occupation.

"Yo" shall be dwelling in yo^r own yyn (proper) ysons (persons) within yo^r Bayliewicke for the tyme that yo" shall be in the same office, Except yo" are otherwise licensed by the Governor and Counsell of this Colony. And you shall diligently and truely doe all of the things appertaining to yo^r say^d office of Sheriffwicke to the uttermost of y^r power. Soe holp^s yo^r God y^e."

On the first day of March, 1641, the first mill was contracted for between Obedyence Robins, Gen^t, and John Wilkins, Gen^t, of the first part, and Anthony Linny, Millwright, of the second part. It was a windmill. The contract price was £220 and twenty barrels of corn, and they were to furnish Linny all the necessary ironwork and shingles, and they paid him one hundred pounds sterling in advance. The first Vestry of the Church was appointed by the Court on the 14th of September, 1635. The Vestrymen were:

William Cotton, Minister,	William Andrews,
Captain Thomas Graves,	John Wilkins,
Obedyence Robins,	Alex'r Mountney,
John Howe,	Edward Drew,
William Stone,	William Berriman,
William Burdette,	Stephen Charlton.

And the first Vestry meeting was held "upon the feast day of St. Mychael the Arck Angell, being the 29th day of September, 1635."

At that meeting the Vestry decided to build a "parsonage house upon the Glybe land by Christyde next, & that the sy^d house shall be forty foot longe & eighteen foot wyde, and nyne foot to the wall plates; and that ther shall be a chimney at each end of the house, & upon each syde of the chimneys a room, the one for a study, the other for a buttery; also a partition neere the midst of the house with an entry and tow doors, the one to goe into the kitchinge, the other into the Chamber."

These Record Books contain a great many items of historic value, giving an insight into the daily lives and occupations of the Colonists, and referring to the most important events of the period they cover.¹

¹ We understand that these valuable records are to be carefully copied and preserved. The Legislature of Virginia has passed an act making the necessary appropriation for that purpose.—ED. PENNA. MAG.

EXCERPTS FROM ACCOUNT-BOOKS OF WASHINGTON.

BY DR. J. M. TONER, WASHINGTON, D.C.

The cash-books of Colonel George Washington began October 15, 1754, just after resigning the command of the Virginia Regiment, and continued until 1775, at the beginning of the Revolution, reveal, if we read between the lines, many of the methods, habits, and characteristics of the man. The data are genuine and ample, and the inferences drawn are fully warranted.

The first entry in these books shows he had cash on hand to the amount of £225 6s. 3d. The first charge against himself is for repairs of his watch, and, it may be said, there are frequent charges of this kind. He also buys watches for Mrs. Washington, John Parke and Patey Custis; takes chances in a raffle for a watch in 1754, and at later dates buys numerous watch-keys of steel and gold; and in the course of his accounts notes the purchase of gold lockets and other jewelry for various members of the family.

His habit of personal neatness may be inferred from his frequent patronage of barbers when in any place where they supported establishments, including the French barber in Williamsburg. Only once, however, does he record the fact of having his hair *cut*.

He was often a buyer of powder-bags and puffs; hair powder, which was occasionally noted as being perfumed, and ribbons for his hair. He was a frequent customer of the furnishing stores for silk, thread, and cotton stockings, shoes, pumps, slippers, moccasins, and boots; breeches made of buckskin black and yellow, of calfskin leather occasionally tanned at home but often imported; and also of velvet, silk, and cloth of different colors; double-gilt and gold buttons; silver lace for servants' hats; silver knee- and shoebuckles; gloves and mittens, chiefly buckskin, but sometimes

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of woollen yarn; cambric for ruffling his shirts; dimity for stocks; black stocks; sleeve-buttons; black and striped knee-garters, lace, etc. Hats in those days were made of felted wool and fur, and suffered greatly from exposure before the days of umbrellas, gum coats, and hat-covers, and Washington, because of his out-door life and his numerous servants, had to purchase many of them. His laundry bills, too, were large; the sums expended for combs, hair-brushes, toilet soaps, and shaving outfits are very considerable; as was also his outlay for shoe-brushes and blacking.

General Washington, from having defective teeth, was obliged to patronize dentists; he was from 1754, and possibly earlier, a frequent buyer of tooth-brushes, toothpowder, and washes. The following are the names of some of his dentists: Drs. Fendall, Spencer, Baker, and John Greenwood.

He annually bought almanacs, usually two copies. Those found among his papers have blank leaves for memoranda bound in with the text, and are filled with observations on a variety of subjects by Washington. He buys schoolbooks for John Parke and Patey Custis; music and also story-books for them; Latin and Greek grammars and text-books for Jacky; and, later, the same class of books for G. W. P. Custis, with books for Miss Nellie in music and French.

I infer that Washington did not use tobacco, because he buys neither chewing nor smoking tobacco, cigars nor pipes; and he is altogether too minute and exact in his charges to omit these if he had been in the habit of buying them. On two occasions he buys snuff-boxes, one a papiermaché, the other silver; and once or twice he buys small quantities of snuff; but it should be remembered it was the custom in those days to keep a snuff-box on the mantel of sitting-rooms or in some convenient place, for guests to help themselves at will, and to be occasionally passed around among the company.

Notwithstanding the occasional statement met with in the lighter literature on Washington that he played the violin

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and flute, I infer from the fact that his cash-book shows that he never buys either, and not even fiddle-strings, that he did not play on the violin, or, indeed, on any musical instrument. He occasionally attends concerts, but it appears more as a patron or as escort to the ladies than as a lover of music.

He was a firm, though a considerate, master to his servants; had them well clad, housed, and fed. They were inoculated as protection against attacks of small-pox; when ill, were attended by physicians whom Washington employed by the year for that purpose; and had two upper rooms in the servants' quarters at the mansion house reserved and furnished as a hospital. He gave them Christmas money and gifts; allowed them holidays to visit the races; lent them his seine to haul for fish on their own account; and records the fact of sending "Will" to the doctor to have his tooth drawn; and sent "Tom" to Lebanon, Pa., to a man claiming to be able to render harmless the bite of a mad dog; and another to the eminent Virginia physician, Dr. Baynam, paying good round fees for the service. At public houses, in travelling, at ferries, and at gentlemen's residences where he visited, he always gave liberally to the servants. and regularly notes the amount in his cash-book.

His æsthetic tastes are shown in his watch-charms and seals; one with his crest was engraved for him as late as 1798. He had his arms engraved on gold-headed canes, one in 1785; his cipher put on his pew in Pohick Church, and his initials engraved on his own guns, and those of John Parke Custis on his. He bought prints to stamp the butter for his table use; busts and pictures to decorate his rooms; and studied the harmony of colors in his housefurnishings; remodelled his mansion and embellished the grounds.

I think it may justly be inferred from the frequent charges for expenses in attending the theatres that he had a taste for the drama and amusements in general. He also visits concerts, microcosms, wax-works, and puppet-shows; sleight-ofhand; and pays to see a dancing bear, an elk led through the country as a show, a tiger and a lioness exhibited

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in Alexandria. He also found relief from fatigue in games of cards and billiards. It was his habit to play for small stakes and to keep an exact account of his gains and losses. In 1775 the sum total of all his gains to that date foots up £72.0.6, while his losses for the same period stand at £78.5.9. The only games he mentions are billiards, and whist and loo under the head of cards. He was a patron of the race-track, and an annual subscriber to the purse for its encouragement and support, of one at Alexandria, Williamsburg, Richmond, and Annapolis. He usually attended the respective races and bet moderately, scrupulously charging or crediting himself with the losses or gains on these wagers and his other attendant expenses. He also bought lottery tickets, and generally records the fact that he won nothing or but a trifle. He was solicited to take chances in raffles for a great variety of articles,-guns, watches, a necklace, silver buckles, the British Encyclopedia, Mrs. Dawson's These raffles often partook of the character of a coach, etc. social gathering.

Washington gave a great deal of money in charity, from 1754, to soldiers wounded or destitute, to sailors, and often to widows and begging women; to a French lady in distress, a man who had his house burnt, a woman who had escaped from the enemy, etc., etc. His books show that he gave money liberally to his mother, as well as valuable presents,--a costly cloak and a chaise in 1774; and made, in advanced life, generous presents to his sister, Betty Lewis; to his niece, Harriet; to G. W. Lafayette, son of the general; and that he was most liberal in giving pocket-money to his adopted children; in assisting young men in college, etc. His philanthropic gifts and subscriptions are numerous. The following are a few only: For building a markethouse in Fredericksburg in 1757; to the sufferers from fire in Boston in 1760; for decorating Falls Church; subscription to the Society of Useful Knowledge, \$100; to James Blyth, in 1795, towards establishing an academy in Kentucky, \$100; a like amount towards an academy in the Western Territory; to the sufferers from yellow fever in

Charleston in 1796, \$300; September 25, 1796, left \$100 in the hands of T. Peter for the sufferers from fire in Georgetown, D.C., \$90 of which was returned to him as not expended; sent \$100 to Mrs. Lear, the mother of Tobias Lear, to bear her expenses to the Federal City in 1796; for educating the poor children of Alexandria, \$50; and for the poor of the town, \$100,-this was an annual donation; to the distressed in Philadelphia from yellow fever in 1793, and again in 1798. While he was charitable as well as philanthropical, he was also economical and thrifty. Some of the evidences of this are patent in his having his shirts and other garments made and mended; the mending of a coffee-pot and a coffee-mill; "putting shoes to his boots," footing boots, as we have it; and in the mending of buttons and buckles, boots, shoes, fans, etc. He had no sentiment restraining him from selling anything on his plantations not needed.

His cash-books show that the liquor bought for use at the mansion house at Mount Vernon was wine, in general Madeira in butts and pipes, or claret by the box, and occasionally casks of ale, with brandy in kegs or smaller quantities. Jamaica rum was bought by the hogshead for plantation use. It is evident that General Washington's social glass was always wine.

These accounts show two occasions before his marriage when he was so ill as to be obliged to employ a nurse: first, when he was on the Braddock Expedition, and again in 1756, then in command of the Virginia forces on the western frontier of Virginia, which are duly recorded, with dates and amounts paid.

He was more of a reader than is generally supposed, and especially on agriculture, war, history, politics, travels, etc., and collected about him quite a good library. Some of the books were gifts, but the greater number were purchased. In his cash-books he does not always give the names of the books he buys or for which he subscribes. In 1769, Virginia Justice; in 1772, Boise's Account of Louisiana, Churchill's Sermons, and Byron's Voyage around the

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World; in 1774, Henley's Defence against the Charge of Heresy; August 6, 1774, he buys a copy of Jefferson's Bill of Rights; in 1786, two copies of Gordon's History; and in 1799, four sets of Belknap's Biography, etc., etc.

The purchases or bills paid for the ladies of Mount Vernon do not represent their expenditures, as they generally received cash in considerable sums, which alone is shown on the cash-books, and the articles bought with it rarely appear by name. In 1772, a hat and silk dress for Patey Custis, £8.4.0. In 1786, two cushions are bought for Mrs. Washington, and a pair of black satin shoes, a necklace, earrings, etc.; at various times gowns for Mrs. Washington; a dressmaker was employed at Mount Vernon in 1772; a parrot and canary were bought; two pairs white silk stockings from New York in 1773; a cotton gown; and in 1774 a satin cloak, making and mending a pair of stays for Mrs. Washington, £3.2.0. Mrs. Washington had her own private purse to draw on, and gave out of it to her mother, Mrs. Frances Dandridge, an annuity of £35.0.0. It would seem from an entry in the cash-books in 1766, that Mrs. Washington was taking music lessons with her children, viz. : "By cash paid Mr. Stedler for teaching Mrs. Washington and two children music, £38.14.0."

I must not overlook the charming little romance which the accounts reveal in the purchase of a ring in Philadelphia, in May, 1758. A few weeks later the record of expenses shows Colonel Washington travelling towards Williamsburg with his servant, Thomas Bishop; his visit to Colonel Bassett's, and the liberal amounts he bestowed upon the servants. A day or so after he is at Mr. Clayborn's and Mr. Chamberlain's, whose families were intermarried with the Daudridges; and a day or two later he is at Mrs. Custis's, with his liberal benefactions to her domestics all duly recorded. The purpose and destination of the ring may be inferred with certainty.

After his marriage his wife usually spent at least part of the winters with him in Williamsburg, while he was in attendance at the House of Burgesses. Winters in Williamsburg were at this period the fashion of the wealthy, and perhaps no city in America had a more charming circle of the *élite* than the capital of Virginia.

The following entry, May 30, 1772, relates to one of the artists who painted his portrait and that of his wife from life:

By M ^r P	eale Painter, Draw'g	my	Pict ^{• 1}		•		£18.4.0
Miniatur	re D ^o for M ⁿ Washing	gt ⁿ	•		•		13 – –
Ditto	D ^o for Miss Custis	•	•				13
Ditto	D ^o for M ^r Custis	•	•	•	•	•	13
							£57.4.0
January 6th 1774 By 10 Guineas paid Mr Peale for Drawing							
M' Custi	s's Picture		•		•	•	£13.2.6
January 18th	1774 By M' Peale set	ttin	g Pictı	ires	•		£1.16.0

This was doubtless for Mr. Custis's wife.

He was also an active promoter of enterprises which promised benefits to the people, as the relocating, improving, and regrading of the public roads, the establishing of turnpikes and ferries, the building of bridges, and the adoption of improved methods in agriculture. That his far-seeing mind, more than any other man's, realized the coming greatness of the Western country, is shown in his advocacy of settlements there; his taking up land on the Ohio; and his efforts, pecuniary and otherwise, to have the Potomac River, above tidewater, rendered, by means of locks, navigable to small boats well up into the Allegheny Mountains, with a view that by a short portage to one of the branches of the Ohio, similarly improved, a nearly continuous navigation to the Mississippi River might be established.

These cash accounts recall and give testimony of an old usage in the Colonies at elections, which was that of the several candidates providing cakes, and possibly small beer, as a lunch for the voters. The persons attending to the furnishing of these repasts generally seem to have been women, and occasionally as many as three or four different parties. The same custom was common at the election of

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¹ The study for this portrait has recently been presented to the Historical Society.—ED. PENNA. MAG.

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church vestrymen, and it is noted as at both Pohick and Alexandria; though the expense in this parish rarely reached a pound. Another custom of the times was for gentlemen to have a bowl of punch or some mixed drink provided at public houses, to which their friends were invited to help themselves. This friendly bowl was then designated as the "Club." This name was given to it, whether paid for by one individual or a proportional share by all who partook. Washington often put up the "club;" in modern phrase, he treated the company. In stopping at an ordinary, while travelling, he records the cost of his "dinner and club." In a few instances the term "punch" is used as synonymous with "club." Jonson, in his first folio edition of his dictionary, quotes the following couplet:

> "Let sugar, wine, and cream together club, To make that gentle viand, syllabub."

Coffee was in early days a club drink between meals, and led to the establishment of coffee-houses.

But a saddening cloud casts its shadow on the pages of this tell-tale cash book. Patey Custis had grown up to be a beautiful girl, to whom Washington was greatly attached, but about her fourteenth year she fell into poor health, which led him and her mother to take the young lady to the different Springs and to eminent physicians in adjacent cities. As time moves on the pages show the coming to Mount Vernon of many doctors, the trying of a great variety of popular medicines, and even some charms. But the end came in 1773, and for a time cast a deep gloom over the whole household. Washington's entries relative to the physicians and medicines for Patey and her funeral arrangements are quite pathetic.

These excerpts and inferences, which portray the family life at Mount Vernon, might be extended, but I apprehend what has been given will enable all to form as correct an opinion as this class of testimony can give of the habits and character of General Washington.

LETTER OF GENERAL WASHINGTON TO JOSEPH REED, PRESIDENT OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1779.

CONTRIBUTED BY WILLIAM H. EGLE, M.D.

HEAD QUARTERS, WEST POINT, 4th October, 1779.

Sir,—

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I have the honor to inclose your Excellency the Copy of a Resolution of Congress of the 26th September, by which you will perceive they expect the arrival of His Excellency Count D'Estaing; and that I am directed to pursue measures for co-operating with him, and to call upon the several States for such aid as shall appear to me necessary for this important purpose.

In compliance with these directions, I have made an estimate of the force of Militia which will be indispensable, in conjunction with the Continental Troops; and have apportioned this force to the neighboring States, according to the best judgment I am able to form from their respective circumstances and abilities.

The number I have to request of the State of Pennsylvania is Fifteen hundred. I have rated its proportion thus low from a consideration of the extensive calls upon it for transportation and other aids, on which our operations must essentially depend, and in which all the energy of the State will be requisite. In forming the estimate of the whole, I assure your Excellency I have fixed upon the smallest number which appeared to me adequate to the exigency, on account of the scantiness of our supplies, and I think it my duty explicitly to declare that the co-operation will altogether depend on a full compliance with these requisitions. If I am so happy as to obtain the whole number demanded, a decisive stroke may be attempted against New York with a reasonable prospect of success. If the supply falls short, the disappointment will inevitably produce a failure in the undertaking. In this case, Congress and my Country must excuse a want of enterprise and success of which the want of *means* will have been the unfortunate cause. If the honor and interest of the States suffer from thence, the blame must not be imputed to me.

I have taken the liberty to dwell on the points to induce a persuasion that I have not in any degree exaggerated the number of men really necessary, lest a supposition of this kind and a regard to the ease of the people should relax the exertions of the State and occasion a deficiency, which would certainly be fatal to the views of Congress and to the expected co-operation.

I am now to add to this request another equally essential which is that the most effectual and expeditious means be immediately adopted to have the men drawn out properly equipped and embodied to serve for the term of three Months from the time of their joining the army unless the particular service for which they are drawn out should be sooner performed. I beg leave to recommend Trenton as a proper place of rendezvous. If the laws of the State now in existence or the powers vested in your Excellency are not competent to these objects, permit me to intreat that the legislature may be called together without loss of time, and that you will be pleased to employ your influence to procure laws for the purpose, framed on such principles as will secure an instant and certain execution.

There are other objects which I beg leave at the same time to recommend to the most zealous and serious attention of the State. These are, making every exertion to promote the supplies of the army in provisions, particularly in the article of Flour, and to facilitate the transportation in general of necessaries for the use of the army—our prospects with respect to Flour are to the last degree embarrassing we are already distressed, but when we come to increase the demand by so large an addition of numbers, we may expect to be obliged to disband the troops for want of subsistence, unless the utmost care and energy of the different legislatures are exerted. The difficulties we daily experience on the score of transportation justify the equal apprehension on that account without a similar attention to this part of the public service.

These difficulties were sufficient to deter me from the plan I mean to pursue, were I not convinced that the magnitude of the object will call forth all the vigor of the States and inspire the people with a disposition to second the plans of their Governors, and give efficiency to the measures they adopt. I doubt not our resources will be found fully adequate to the undertaking if they are properly exerted, and when I consider the delicacy of the Crisis-the importance of the objects to be attained—I cannot doubt that this will be the case. On one side—the reputation of our Councils and our arms, and an immediate removal of the War present themselves: on the other, disgrace and disappointment-an accumulation of expense-loss of credit with our allies and with the world-loss of confidence with ourselves, the exhausting of our magazines and resources-the precipitated decay of our currency and the continuance of the war. Nor will these evils be confined to ourselves-our allies must share in them, and suffer the mortification of having accomplished nothing to compensate for withdrawing their operations from a quarter where they had a right to expect success, and for exposing their own possessions to hazard in a fruitless attempt to rescue ours.

From the accounts received we are hourly to look for the appearance of the French Squadron on this Coast-the emergency is pressing, and all our measures ought to be attended with suitable expedition. Every moment is of infinite value.

With the most perfect confidence on your Excellency's exertions and on those of the State. With the greatest respect and esteem

> I have the honor to be Your Excellency's

> > Most obt and hble Servt

G°. WASHINGTON.

His Excell'y, Gov. REED Penn'a.

WHERE IS THE ORIGINAL OF THE CHARTER OF CHARLES THE SECOND TO WILLIAM PENN FOR THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA?

BY WILLIAM BROOKE RAWLE.

The publication in the last number of the MAGAZINE of the letter of Doctor Mease to Governor Snyder, dated Philadelphia, January 20, 1812, has suggested the thought that perhaps some additional information regarding the original of the Charter of Charles the Second to William Penn for the Province of Pennsylvania might lead to a discovery of its present whereabouts. Doctor Mease wrote that "Mr. John R. Coates, of this city, brought with him two years since from London the original Charters of Charles the Second and the Duke of York to William Penn, which upon my suggestion he was willing to deposit among the archives of the State upon their removal to the fire-proof offices at Harrisburg," under certain conditions.

In his Report of the Pea-Patch Island Case, an arbitration in 1847 before the Hon. John Sergeant with reference to the boundary between New Jersey and Delaware, in which it was decided that the territory of the State of Delaware within "the twelve-miles circle around New Castle," extended across the Delaware River to low-water mark on the Jersey shore, the late John William Wallace, Esquire, in his usual lucid and explicit manner, furnishes some interesting information concerning the early muniments of title to the province of Pennsylvania and the Three Lower Counties upon Delaware, as the present State of Delaware was called before the Revolution. He is, however, in error in stating that it was in the year 1834 that Mr. Coates brought over to this country the original Charter. Mr. Wallace says:

"The original of this patent from the King to the Duke for Delaware, and of the Duke of York's grant to Penn for the twelve-miles circle, were produced before the arbitrator; having both, with the original charter of Pennsylvania and two leases of Aug. 24th [1682] to Mr. Penn, mentioned ante, p. xxxii. n. been brought to Philadelphia, about the year 1834, by Mr. Coates of that city, an agent of the estates in Pennsylvania belonging to Mr. Penn's descendants in England. Mr. Coates got possession of them on a visit to his principals in England. Being at their seat of Stoke Pogis, he was shewn by them into the Charter-room of their house, where he was told that he might find some old deeds, &c., that would interest him as an American, and to which he was welcome. Happening to find the patents and deeds just mentioned, he brought them to Philadelphia, where those relating to Delaware still were, on the hearing of this case."

That it was in 1810, rather than in 1834, that Mr. Coates brought to Philadelphia the documents mentioned by Mr. Wallace would seem plain, inasmuch as Mr. Coates was succeeded in 1815 by General Thomas Cadwalader (of Philadelphia) in the agency of the Penn estates in this country.

Upon the death, in 1841, of General Thomas Cadwalader, he was succeeded in the agency by his son, the late General George Cadwalader. The late Hon. John Cadwalader acted as legal adviser for the Penn family and their agents, until his elevation to the Bench in 1858, when he was succeeded by the late William Henry Rawle, Esq.

That the original Charter of Pennsylvania was still in the possession of the representatives of the Penns as late as 1844, and was not handed over to the State authorities, as both Mr. Coates and Doctor Mease had suggested the propriety of doing, is made evident by the following letter:

"PHILADELPHIA, 9 Nov., 1844.

"THOMAS C. HAMBLY, ESQ., YORK, PENNA.

" DEAR SIR :

"To-night I have had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Fisher, your colleague in the case of Leber v. Kauffelt, and at your request transmit to you by him the Title papers of Springetsburg Manor in your county, viz.:

"1681.—Charter to W. Penn.

88 Original of the Charter of Charles II. to William Penn.

"1712.-W. Penn's Will.

- "1725.—Hannah Penn's Deed of Appointment.
- "1746.—3 Exemplifications of the Will of John Penn who died in 1746.
- "1751.—Marriage Settlement Thomas Penn, being Lease and Release 14 & 15 Aug. 1751.
 - "2 Exemplifications, one on Parchment and one on Paper, of the Will of Thomas Penn (merely required to prove pedigree as explained in my former letters).
 - "2 Exemplifications, one on Parchment and one on paper, of the last Will and Probate of Richard Penn, proved in England with 4 codicils 4 Mar. 1771.
 - "Letters Testamentary and Probate copy of the Will of John Penn son of Richard (merely to prove pedigree of this branch of family as heretofore explained) 2 Jany. 1795.
 - "Letters of Administration 12 April 1815 of Estate of Richard Penn son of Richard and father of William (merely to prove his death).
 - "Exemplification Philadelphia County of the letter of Attorney Wm. Penn and wife to Thomas Cadwalader. To make this evidence on the principle applied to this very paper in 2 Rawle 18, and previously settled 7 S. & R. 813, I send you the Office copy of the Survey of Springetsburg Manor Philadelphia County. For a reason which Mr. Fisher will explain to you, you will get from Harrisburg the Commission of Nicholas Scull Surveyor General A. D. 1748 and of his successor John Lukens, December 1761 (see 2 Smiths L. C. 144).

"I also send,

"Deeds recorded in this County (D. 20, 260, D. 19, 561 &c. D. 42, 497) of Lots in this Manor reserving Ground Rents. For reasons already explained I send these, although they appear to me to be superseded by the Survey of the Philadelphia Manor.

"I also send,

"Transcripts of the Decrees in Equity of 1824 & 1826, 3 papers.

"An ancient pedigree which Mr. Fisher can prove to have been found among the original Title papers, and Two depositions of witnesses since dead, to which is annexed another Pedigree—some of these papers you may probably think it unnecessary to use.

> "Very Respectfully, "Yr. Obt. Serv. "J. CADWALADER,

" per C. H. H."

This is the last trace of the important document which the writer has been able to find.

On September 10, 1869, the Rev. Thomas Gordon Penn died without issue. He was the last of the descendants of the Founder to bear his name. As early as 1732 the three sons of William Penn-John, Thomas, and Richard, the Joint Proprietaries, as they were termed—executed certain Articles of Agreement for the purpose of entailing their estates in Pennsylvania and the Three Lower Counties on their descendants in tail male, and in default, in tail general. The male entail having come to an end upon the death of the Rev. Mr. Penn, it then became necessary to search the title to ascertain who might be the next tenant in tail general. For this purpose the box in which the title-papers had always been kept was handed over by General Cadwalader to the writer to make the necessary investigation. The Charter was not among them, but instead of it was found the letter of 9 November, 1844.

As the ancient documents were found exceedingly difficult to handle and read, some of them were privately printed in a pamphlet of 177 pages, entitled "Articles, Wills and Deeds creating the Entail of Pennsylvania and Three Lower Counties upon Delaware in The Penn Family. Philadelphia, 1870." After much laborious research and investigation it was ascertained that the entailed estates vested in tail general in William Stuart, of Aldenham Abbey, Hertfordshire, and Hill Street, Berkeley Square, London, the eldest son of William Stuart, Archbishop of Armagh, by Sophia Margaretta, the eldest daughter of Thomas Penn, the son of the Founder.

As the last of the name had died, it was thought advisable for many reasons to "dock the entail." Accordingly Mr. Stuart, by deed of August 5, 1870, conveyed all his estate in Pennsylvania to Mr. William Levi Bull, a student in Mr. Rawle's office, acknowledged in proper form for the purpose; and by Deed of September 2, 1870, Mr. Bull reconveyed the property to Mr. Stuart in fee simple, free from the entail. Moreover, in those days—before the era of title-

90 Original of the Charter of Charles II. to William Penn.

insurance companies, and the consequent rapidly-increasing ignorance of the subject among the profession of the lawin those days, when there was a class of men at the bar who were versed in that most interesting, yet most intricate, of sciences, the law of real property, as doubts were occasionally suggested regarding the regularity of the conveyances made from time to time by the previous tenants in tail, Mr. Stuart, on November 11, 1870, executed another deed, the effect of which was to confirm all previous grants made by them. "Here," wrote the late Eli K. Price, Esq., in an article in the American Law Register for August, 1871, "is an act quietly done, and unknown except to a few individuals, of historical interest, and of great beneficence, and which fittingly crowns the honorable dealings of all the Penn Proprietaries with their settlers and successors. For more than a century few, even in the legal profession, have understood the precise nature of the title and the powers of the Penns to the soil in Pennsylvania; and they have always been so honorably represented as to give to settlers and purchasers entire confidence without inquiry into the wills, articles of agreement and marriage settlements of the family, few of which were of record or accessible within the Province or State, and were first got together and printed in 1870. It was not known until then what would be the disposition of the heir coming through a female branch, whether to attempt to take advantage of defects and omissions, or to confirm titles made by his predecessors, because he was wholly unknown to us. The deed above recited sufficiently proves that to William Stuart, Esq., we owe thanks and gratitude, and that we should hold his name and memory in honor, in common with all the Penns in their relations with the people of Pennsylvania."

In former times, when titles to land were not as well established as they now are, the Penn title-papers were occasionally sent into the back counties of the State for use as evidence in ejectment or other suits, as in the case in York County referred to in Judge Cadwalader's letter to Mr. Hambly. Can it be that the Charter is still reposing quietly among the papers of some old-time lawyer, or in the dusty files of some prothonotary's office?

Some years ago, when the writer became the agent for the Penn estates in Pennsylvania, the box of title-papers with its contents was deposited for safe keeping in the fire-proof vaults of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, where it now is. The original of the Charter should be there also.

In 1878 there was published under the authority of the Commonwealth, in connection with the second series of "Pennsylvania Archives," what purported to be a "Facsimile of the Charter granted by Charles the Second to William Penn for the 'Province of Pensilvania,' Engraved from the Original on file in the Office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth." If the wiseacres at Harrisburg had but shaken their wits together for one moment, they might have seen at a glance that the beautifully illuminated, illustrated, and rubricated document was but a copy made more than a year after the date of the original Charter. Moreover, it is not a copy of the Charter as it ultimately passed the Great Seal, but merely a copy of the record of the Charter as it passed the Privy Seal. And in the eighth volume of the series there appeared as a frontispiece what purported to be a "Fac-simile of the remaining portion of the waxen seal attached to the Charter of the Province of Pennsylvania granted by Charles II. to William Penn." That, however, the seal was actually the Great Scal of the Province of New York during the reign of George the Second was conclusively shown by the writer in "Notes and Queries," Vol. IV., PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOG-RAPHY, page 513. In a reply thereto, published in Vol. V. of the MAGAZINE, page 239, Mr. John Blair Linn, one of the editors of the "Archives," stated that they were not responsible for prefacing the volume "with the circus tapestry or molluscan drawing, purporting to be a copy of the Charter Seal. In a volume of Marriages, its appearance is so suggestive of idiocy, it might have been suspected there was some mistake. The editors did not know it was there until after they received the bound copies. Whether made to

92 Original of the Charter of Charles II. to William Penn.

adorn the *geological* reports, or for what other purpose, it is very certain the editors never ordered it for the 'Archives,' and it was flung into vol. viii. without their consent or knowledge. The only remedy now, for all who have copies, is to scissor it out." But the question still remains: How did it happen that the much-treasured document at Harrisburg has for so many years been passed off as the original Charter, and further and finally, to end as we began, "WHERE IS THE ORIGINAL CHARTER NOW ?"

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EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF JACOB HILTZ-HEIMER, OF PHILADELPHIA, 1768–1798.

[Jacob Hiltzheimer, at the age of nineteen, left his native city of Manheim, on the Rhine, for Rotterdam, where on the 5th of September, 1748, he embarked on the ship "Edenburg" for Philadelphia. Soon after his arrival he was apprenticed to John Nagle, a silversmith, on Front Street. At the expiration of his term of service, the confinement of the shop not being congenial to his active disposition, he decided to engage in farming and the raising of fine stock, and commenced by leasing land in the suburbs of the city. He took part in the campaign to resist the encroachments of the French on the river Ohio and on the lakes to the westward, and for his services was entitled to a portion of "back lands," under the king's proclamation of October, 1763. During the war for independence he was attached to the First Battalion City Militia, and connected with the Quartermaster's Department, in which he rendered valuable service to the army in the field. He was also a member of the Patriotic Society. As Street Commissioner for three years, he discharged the duties of the office in a manner worthy the emulation of public servants at the present day. He was elected, in 1786, a representative of the city in the Assembly, and served for eleven consecutive years, being Chairman of the Committee on Claims and other important committees. In all public movements he took an active interest; was Vice-President of the German Society, a member of the Society for Promoting Agriculture, the Society for the Promotion of Domestic Manufactures, and the Fire Department. In 1761, he married Hannah Walker, a Friend, and established his home on the east side of Seventh Street, the first door below Market. After passing through the epidemics of 1793 and 1797, he died of the yellow fever in September of 1798. Mr. Hiltzheimer's daily record of thirty years affords ample evidence that he enjoyed in large measure the confidence and esteem of his fellow-citizens, and also sheds a bright light upon his home-life.

We are indebted to the courtesy of his great-grandson, Mr. Jacob Cox Parsons, of New York, for the privilege of transcribing the following extracts from the diary.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

1768.

February 22.—Bought a bay horse of George Rossell, four years old next grass, for our Governor Penn, for $\pounds 28$.

February 27.—Went to a barbecue at Robert Smith's country place, and from there to William Jones's at Green-

wich Hall, with the following gentlemen: Jos. Fox, Samuel Morris, Samuel Miles, Samuel Nichols, Robert Smith, John Smith, Robert Erwin, William Jones, Francis Trimble, Captain Musket, Captain Jones, and Henry Elwes Sen⁷.

March 12.—Drank punch with Levi Hollingsworth, who was married last Thursday, to one of Stephen Paschal's daughters.

June 26.—With my two sons went to Joseph Galloway's place, to eat Turtle, with Daniel Wister and others.

August 12.—Went up Wissahickon road to set up mile stones. Dined at Leberons with Hugh Roberts, Pearson Smith, Edward Milner, John Lukens, Surveyor, and — Chambers, stone cutter. Then went to Christopher Robins', and a little beyond his house set up the xiii mile stone.

November 5.—Dined at Greenwich Hall, on beefsteaks, with Esquire Fox, Esquire Parr, Samuel Morris, Judah Foulke, Clement Biddle, Robert Erwin, William Jones and Andrew Bankson.

December 12.—Went to Darby to funeral of John Rudolph. Israel Morris, Samuel Nichols, Joseph Jones and myself carried the corps to the grave in Friends ground.

1769.

March 5.—Robert Hopkins' house at Point no Point was burned down to the ground yesterday.

April 15.—Dined on Fish at Greenwich Hall, with Joseph Fox, Samuel Mifflin, William Parr, Judah Foulke, Tench Francis, Reynold Keen, Andrew Bankson, Henry Drinker, Joseph Wharton Jr., Edward Penington, Capt. Story, Doctor Cadwalader Evans and others.

May 12.—In the morning took a ride with Joseph Redman in a chair; went to Henry Keppelle Jr. to drink punch and wish him joy on the birth of a sou.

September 28.—At noon started for the £100. purse the following horses: James De Lancey's bay horse Lath, 6 years old; Mr. McGill's bay horse Nonparil, 5 years old; Governor Sharpe's gray mare Britania, 5 years old; Richard Tidmarsh's horse Northumberland. Lath won.

1770.

January 7.—This evening I read a sermon delivered by Morgan Edwards the 1st inst. to a number of hearers at the Baptist Church in this city, wherein he modestly foretells his own death.

March 6.—To-day James De Lancey Esq. of New York and Timothy Matlack had a great cock fight at Joseph Richardson's on Germantown road.

March 10.—Members of the Amicable Fire Company met at the Widow Jenkins; paid 50 shillings towards the new engine made by Richard Mason, which is the eighth he has made. It is said Mason made the first fire engine in this country.

March 15.—Edward Penington and Clement Biddle called on me with a subscription paper to encourage the manufacture of silk here. I subscribed 40 shillings. In the evening went to hear Mr. Pillmore preach on Fourth street, for the benefit of prisoners.

April 16.—Went to William Jones's to drink punch with his new son-in-law Anthony Morris.

May 8.—Breakfasted with Alvaro Deornellas, who has rented the Macpherson place [Mount Pleasant, in Fairmount Park] for the Summer.

May 24.—At Tench Francis's vendue, two miles from town, I bought six acres of land for £33 per acre.¹ At same time was sold 34 lots, containing 331 acres, amounting to £7544.

July 14.—This afternoon went to the State house to consult about the non-importation of goods from Great Britain, Joseph Fox Chairman.

July 28.—My wife and self spent the day with friends at Fort St. David [Falls of Schuylkill] and Mr. Alexander Alair was kind enough to cook for the company.

August 9.—Visited Mr. Deornella's at Mount Pleasant. He pays Macpherson \pounds 70 rent for the summer season, including use of furniture.

¹ To this little farm Mr. Hiltzheimer gave the name of "Gravel Hill."

96 Extracts from the Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer, 1768–1798.

August 26.—Went with Thomas Wishard to the Bank meeting to hear Rebecca Jones, a single woman preach.

1772.

May 22.—Richard Penn, Governor of this Province, was married to Miss Polly Masters last night, and so was Mr. Samuel Meredith to one of Doctor Cadwalader's daughters.

September 19.—With my family went to see J. Bates perform different feats of horsemanship on one, two and three horses.

1773.

January 17.—Went to the burial of John Biddle's wife; walked with Joseph, son of Israel Pemberton; Samuel Emlen preached.

January 30.—Thomas Mifflin, Andrew Hamilton, Norton Pryor and Mr. Stoneburner called to see me.

February 22.—Very cold. River Delaware frozen over last night. At six o'clock this morning Daniel Wister's thermometer was 4 below 0, and at seven o'clock 2 below 0, and Thomas Pryor's at the same hour 0. So it appears that it is two degrees colder on Market street than it is on Water street.

July 9.—On invitation of Robert Roberts, went over Schuylkill to the Liberty Fishing house, and dined with thirty gentlemen. After dinner crossed to John Mifflin's place to see the windmill pump water for his garden and meadow.

August 31.—John Penn, who was proclaimed Governor yesterday, came to my stable to look at his mares, he sent from England.

October 31.—Went down to Mud Island to see the Fort which is being built—it was commenced about seventeen months ago. Dined at Samuel Penrose's at Schuylkill Ferry.

1774.

January 22.—Very cold. With my two sons, went with Charles Massey to Schuylkill to see him skate, as it is admitted he is one of the very best at that exercise. January 26.—In the afternoon went to the funeral of William Ibison; body taken from Isaac Howell's to Friends' ground.

February 7.—This morning George and David Seckel killed my big steer Roger, now near six years old.¹

May 2.—The effigies of Alexander Widdeburne Esq., and of Thomas Hutchinson, Governor of Massachusetts Bay, after being exposed for several hours in a cart, they were hung on a gallows erected near the Coffee House, set in flames by *electric* fire and consumed to ashes about six o'clock in the evening.

August 29.—Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams and Robert Treat Paine, delegates from Boston, arrived this evening.

September 1.—This morning went to Church to hear Rev. Mr. Weinberg preach a sermon suitable to the meeting of the great Congress on next Monday. His text was Proverbs xvi. 9.

September 5.—The general Congress met at Carpenters' Hall, forty odd delegates present, who chose Peyton Randolph, Chairman, and Charles Thomson, (who is not a delegate,) their Secretary.

September 10.—Took supper at the new gaol, opposite the State house yard—a part of the gaol was raised to-day. Joseph Fox and Edward Duffield, of the managers, gave the workmen a supper, and afterwards they asked a few of their friends to the north-east corner room, where something was provided for them separately: William Fisher, Mayor; Thomas Lawrence, Sen^r.; Reynold Keen; Robert Smith; James Pearson; Judah Foulke; William Jones; William Gray, and myself.

September 11.—Went to the burial of Richard Hockley, Esq.; he was buried in Baptist ground.

¹ The following day the diarist, with about twenty friends, repaired to the slaughter-house of the Seckels, where Timothy Matlack certified to the net weight being 1678 pounds, and offered the following toast: "May the friends of America be fed with such beef, and may her enemies long for it and be disappointed."

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September 16.—A number of gentlemen gave a dinner at the State house, to the delegates from the several Provinces now sitting in Carpenters' Hall.

September 18.—Went to Robert Morris's place, to see the English cow, lately come over.

[The diaries for the years 1775 and 1776 were borrowed by a friend, "who failed to return them."]

1777.

March 9.—Went to Province Island with the following gentlemen: Col. George Taylor, Col. Paschall, Col. Brodhead, Col. William Henry; Capt. John Webb and others. Webb has taken the tavern and ferry and eight acres of land at \pounds 90. per annum.

March 18.—Went with the Messrs. Souder to the Schuylkill and laid out the Light Horse stables.

April 17.—Breakfasted at Mr. John Mifflin's with Gen. Thomas Mifflin, Major Jonathan Mifflin and Major Ottendorf. Spent the evening with Mr. John Hancock, president of Congress, on Chestnut street.

May 22.—In the morning went to Kensington with Generals Schuyler and Mifflin to see the boats placed on wagons; and in the evening with Gen. Schuyler, Gen. Mifflin, and four delegates in Congress, inspected the Schuylkill bridge and stables.

June 17.—Mrs. Dickinson, Generals Gates and Mifflin and myself visited the Schuylkill stables.

June 30.—In the afternoon visited the Schuylkill stables, which are full of light horse, and from thence to Gov. Penn's woods to see the camp of North Carolina troops.

July 13.—Called on Gen. Gates in Front street.

July 27.—General Mifflin, who returned from the army last night, told me that the enemy are coming around to our Cape, where seventy vessels have already made their appearance.

July 28.—This afternoon paid Jacob Graff, Jr. for the

house and lot at the corner of Seventh and High streets, and received the deed for the same.¹

July 30.—With Capt. Van Horn went to the [Province] Island, and from there to the camp at the five mile stone on Chester road.

July 31.—At 10 o'clock to-night His Excellency Gen. Washington came to town with about 200 Light horse.

August 7.---Visited the camp near and about Germantown.

August 24.—Our army commanded by Gen. Washington marched through the city; supposed to be about 12,000 strong. They crossed over the bridge at Schuylkill, went four miles and then returned.

September 7.—This morning Mr. Hancock and his lady set out for Boston.

September 11.—His Excellency Gen. Washington had an engagement with Gen. Howe at Brandywine—the English lost in killed and wounded 1976.

September 14.—Went to Province Island and brought off the Continental horses, and then by orders of Gen. Washington put it under water.

September 16.—At 11 o'clock Gen. du Coudray, with nine French officers, set off for camp over Schuylkill. The General remained mounted in the boat; his horse leaped overboard and thereby drowned the General. In the evening I went to the Schuylkill and saw his body taken from the water.

September 19.—News came to town that Gen. Howe's army are crossing Schuylkill at the Swedes' Ford, which set people moving. Congress and all other public bodies were off by daylight. I sent George Nelson off with the money, books and papers belonging to the public, to Mr. Hunt's [at Trenton], in Jersey.

September 23.—The city much alarmed and people moving out.

September 24.—Left the city with my whole family; dined at Bristol, and then went to Abraham Hunt's.

September 26.—This day the English entered Philadelphia.

¹ The house in which Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence. The sum paid was £1775.

100 Extracts from the Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer, 1768–1798.

October 6.—Set off from Hunt's with my family for Reading, Penna.

October 11.—Settled with my family on the farm of Gen. Mifflin [Angelica], three miles from Reading.

November 9.—Dined at Gen. Mifflin's, with his lady, Miss Mifflin, the Miss Morris's, Hannah Sherman, Mr. Searle, Mr. Anspach and Mr. Whitington.

1778.

February 11.—Had Generals Oliver Wolcott and Sam. Huntingdon to breakfast.

1779.

February 22.—Attended a meeting of the Republican Club, at Duff's Tavern, thirty-two members present.

February 25.—This evening my horse returned from camp, which Lady Washington had used in her carriage since the 2d inst.

April 4.—Francis Lightfoot Lee and Abraham Hunt took tea with me.

June 12.—Went to the Commons to see Col. W. White's Light horse reviewed by Gen. Wayne.

July 16.—Went to the War Office, and received instructions to examine horses and wagons bought for the public.

July 29.—John Grau set off with his brigade of twenty wagons for West Point—thirteen wagons are loaded with cannons.

August 6.—My son Boby left for camp with a chestnut gelding for Major General Knox Q. M. G.

September 21.—Attended the burial of George Bechtel. The same day arrived the second French Ambassador. Yesterday was buried Joseph Redman.

November 11.—Went to the burial of Hon. Joseph Hewes, member of Congress from North Carolina, in Christ Church yard. Rev. Mr. White took his text from 1 Corinthians xv. 55.

December 21.—Lady Washington arrived here from Virginia, with seven horses. [Dec. 27. She left for camp.]

1780.

January 2.—Early this morning a fire broke out in Mr. Penn's house on Market street, occupied by Mr. Holker, the French consul, which destroyed all but the first floor.

February 24.—Visited the Treasury Board and applied for money to enable me to purchase forage for horses belonging to members of Congress, agreeably to a resolve of Congress 16th inst.

March 10.—Dined near Germantown with Doctors Shippen, Bond, and Craigie, and Thomas Smith and Joseph Shippen.

March 17.—Took my family to see Mr. Templeman perform on the wire and flying down a rope, and many other surprising performances.

May 14.—Gouverneur Morris Esq., member of Congress broke his leg by jumping out of a phaeton as the horses were running away.

May 22.—The militia went to the field and were reviewed by President Reed and the French Ambassador.

August 1.—Examined eighty horses purchased for the French army.

August 12.—In the afternoon went over Schuylkill to Isaac Warner's fish house, where I met several gentlemen.

August 13.—With Col. Miles went to George Bryan Esq. to qualify according to a resolve of Congress to enable us to act in the Quarter Master's department.

August 19.—Last night at 12 o'clock a fire broke out in the Continental smith's shop on Chestnut street, and burned part of the carpenter shop near it.

September 19.—Mr. George Mifflin and myself went to the burial of the wife of Hon. Joseph Reed.

September 29.—Abraham Hunt came from Trenton and brought the news that Gen. Arnold went from West Point in to the enemy.

October 15.—Summers and Karch set off for camp with loads for His Excellency General Washington.

November 4.-Dined with General Mifflin, Col. Mark Bird,

and Col. John Patton, at Mrs. Pauls, sign of the Indian King.

December 1.—Lady Washington came to town last night, and went on to camp to-day.

1781.

January 1.—This afternoon Timothy Matlack Esq. and Whitehead Humphrey, met in Market street between Fifth and Sixth Streets, where after some words they got to blows.

February 8.—Major Edward Giles brought the good news from the southward of Gen. Morgan beating the British. Killed, 100; wounded, 200; 500 prisoners, 2 field pieces, 100 Dragoon horses and 35 baggage wagons.

February 26.—Col. Miles called me up at 1 o'clock at night to send off an express to head of Elk.

February 28.—Accompanied Col. Miles to the ordinance yard to inspect the cannon being put in wagons to go to the head of Elk.

May 17.—Colonel Samuel Mifflin's body was brought from Reading yesterday and buried here to-day.

June 2.—Went to the Assembly and heard Robert Morris speak concerning finances, and recommend to the House to take off the Tender Act.

June 27.—Early this morning some cannon were fired off on the river. A cannon ball of a pound weight, struck my stable door, passed through it and struck against the wall, rebounded across the street into Christopher Bierley's yard, who picked it up and presented it to me.

August 30.—His Excellency Gen. Washington, who has not been here since Feb. 2, 1779, arrived about 1 o'clock. [Washington proceeded southward Sept. 5.]

(To be continued.)

A LOYALIST'S ACCOUNT OF CERTAIN OCCURRENCES IN PHILADELPHIA AFTER CORNWALLIS'S SUR-RENDER AT YORKTOWN.

EXTRACTED FROM THE DIARY OF MISS ANNA RAWLE.

[The writer was the daughter of Francis Rawle, deceased, and Rebecca (Warner), whose second husband was Samuel Shoemaker, the wellknown Loyalist. The latter had gone to New York City just before the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British troops. Mrs. Shoemaker was also in New York at the time of the occurrences related, and the diary was kept for her entertainment. A short sketch of Mr. Shoemaker, with an account of his interview with King George III. is given in PENNA. MAG., vol. ii. p. 35. The writer and her sister Margaret (afterwards the wife of Isaac Wharton) were, during their parents' absence, living with their grandmother, Mrs. Edward Warner (née Anna Coleman), in Arch Street, between Front and Second Streets. The writer afterwards married John Clifford, and their only surviving child, Rebecca, became the wife of John Pemberton. Thompson Westcott gives the following account of the arrival of the intelligence of Lord Cornwallis's surrender: "About three o'clock on the morning of the 22d of October, an express-rider, bringing the news of the surrender of Cornwallis, reached the city and was conducted to the residence of Thomas McKean, President of Congress, by an old German watchman, who, after the dispatches had been delivered, proclaimed in a loud, sonorous tone, 'Basht dree o'clock and Gornwallis isht daken.' The news spread rapidly through the town, and when daylight came the rejoicing was general. By order of the Executive Council, however, the public celebration of the victory was delayed until the arrival of official confirmation of the news. On the 24th, Colonel Tench Tilghman, aide to General Washington, and a Philadelphian, arrived with dispatches from the commander-in-chief, announcing the capitulation. At eleven o'clock, the vice-president of the State and Executive Council waited upon President McKean, the members of Congress and the French Minister, in order to exchange congratulations on the great event. The standard of the State was raised. and at twelve o'clock salutes were fired by the artillery in the State-House yard and by the vessels in the harbor, which also displayed their colors. In the afternoon, Congress, the State Council, M. de Luzerne and others, went in procession to the Dutch Lutheran Church, where a service of thanksgiving was performed by the Rev. Mr. Duffield,

one of the chaplains to Congress. In the evening there was a general illumination, and on the following evening a display of fireworks."— W. B. R.]

October 22, 1781.—Second day. The first thing I heard this morning was that Lord Cornwallis had surrendered to the French and Americans—intelligence as surprizing as vexatious. People who are so stupidly regardless of their own interests are undeserving of compassion, but one cannot help lamenting that the fate of so many worthy persons should be connected with the failure or success of the British army. Uncle Howell¹ came in soon after breakfast, and tho' he is neither Whig nor Tory, looked as if he had sat up all night; he was glad to see all here so cheerful, he said. When he was gone Ben Shoemaker³ arrived; he was told it as he came along, and was astonished. However, as there is no letter from Washington, we flatter ourselves that it is not true. . .

October 24.—Fourth day. I feel in a most unsettled humour. I can neither read, work or give my attention one moment to anything. It is too true that Cornwallis is taken. Tilghman is just arrived with dispatches from Washington which confirm it. B. S. came here and shewed us some papers; long conversations we often have together on the melancholy situation of things.

October 25.—Fifth day. I suppose, dear Mammy, thee would not have imagined this house to be illuminated last night, but it was. A mob surrounded it, broke the shutters and the glass of the windows, and were coming in, none but forlorn women here. We for a time listened for their attacks in fear and trembling till, finding them grow more loud and violent, not knowing what to do, we ran into the yard. Warm Whigs of one side, and Hartley's³ of the

¹ Joshua Howell, who had married Mrs. Samuel Shoemaker's sister Catharine, daughter of Edward and Anna (Coleman) Warner.

³ Benjamin Shoemaker, son of Samuel Shoemaker by his first wife Hannah, daughter of Samuel Carpenter the second, by his wife Hannah, daughter of Samuel Preston. Benjamin Shoemaker married Mrs. Samuel Shoemaker's sister, Elizabeth Warner.

^{*} James Hartley, merchant.

other (who were treated even worse than we), rendered it impossible for us to escape that way. We had not been there many minutes before we were drove back by the sight of two men climbing the fence. We thought the mob were coming in thro' there, but it proved to be Coburn and Bob. Shewell, who called to us not to be frightened, and fixed lights up at the windows, which pacified the mob, and after three huzzas they moved off. A number of men came in afterwards to see us. French and J. B. nailed boards up at the broken pannels, or it would not have been safe to have gone to bed. Coburn and Shewell were really very kind; had it not been for them I really believe the house would have been pulled down. Even the firm Uncle Fisher¹ was obliged to submit to have his windows illuminated, for they had pickaxes and iron bars with which they had done considerable injury to his house, and would soon have demolished it had not some of the Hodges² and other people got in back and acted as they pleased. All Uncle's sons were out, but Sammy,³ and if they had been at home it was in vain to oppose them. In short it was the most alarming scene I ever remember. For two hours we had the disagreeable noise of stones banging about, glass crashing, and the tumultuous voices of a large body of men, as they were a long time at the different houses in the neighbourhood. At last they were victorious, and it was one general illumination throughout the town. As we had not the pleasure of seeing any of the gentlemen in the house, nor the furniture cut up, and goods stolen, nor been beat, nor pistols pointed at our breasts, we may count our sufferings slight compared to many others. Mr. Gibbs was obliged to make

¹ William Fisher, merchant, who married Mrs. Samuel Shoemaker's aunt, Sarah (Coleman). He also lived in Arch Street between Front and Second Streets. He was a member of the Common Council of Philadelphia from 1767 to 1770, of the Board of Aldermen from 1770 to the fall of the Charter government in 1776, and Mayor of the City 1778– 1774.

³ Andrew and Hugh Hodge, merchants.

⁴ The late Samuel W. Fisher, President of the Philadelphia Insurance Company, and President of Select Council 1811–1813.

106 Occurrences in Philadelphia after Cornwallis's Surrender.

his escape over a fence, and while his wife was endeavouring to shield him from the rage of one of the men, she received a violent bruise in the breast, and a blow in the face which made her nose bleed. Ben. Shoemaker was here this morning; tho' exceedingly threatened he says he came off with the loss of four panes of glass. Some Whig friends put candles in the windows which made his peace with the mob, and they retired. John Drinker¹ has lost half the goods out of his shop and been beat by them; in short the sufferings of those they pleased to style Tories would fill a volume and shake the credulity of those who were not here on that memorable night, and to-day Philadelphia makes an uncommon appearance, which ought to cover the Whigs with eternal confusion. A neighbour of ours had the effrontery to tell Mrs. G. that he was sorry for her furniture, but not for her windows—a ridiculous distinction that many of them make. J. Head has nothing left whole in his parlour. Uncle Penington² lost a good deal of window-glass. Aunt Burge^s preserved hers thro' the care of some of her neighbours. [The Drinkers and Walns make heavy complaints of the Carolinians in their neighbourhood. Walns' pickles were thrown about the streets and barrells of sugar stolen. Grandmammy was the most composed of anybody here.

¹ "October 19. Y^o 17th of this month, October, Gen¹ Cornwallis was taken, for which we grievously suffered on y^o 24th, by way of rejoicing. A mob assembled about 7 o'clock or before, and continued their insults until near 10, to those whose Houses were not illuminated. Scarcely one Friend's House escaped. We had nearly 70 panes of glass broken; y^o sash lights and two panels of the front Parlor broke in pieces; y^o Door cracked and violently burst open; when they threw stones into y^o House for some time, but did not enter. Some fared better and some worse. Some Houses, after breaking y^o door, they entered, and destroyed the Furniture, &c. Many women and children were frightened into fits, and 'tis a mercy no lives were lost."—*Extract from the Journal of Elizabeth Drinker*, p. 187.

³ Edward Penington, who had married Sarah, the sister of Samuel Shoemaker.

⁴ Beulah Burge, a sister of Samuel Shoemaker, widow of Samuel Burge. Their daughter Sarah married, in 1783, William Rawle, the elder, who was a brother of the diarist.

Was I not sure, my dearest Mother, that you would have very exaggerated accounts of this affair from others, and would probably be uneasy for the fate of our friends, I would be entirely silent about it, but as you will hear it from some one or another, not mentioning it will seem as if we had suffered exceedingly, and I hope I may depend on the safety of this opportunity.

People did nothing to-day but condole and enquire into each others honourable losses. Amongst a great variety who were here was Aunt Rawle;¹ next to her sisters this was the family, she said, whom she felt most interested for; her visit was quite unexpected. Uncle and Aunt Howell went from here to Edgely² this morning. Aunt Betsy to tea. Becky Fisher and her brother in the evening.

October 26.—Sixth day. Neighbor Waln and Ben. Shoemaker were here in the afternoon. Juliet,³ Polly Foulke and James Fisher⁴ came to see us in the evening; the conversation as usual on the late disturbances. It seems universally agreed that Philadelphia will no longer be that happy asylum for the Quakers that it once was. Those joyful days when all was prosperity and peace are gone, never to return; and perhaps it is as necessary for our society⁵ to ask for terms he it was for Cornwallis. Juliet says all Uncle Penington's fine pictures are broken; his parlour was full of men, but it was nothing, he said, to Nancy's illness, who was for an hour or two out of her senses and terrified them exceedingly.

¹ Hannah Rawle, a daughter of William Hudson and wife of Benjamin Rawle, a great-uncle of the diarist. Their daughter Rebecca married Jacob Ridgway. The latter were the parents of the late John Jacob Ridgway, Mrs. Phoebe Ann Rush (wife of Dr. James Rush), and Mrs. Susan Barton (wife first of Thomas Roach and second of Dr. John Rhea Barton).

³ Joshua Howell's country seat on the Schuylkill, now in East Fairmount Park, below the Laurel Hill Cemetery.

³ A fancy name given to and used by Sarah Burge (see note,⁶ ante) in correspondence during the Revolutionary War.

⁴ The late James Cowles Fisher.

⁶ The Society of Friends.

HUDSON FAMILY RECORDS.

BY HOWARD WILLIAMS LLOYD.

[As a sequel to Mr. Thomas Allen Glenn's article, "William Hudson, Mayor of Philadelphia, 1725–1726" (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XV. p. 336), the following records from the Bible of William Hudson, Jr., will be of interest. This Bible, printed in Oxford, England, 1723, is now in the possession of one of his descendants, Mrs. Fanny O. de Martinez, of Buenos Ayres, South America. Through the kindness of Mrs. Harris Graffen, Canden, New Jersey, another descendant, Mr. Lloyd was enabled to make this copy.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

Jane Hudson, wife of William Hudson, departed this life in true peace y[•] 15th day of May, 1759, aged 59 years, 6 months and 18 days. Lived a wife 41 years, 6 mos. and eleven days.

William Hudson departed this life y[•] 22nd of the 7th month, 1762, on the 5th day of the week, about 10 in the morning, aged 66 years, 3 mos. & 22 days.

Mary Hudson departed this life 1st of July, 1795.

Susanna Hudson departed this life on the 1st day of the week, at 9 o'clock in the morning, on the 20th day of July, 1817, aged 85 years, 1 month & 10 days, and was buried in Friends' Burial Ground, on Arch Street, between Third & Fourth Sts., on the 21st July, at 5 o'clock in the afternoon.

William Hudson was born March 31st day, 1696. Jane Hudson was born October y[•] 21st, 1699. They were married October y[•] 29, 1717.

Sarah Hudson was born July y^o 30th, 1718. Mary Hudson was born 12 m^o. 22, 1719²⁰. Elizabeth Hudson was born 12 m^o. 20, 1721². Rachall Hudson was born 11 m^o. 6 day, 1723⁴. Jane Hudson was born March y^o 4 day, 1725⁶. William Hudson was born 8th 29 day, 1728. Susannah Hudson was born 8th 30 day, 1729. Susannah, y° 2, was born June y° 10 day, 1733. Margerat Hudson was born y° 2 m° 16 day, 1734. Margrat, y° second, was born July y° 17 day, 1735. Samuell Hudson was born 8th y° 6, 1736. Hannah Hudson was born 9th 14 day, 1739.

Susannah Hudson dyed y[•] 12 m[°] 25 day, 1731, of smallpox. William Hudson dyed y[•] 1 mo. 1 day, 1731, of smallpox. Margaret Hudson dyed y[•] 5 mo. 7 day, 1734. Margaret, 2⁴, dyed y[•] 6m. 3 day, 1735.

Jane Hudson, y^e 6m. 22 day, about 2 o'clock in the morning, in the year 1768.

Sarah Langdale dyed Aug. 5 day, 1780. Elizabeth Morris dyed y[•] fifth mo. 22 day, 1783. Samuel Hudson died y[•] 2^d of November, 1793.

The time of y° births of John and Sarah Langdale's children:

 $\begin{array}{l} \mbox{Rachel Langdale, } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \mbox{Born y}^{\circ} 7^{th} 3^{d} \mbox{(March ?), 1737}^{s} \\ \mbox{Died November, 1773.} \end{array} \right. \\ \mbox{Josiah Langdale, y}^{\circ} 18^{th} 10^{th}, 1739. \\ \mbox{William Langdale, y}^{\circ} 18^{th} 10^{th}, 1739. \\ \mbox{William Langdale, y}^{\circ} 22^{d} 5 \mbox{ mo. (July), 1741} \\ \mbox{Died 19}^{th} \mbox{(August ?) following.} \\ \mbox{John Langdale, y}^{\circ} 22^{d} 7^{th} \mbox{m}^{\circ}, 1742; \mbox{died 23 Dec., 1765.} \\ \mbox{Margaret Langdale, y}^{\circ} 9^{th} 7^{th} \mbox{m}^{\circ}, 1744; \mbox{died.} \\ \mbox{Jane Langdale, y}^{\circ} 17 5 \mbox{m}^{\circ}, 1746; \mbox{died.} \\ \mbox{Wm. Hudson Langdale, 22^{d} 9^{th}, 1747; \mbox{died Dec., 1772.} \\ \mbox{Elizabeth Langdale, y}^{\circ} 3 \mbox{m}^{\circ}, 1752. \\ \mbox{Jane Langdale was born 1 m}^{\circ} 3, 1755. \\ \mbox{Samuel Langdale, 16}^{th} 10 \mbox{m}^{\circ}, 1759. \end{array}$

William Hudson, my father, was born at y[•] City of York, in England, y[•] 3 day 4 m., 1664.

Mary Hudson, my mother, was born in y^o City of London y^o year 1673, y^o 4 m^o 19 day.

William & Mary Hudson were married y[•] redy? 12^m, 1689? [12 mo. called Feb. 28, 1688].

Mary Hudson departed this life 16 d⁷ 12^m, 1708⁹, in the 37 year of her age, being 36 years, 4m. 19 days old, who dyed of her 14th child.

William Hudson departed this life y[•] 16th day 10 mo., 1742, being 78 years & 6 mo. 13 days old.

Rebekah Rawle, born February, 1773.

Robert Turner Rawle, born February, 1775.

William Hudson Rawle, born February, 1778; died August following.

RECORDS OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA. BAPTISMS, 1709–1760.

BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

(Continued from Vol. XV. page 492.)

1747 Jan. 21 Flemming Hester d. Michael and Honour Dec. 15 1746 1749 April 2 Elinor d. Michael and Honour June 2 1748 1751 Feb. 2 Robert s. Michael and Honour May 16 1750 1736 Mch. 15 Fletcher Elizabeth d. John and Ruth 13 mo. Elizabeth d. Nathan and Elizabeth Sept. 12 1759 1759 Oct. 14 1736 Feb. 16 Flewry Benjamin s. Peter and Sarah 10 weeks 1741 Dec. 15 Fling Catherine d. Owen and Margaret 8 wks. 5 dys. 1746 July 18 Mary d. Matthew and Mary June 29 1746 George s. Owen and Margret March 17 1748 1751 June 8 1751 June 8 John s. Owen and Mary May 24 1751 1752 Mch. 24 John s. John and Mary Feb. 20 1752 1756 June 4 Martha d. John and Mary March 20 1756 1758 Jan. 22 Robert s. John and Mary Jan. 20 1758 1734 Jan. 1 Flood William s. Patrick and Mary 11 months 1735 Jan. Anthony s. Patrick and Mary 1 month 1 1738 Dec. 29 Peter s. Patrick and Mary, 1 year 11 mos. Stephen s. Patrick and Mary 7 months 1740 Oct. 17 1748 Aug. 14 Septimus s. Patrick and Mary March 1 1748 1752 Nov. 26 Thomas s. Andrew and Rachel Sept. 14 1752 1720 Aug. 28 Flour Thomas s. Henry and Hester June 1 1732 Oct. 20 Flower Seth s. Seth and Mary 3 years 1710 May 24 Floyd Catherine d. William and Catherine 12 days 1742 April 20 Edmund s. James and Abigail 6 weeks 1758 Aug. 9 Flud Rebecca d. William and Martha July 9 1758 1734 Oct. 27 Flumersfield Mary d. Zachery and Gartery 2 weeks 1760 Oct. 6 Footman Mary d. Richard and Eleanor Aug. 5 1760 1747 Aug. 17 Forbes Margaret d. Alexander and Anne July 19 1747 1750 Jan. 29 Catherine d. Alexander and Anne Aug. 26 1748 1750 Jan. 29 Anne d. Alexander and Anne Jan. 11 1749 1754 Jan. 29 Ford Mercy d. John and Sarah Anne Dec. 6 1749 Mary Anne d. John and Sarah Anne Jan. 24 1759 1754 Jan. 29 1754 April 14 - Elizabeth April 1 1754 John s. -1735 Aug. 31 Fordham Elizabeth d. John and Hannah 3 yrs. 10 mos. 1736 Dec. 21 Benjamin s. Richard and Susannah 1 yr. 10 mos.

1736 Dec. 21 James s. Richard and Susannah, 3 mos. 3 wks. 1738 Dec. 29 Margaret d. Richard and Susannah 1 yr. 2 mo. 8 dys 1749 Aug. 20 Forest Mary d. William and Sarah June 16 1749 1747 Aug. 16 Forrest Thomas s. William and Sarah July 12 1747 1759 Aug. 1 William s. William and Sarah June 1 1757 Sarah d. William and Sarah Oct. 29 1753 1754 Nov. 17 1755 June 22 Rebecca d. William and Sarah April 4 1755 1729 Oct. 26 Forster Thomas s. James and Hannah 10 days 1780 April 29 Mary d. George and Susannah, 5 mos. 1788 July 31 James s. James and Anne 1 day 1758 Mch. 8 James s. Thomas and Catherine Aug. 24 1756 1744 May 15 Fortescue Sophia d. Charles and Jane 3 mos. 20 days 1746 Mch. 19 Thomas s. Charles and Jane Oct. 11 1745 1714 Dec. 5 Fortune d. William and Mary 1732 April 23 Foster John s. James and Hannah 4 days 1786 Feb. 2 Francis s. James and Hannah 2 days 2 1786 Feb. William s. James and Hannah 1 day 1738 Nov. 26 Matthew s. James and Hannah 6 days 1741 Feb. 15 Sydney d. James and Hannah 5 days 1747 May 31 William s. James and Hannah April 1 1747 1740 Oct. 3 Fowler Susannah d. Michael and Susannah 1 year 4 mo. 1741 Jan. 26 Mary d. Edward and Mary 5 weeks 1746 June 2 Michael s. Michael and Susannah Nov. 5 1741 1746 June 2 Thomas s. Michael and Susannah Jan. 4 1745 1735 May 7 Fox Margaret d James and Susannah 8 mos. 1787 April 1 Thomas s. James and Susannah 8 weeks 1740 Feb. 29 Rachel d. James and Susannah 4 mos. 1742 July 2 Eliza d. Anthony and Zoanna 6 days 1742 Oct. 19 Samuel s. John and Mary 19 days 1747 June 5 Rachel d. John and Mary March 30 1747 5 Frame Mary d. John and Jane 5 days 1780 May 1729 Aug. 24 Francis William s. Griffith and Jane 5 mos. 1745 Oct. Talbot s. Tench and Elizabeth June 24 1740 3 1749 Oct. 1 Anne d. George and Mary Jan. 25 1749 Mary d. Thomas and Susannah April 14 1752 1752 Nov. 29 1758 Nov. 29 Philip s. Tench and Elizabeth Aug. 6 1753 1783 Sept. 16 Franklin Francis Foulgier s. Benjamin and Deborah 11 mos. 1743 Oct. 27 Sarah d. Benjamin and Deborah 1 mo. 27 days 1745 April 12 Franks Abigail d. David and Margaret Jan. 6 1744 1747 April 20 Jacob s. David and Margaret Jan. 7 1747 1748 April 10 Mary d. David and Margaret Jan. 25 1748 1760 Sept. 7 Frapwell Mary d. William and Mary March 16 1760 1716 Sept. 28 Frazer Elizabeth d. William and Hannah ---Hannah wife of William -1720 June 1

1720 June 5 Hannah d. William and Hannah May 17 1722 Oct. 17 James s. William and Ann 1727 May 26 Clement s. William and Hannah 1 mo. 1729 Nov. 20 Archibald s. William and Hannah 4 mos. 1782 Nov. 19 Mary d. William and Hannah 1 year 1734 June 18 George s. William and Hannah 5 mos. 1721 Mch. 5 Freak John s. Henry and Mary Feb. 20 1721 1722 April 7 - d. Henry and Mary 1744 Oct. 20 Frederick George s. John and Abigail 1 mo. 1748 Jan. 19 Mary d. John and Abigail May 81 1745 1710 Jan. 1 Freeman John 23 years 1759 Oct. 14 Frees Sarah d. William and Margaret Oct. 10 1759 1718 Jan. 8 Freezer Martha d. William and Hannah 12 days 1733 Sept. 5 French Kutura s. Nathaniel and Mary 2 wks. 2 days 1735 May 24 Lenora d. Nathaniel and Mary 3 weeks 1729 Aug. 7 Fretwell Ralph s. Edward and Mary 5 weeks 1733 July 19 Frost Francis s. John and Edertha 3 weeks 1735 Sept. 24 Elizabeth d. Robert and Elizabeth 3 days 1745 Feb. 23 Fryart Ruth d. William and Susannah 1 mo. 1747 April 11 Isaac s. William and Susannah Feb. 26 1747 1749 May 19 James s. William and Susannah Jan. 4 1749 1751 Aug. 31 Fryer Abigail d. William and Abigail April 3 1751 1746 April 20 Fudge George s. George and Mary July 27 1745 1747 Nov. 29 Mary d. George and Mary Aug. 11 1747 1749 Aug. 29 John s. George and Mary Aug. 3 1749 1753 Feb. 4 Margaret d. George and Mary Nov. 16 1752 1755 Mch. 14 Catherine d. George and Mary Oct. 1 1754 1741 Dec. 6 Furee Mary d. Ohack and Mary 8 wks. 1 day 1741 July 19 Gafford Anna Murree d. John and Anna Muree 4 days 1734 Jan. 20 Gaines John s. John and Elizabeth 18 mos 1728 Nov. 10 Gale Jane d. Nicolas and Elinor 1 mo. 1733 June 1 Nicolas s. Nicolas and Elinor 1 mo. 1735 April 7 Sarah d. Nicolas and Elizabeth 1 day 1736 July 4 Mary d. Nicolas and Elinor 10 days 1740 Mch. 16 Aries d. Nicolas and Elinor 4 mos. 2 wks. 1743 June 18 Aries d. Nicolas and Elinor 3 mos. 8 days 1737 Feb. 3 Ganderoom Elizabeth d. Mark and Magdalen 7 yrs. 4 m. 1731 Sept. 3 Gandowit Elizabeth d. Alexander and Catherine 9 mos. 1748 Oct. 23 Gante Elizabeth d. Thomas and Elizabeth Sept. 21 1748 1745 Feb. 15 Gapen John s. Stephen and Eloner 12 days 1756 Sept. 26 Garage Matthias s. Matthias and Margaret Sept. 19 1756 1734 July 8 Gardner Patient d. Peter and Sarah 5 mos. 1736 Jan. 30 Peter s. Peter and Sarah 2 weeks 1748 Jan. 10 Richard s. Peter and Sarah Feb. 16 1747 Theophilus s. Thomas and Margaret Aug. 1 1754 1756 Oct. 7

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1756 Oct. 7 Alexander s. Thomas and Margaret Sept. 22 1756 1721 Aug. 26 Garigues Susannah d. Francis and Ann 2 mos. 2 wks. Mary d. Peter and Sarah 2 mos. 1736 Sept. 2 1737 May 23 Elizabeth d. Francis and Ann 8 weeks 1739 Dec. 14 Garnaway Anne d. Abigail 2 years 1747 Jan. 2 Garrat Sarah d. Valentine 4 years 4 mos. 1741 Aug. 30 Garrigue Isaac s. Samuel and Mary 5 weeks 4 days 1781 Feb. 5 Garrigues Mary d. Francis and Anne 8 mos. 1735 Feb. 9 Sarah d. Francis and Anne 18 days 1788 July 13 Sarah d. Peter and Sarah 7 weeks 1739 Dec. 29 Rebecca d. Francis and Anne 10 months 1741 Aug. 30 Susannah d. Peter and Sarah 1 year 4 days 1742 Mch. 7 Rebecca d. Francis and Ann 4 weeks 2 days 1743 April 8 Hannah d. Peter and Sarah 5 mos. 13 days 1747 Nov. 10 Francis s. Francis and Mary Oct. 15 1747 1739 Oct. 15 Garvey Sarah d. James and Sarah 1 week 1740 Nov. 16 Daniel s. James and Sarah 1 month 1746 July 20 Gaven Hester d. James and Sarah Sept. 24 1745 1742 Jan. 10 Samuel s. Joseph and Ann 2 years 10 days 1742 Jan. 10 Joseph s. Joseph and Ann 8 years 8 days 1746 Mch. 30 John s. Joseph and Anne Feb. 6 1743 1746 Mch. 30 Elizabeth d. Joseph and Anne Jan. 2 1745 1710 Nov. 10 Georg John s. John and Mary 2 years 6 mos. 1710 Nov. 10 Jacob 5 mos. Ann d. John 1 year 7 months 1713 Sept. 3 1781 Feb. 5 George Anne d. Thomas and Barbara 8 years Samuel s. Anne 8 mos. 1734 July 26 1737 May 18 John s. Abram and Anne 1 year 4 mos. 1738 Oct. 6 William s. Abraham and Ann 3 days Eliza d. Abraham 6 mos. 2 wks. 6 days 1741 Sept. 27 1743 Nov. 2 Mary d. Abraham and Ann 3 weeks 2 days 1726 Aug. 29 Geslin Elizabeth d. Nicolas and Elizabeth -1717 Jan. 13 Gezling Septema d. Cæsar and Catherine -1748 Nov. 25 Ghiselin Rebekkah Adult 1748 Nov. 25 Elizabeth d. William and Rebekkah Aug. 5 1748 1753 April 27 Catharine d. William and Rebecca April 7 1753 1756 Mch. 7 Ghislin Hannah d. William and Rebecca Dec. 10 1755 1758 Mch. 8 William s. William and Rebecca Feb. 13 1758 1723 May 30 Ghisselin Ruth d. Nicolas and Elizabeth 1759 Aug. 31 Ghizlin Sarah d. Cæsar and Elizabeth Aug. 12 1759 1750 Oct. 14 Ghuislin Dorcas d. William and Rebekkah Sept. 3 1750 1758 Aug. 15 Gibbon Mary d. James and Mary Aug. 2 1753 1755 Sept. 10 Jane d. James and Mary June 10 1755 1758 July 3 Robert s. James and Mary June 8 1758 1758 July 8 James s. James and Mary June 8 1758

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1731 Sept. 10 Gibbs John s. John and Dorothy 2 weeks 1733 Jan. 11 Rebecca d. John and Rebecca 7 mos. 1741 Mch. 18 William s. John and Mary 2 weeks 8 days 1712 Mch. 30 Gibson Mary d. Thomas and Rebekah 5 weeks 1714 Aug. 22 Thomas s. Matthew and Elizabeth 7 weeks 1720 Aug. 5 Rebecca d. Thomas and Rebecca 1723 Aug. 25 Ann d. Thomas and Rebecca 1738 June 18 Giger Catherine Wilhelmina d. Paul and Barbara 10 dys 1738 Dec. 15 Gilbert John s. John and Elizabeth 5 mos. 10 days 1756 Nov. 17 Hannah d. George Adult 1756 Dec. 3 Jane d. Thomas and Mary Ann June 16 1756 1759 Dec. 1 Ann d. Thomas and Mary Anne July 15 1759 1742 Aug. 16 Gill Eliza d. Edward and Mary 11 days 1752 Dec. 27 James s. John and Rachel July 19 1752 1756 Sept. 6 Sarah d. John and Rachel Jan. 27 1753 1756 Sept. 6 John s. John and Rachel Aug. 6 1756 1727 Jan. 18 Gillyard Anne d. James and Hannah 2 mos. 1712 Nov. 2 Ginkin Thomas s. Thomas and Ann 3 mos. 1714 May 11 Ginkineys Mary d. Thomas and Anne 3 weeks 1711 Nov. 10 Girly Nathaniel s. Nathaniel and Ann -1728 Jan. 26 Gislin Hannah d. Nicholas and Elizabeth 2 weeks 4 days 1729 Aug. 31 Glass Caroline d. Alexander and Abigail 9 mos. 1735 Sept. 14 Francis s. Alexander and Abigail 3 mos. 1724 Feb. 21 Glentworth Thomas s. Thomas and Mary 1725 Mch. 23 Mary d. Thomas and Mary. 1727 Mch. 28 Samuel s. Thomas and Mary 4 days 1729 July 10 James s. Thomas and Mary March 15 1729 1731 April 1 Anne d. Thomas and Mary 1 mo. 1733 June 4 Benjamin s. Thomas and Mary 10 days 1735 Nov. George s. Thomas and Mary 4 mos. 6 1736 Aug. 28 William s. Thomas and Mary 3 weeks 1738 May 8 Sarah d. Thomas and Mary 3 mos. 2 weeks 1710 Feb. 5 Glover William s. Edward and Martha 2 years 1710 Feb. 5 Mary d. Edward and Martha 1 year 1711 Sept. 26 Edward s. Edward and Martha 5 mos. 2 days 1733 Oct. 31 Goad Robert s. Solomon and Rebecca 1 mo. 1727 July 12 Goade Ann d. Solomon and Rebecca 3 mos. 3 dys 1734 April 7 Godfrey Sarah d. Thomas and Anna 3 weeks 1736 Dec. 25 Thomas s. Thomas and Anne 3 weeks 1748 Oct. 6 Golfin Dennis s. Dennis and Elizabeth Sept. 27 1748 1713 May 3 Gorard Ann d. Robert and Margaret 7 mos. 1712 Mch. 23 Gordan Thomas s. Alexander and Dorothy 5 days 1715 Mch. 18 Robert s. Alexander and Mary 1 day 1716 Mch. 18 Robert s. Alexander and Mary -

1722 Mch. 14 George s. Alexander and Mary -----

8 1732 Dec. Alexander s. Thomas and Mary 1 mo. 1734 July 12 Mary d. Thomas and Mary 8 mos. 1738 Aug. 19 James s. Thomas and Mary 5 weeks 1739 Dec. 30 Alexander s. Thomas and Mary 4 years 8 mos. 1739 Dec. 30 Thomas s. Thomas and Mary 4 weeks 1739 Dec. 30 Dorothy d. Thomas and Mary 15 mos. 1750 Oct. 24 Elizabeth d. Lewis and Mary Aug. 28 1750 1750 Oct. 24 Mary wife of Lewis Gordon baptized by Rev. Mr. Gordon 1752 Oct. 26 Elizabeth d. Lewis and Mary Jan. 28 1752 1755 Jan. 26 Elizabeth d. Thomas and Mary Dec. 80 1752 1755 Jan. 26 Rebecca d. Thomas and Mary Jan. 9 1755 1756 June 8 Ann d. Thomas and Mary April 10 1756 1759 Feb. 27 Thomas s. Thomas and Mary Feb. 13 1759 1731 April 5 Good Dorcas d. John and Anne Armor Helen 5 weeks 1734 May 3 Hatton s. John and Anne 2 weeks 1737 Jan. 15 Goodgeon Samuel s. Robert and Rebecca 5 mos. 12 days 1730 Dec. 17 Gooding Arthur s. Arthur and Mary 2 weeks 1736 Mch. 3 Goodwin Mary d. Henry and Ann 4 days 1736 May 2 Ann d. John and Phœbe 3 weeks 1785 Oct. 12 Gordy Zachariah s. John and Susannah 3 weeks 1721 Dec. 6 Gosnold Mary d. Thomas and Mary -1729 Dec. 12 Gourd Solomon s. Solomon and Rebecca 1 mo. 2 Gove Thomas s. William and Catherine Dec. 21 1746 1747 July Elinor d. William and Catherine Dec. 29 1749 1750 Jan. 22 1787 Feb. 3 Graeme Elizabeth d. Thomas and Ann 1 day 1737 Feb. 3 Sarah d. Thomas and Ann 1 day 1721 Sept. 27 Graham Thomas s. Thomas and Ann gent --William s. Thomas gent 1723 Aug. 4 Mary d. Thomas and Mary April 16 1726 June 26 1727 Dec. 25 Rebecca d. Thomas and Ann 1 mo. 1727 Dec. 27 Rachel d. Thomas and Ann 1 mo. 1781 May 20 Patrick s. Thomas and Anne 1 day Elizabeth d. Thomas and Anne 1 day 1781 May 20 1752 Mch. 21 raisbury Rachel d. Joseph and Elizabeth Oct. 5 1750 G 1754 Sept. 8 Mary d. Joseph and Elizabeth June 4 1754 1757 Nov. 1 Elizabeth d. Joseph and Elizabeth Oct. 8 1756 1759 Sept. 18 Joseph s. Joseph and Elizabeth March 13 1759 1760 Sept. 4 Joseph adult 1785 Nov. 9 Grant Mary d. Charles and Mary 1 month 1739 Feb. 11 Mary d. James and Elizabeth 7 mos. 1740 Sept. 24 Jane d. James and Elizabeth 1 mo. John s. John and Margaret, 10 mos. 3 weeks 3 days 1741 Dec. 25 1746 Nov. 30 Sarah d. Thomas and Elizabeth Nov. 11 1746 1746 Nov. 30 Jane d. Thomas and Elizabeth Jan. 18 1744

1721 Mch. 8 Gray Mary d. George and Mary March 27 1717 1725 Oct. 81 Sarah d. Henry and Judith Mary Anne d. Benjamin and Penlope 2 mos. 1734 Aug. 3 1747 Aug. 9 Mary d. Henry and Mary July 11 1747 1744 June 24 Gree Mary d. Henry and Mary 4 weeks 1711 June 11 Green George s. Giles and Mary 2 days 1728 Nov. 25 Sarah 20 years 1737 Nov. 13 Thomas s. Thomas and Sarah 3 years 1742 Mch. 5 John s. John and Ann 11 days 1744 Feb. 5 John 1744 Feb. 5 Pyramus s. Pyramus and Margret 6 weeks 5 days 1746 Mch. 23 William s. Pyra and Mary Oct. 2 1745 1746 June 20 Fisher s. Thomas and Martha Jan. 9 1743 1746 June 20 Joseph s. Thomas and Martha Feb. 12 1745 1748 July 30 Thomas s. Piramus and Mary Feb. 15 1748 1759 Oct. 14 William s. Peter and Elizabeth Sept. 18 1759 1760 Dec. 4 Greene Ann d. Thomas and Jane Nov. 14 1759 1733 April 26 Greenless John s. John and Elizabeth 1 mo. 1743 May 24 Robert s. Robert and Mary 3 weeks 3 days 1739 Mch. 21 Greenlise Margaret d. Robert and Mary 1 mo. 1742 Dec. 19 Greenman John Adult 1740 Aug. 18 Greenway Mary d. William and Patience 2 weeks 1743 Feb. 25 Sarah d. William and Patience 12 days 1745 Aug. 6 Anne d. William and Patience July 22 1745 1746 Mch. 2 Mary d. Henry and Prudence Sept. 12 1745 1746 April 20 John s. John and Abigail July 3 1745 1747 Oct. 18 Hannah d. John and Abigail March 16 1747 1750 July 8 Mary d. William and Patience June 20 1750 1753 Dec. 17 Mary d. John and Abigail March 30 1752 1753 Dec. 17 Sarah d. John and Abigail Nov. 24 1753 1754 June 80 Mary d. William and Patience Aug. 14 1752 1754 June 80 William s. William and Patience June 16 1754 1758 Oct. 26 William s. William and Patience Sept. 23 1758

(To be continued.)

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NQTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

MARRIAGE CERTIFICATES AND FAMILY RECORDS.—All persons, whether members or otherwise, having in their possession or knowing of any marriage certificates, Bible entries, deeds, or manuscript pedigrees prior to 1800, will confer a favor upon the Society by reporting the same to John W. Jordan, No. 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia. As many persons hold such without knowing it, a careful search is solicited.

LETTERS OF ELIZABETH EMLEN TO ELIZABETH DRINKER.—The writer was the first wife of Samuel Emlen, the Quaker preacher. She was a daughter of William Moode, and died at Bristol, England, in January, 1767:

"BRISTOL [England] 5th 8th mo: 1765

" DEAR BETSEY

"I believe at parting we neither expected, if Life & Health were continued to us, to have been so Infrequent in our Literary Con-versation. The Excuse rendered for thy Deficiency I also plead, & add thereto that very little came to my knowledge worth transmitting to Philadelphia; to which, and not to an abatement in affection, place

my omission. . . "In thy next I should be pleased to be informed, when, & where the poor Indians were Removed to, and if those that were in the Jerseys still continue there, and such other Hints of Persons & Things as occur. I wish thou could say that Peace & Harmony were Restored to our poor Distracted Province. We should also be pleased to be assured that an acct which a Scotch Officer, now at the Wells, gives in excuse for the Conduct of the people who stopt the Pack Horses, & destroyed the Goods intended for the Indians at a late Treaty, is untrue, viz⁴. That amongst the other Things and the Raughton & Wharton were Scaling Kaines for the other Things sent by Baynton & Wharton, were Scalping Knives, & other warlike Instruments, which they supposed would be employed by the Indians in Distressing the Frontier Inhabitants.

"My dear Husband joins in love to thine, and to dear Polly, (from whom we would be glad to hear), your dear little Girls & enquiring "Thy sincere & affectionate Friend "ELIZABETH EMLEN." Friends.

"BRISTOL [England] 7th of the 4th mo. 1766

"DEAR BETSEY

"I wrote thee on the 21" of the 1" mo pr the Nancy, Captain Carr, since which I rec^d thy acceptable Letter dated 14th 12th mo.

"In my last I gave thee a Hint that we were not likely to return Home the ensuing Summer, and the Reason of our Detention. Had it been permitted us with prudence to have attempted once more to have seen our native Land, we should, (myself in particular), with much pleasure, have endeavoured it. But as that is not likely now soon to be the case, it is our Duty patiently & thankfully to submit. I have lived long enough in the world to know by experience that we are shortsighted, frail Creatures, unable of ourselves to direct our ways, or make one straight

Step. . . . "We took kind thy Henry's Information respecting the Indians, and the conduct of our unhappy Back Inhabitants; very few of our Friends mention Publick affairs to us, that we know little of what passes in our native Land, except what we see in the Publick Papers, which is not always to be depended on. You will doubtless before this reaches Thee be informed of the Repeal of the Stamp Act. An event of which we have great Cause of Thankfulness. It is said the Person by whose In-fluence that Act passed into a Law, would have been pleased could he have had it enforced by an Exertion of the military Power. Had his scheme been fallen in with, the Congress would in all probability have had every Trouble, and to Providence, (who has the Hearts of all men in His Hand, & can turn them which way He pleaseth); we may ascribe the Repeal, & to the prudent Resolution which the Merchants in Philadelphia, New York, &c., came to, of Importing as few Goods as Possible from Hence, which would in a very short Time, nay already had, de-prived numbers of the poor People of Employment, & consequently of the means of providing for themselves & their Families. The Luxury & Extravagance of this Kingdom is such, that the extensive Trade it carries on is but barely sufficient to support it; that should the Ameri-cans learn to do without English Goods, they must endeavour to find out some other market for them, retrench their Luxurious manner of Living, or sink under the weight of it.

"I wish my Countrymen may be Instructed by what has passed, and endeavor to Live more within themselves than they have heretofore done, & above all Things, to keep Peace, if possible, at Home. I have scrawled over a great deal to thee without care or method, while writing; methinks 'tis almost like conversing, which thou knows we were gener-ally very free in-I shall not therefore attempt an apology. My very ally very nee in _____ dear Love attends each of you, thy OBER _____ my dear Husband would join were he present. "Thy sincere & affectionate Friend "ELIZABETH EMLEN." dear Love attends each of you, thy Sister and Children, in all which

WRIGHT'S PORTRAITS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON.—Having recently had an opportunity to examine the "Financial Diary" of Thomas Jefferson, I have extracted therefrom the following entries as of interest: "1784, May 28. Left with F. Hopkinson for Wright for drawing George

Washington £17.10." "1785, March 11. Paid postage of General Washington's picture 18 frances 8."

"1785, April 13. Pd for a frame to General Washington's picture 51 francs.'

"1790, June 10. Paid for a print of the President by Wright 8."

So far as I am aware, nothing is known concerning this copy of the Wright portrait, and it is probable that Jefferson left it in France as a gift to some one of his many French friends. The print is already suffi-ciently noticed in Baker's list, but this would seem to indicate the date of issue and the price for which it was sold. While I am on the subject of Wright's portrait of Washington, it may be also worth while to quote the following, which may be new to your readers, from the New York Journal, for Monday, July 7, 1788: "We learn that a transparent painting of his Excellency General Washington was exhibited in this city on the 4th, executed in a masterly manner by Mr. Wright."

PAUL LEICESTER FORD.

ENGLISH VERSUS GERMANS.—The following extracts are translated from the letter of a German gentleman visiting relatives in Philadelphia in the autumn of 1747: "In this country there exists, (what we do not find in Old England),

"In this country there exists, (what we do not find in Old England), among the English settlers, a supreme contempt for the Germans. This may be owing to the fact, that the former see numbers of lowly and poor German immigrants, in comparison with whom they entertain an exalted opinion of themselves. In addition, the conviction of freedom, (which bye the bye the Germans as well as the English entertain), may stimulate the latter to despise the former. What happens in other colonies happens here. Immigrants, who in their native country, (surrounded by thousands of their equals), were of no account whatever, as soon as they come here assume airs and play the master, to such a degree as to excite the utmost astonishment; continuing in this course, until others of their rank outrun them in the race. This is the case too, with the clergy in this country, and generally with persons who hold office. How they ever came to hold them, is a matter inexplicable. This aspect of society is, as it were, the genius of the land and leads to a thousand issues, which could not be explained, but on the ground of its almighty influence."

LECTURES ON THE PROVINCIAL HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—On the evening of February 23 the first of a course of seven lectures, treating of different epochs in the Provincial History of Pennsylvania, was given under the auspices of the Historical Society. The following is a list of the lectures:

The Swedish and Dutch Settlements on the Delaware. By GREGORY B. KEEN, Corresponding Secretary of the Society.

William Penn and His Holy Experiment; or, The Settlement of Pennsylvania. By FREDERICK D. STONE, Librarian of the Society.

The Proprietary Government under Penn's Successors. By CHARLES J. STILLÉ, LL.D., Vice-President of the Society.

Pennsylvania during the French and Indian Wars. By HOWARD M. JENKINS, suthor of the "History of Gwynedd."

The Rise of the Revolution in Pennsylvania. By JOHN BACH MCMAS-TER, Professor of History in the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania.

The German Element in Pennsylvania. By Hon. SAMUEL W. PENNY-PACKER, Vice-President of the Society.

The Scotch-Irish Element. By JOHN HOUSTON MERRILL, Esq.

THE STUDY OF THE "ARLINGTON" PICTUBE OF WASHINGTON, PRESENTED TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—At a special meeting of the Historical Society, held on Monday evening, February 29, Mr. William S. Baker, on behalf of Mr. Charles S. Ogden, presented to the Society the study in oil of the "Arlington" picture of Washington, by Charles Willson Peale. In the course of his remarks, Mr. Baker said:

"On the 21st day of May, 1772, nearly one hundred and twenty years ago, George Washington, of Mount Vernon, in the Colony of Virginia, wrote as follows to Jonathan Boucher, an Episcopal clergyman at Han-

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over and St. Mary's Parish: 'Inclination having yielded to Importunity, I am now contrary to all expectation under the hands of Mr. Peale; but in so grave—so sullen a mood—and now and then under the influence of Morpheus, when some critical strokes are making, that I fancy the skill of this Gentleman's Pencil will be put to it, in describing to the World what manner of man I am.' The Mr. Peale referred to in the letter was Charles Willson Peale, an honored name in the annals of American art, and the portrait of Washington which came from these sittings is the familiar three-quarter length representing him at the age of forty, in the costume of a colonel of the Virginia Militia; a blue coat faced with red, bright metal buttons, and a dark red waistcoat. On his head is the hat usually called the Wolfe hat. It is always alluded to as the first authentic portrait of Washington, and is known to us by a number of engravings and reproductions. At the time of its execution, Mr. Peale was thirty-one years of age. After the death of Washington, the picture came into the possession of his adopted son, George Washington Parke Custis, of Arlington House, Virginia, and from him descended to his daughter, Mrs. Robert E. Lee; it is now in the possession of a member of that family. The sittings for this portrait were recorded by Washington on the blank pages of an interleaved almanac for the year 1772: "'May 20. I sat to have my picture drawn."

"'May 21. I sat again to take the drapery."

"' May 22. Set for Mr. Peale to finish my face.'

"'An entry in Washington's account-book is still more pertinent to the subject: 'May 30. By Mr. Peale drawing my Picture £18.4s.' The original study for this portrait (the head and shoulders only), and from which the three-quarter length just described was painted, was retained by Mr. Peale, and formed one of the interesting features of his gallery of Revolutionary heroes, included in what was known as 'Peale's Museum,' in this city. At the time of the sale and dispersion of the Peale Gallery, October 6, 1854, twenty-seven years after the death of the artist, the original study, the uniform having been changed to the Con-tinental colors, was purchased by Mr. Charles S. Ogden, of Philadelphia, and has been in his possession from that time."

A letter from Rembrandt Peale, a son of the artist, relative to the authenticity of the portrait, and Mr. Ogden's letter of presentation were next read.

"In the history of American portraiture," concluded Mr. Baker, "this portrait of Washington, in consequence of its being the first authentic original, will always occupy a prominent position, and the members of the Society have good reason to congratulate themselves on its acquisition."

Mr. Ogden also presented a portrait in oil, by the same artist, of Bill Lee, familiarly known as "Billy Lee," the favorite military servant of Washington during the War for Independence.

RECORDS FROM THE TAYLOR FAMILY BIBLE.—Births.—Jacob Hollinshead, son of William and Mary Hollinshead, was born the 16th day of the 10th. month 1732.

Mary Hollinshead, daughter of Hugh and Anna, was born the 30th day of the 7th. month 1737.

Anna Hollinshead, daughter of Jacob and Mary Hollinshead, was born the 25th day of the 3rd month 1772.

Wm. Taylor Father of Othniel Hart Taylor was born at Cambridge England June 11. 1772.

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Mary Alice Gazzam, wife of Wm. Taylor and mother of Dr. O. H. Taylor was born at Cambridge England June 11. 1774.

Marmaduke Burrough was born Nov. 30 1797.

Jehu Burrough son of Isaac Burrough and Abigail Jennings b. Oct. 10.1769

Abigail Burrough was born Feb. 22. 1799.

Evelina C. Burrough was born Oct. 24. 1800.

Sarah M. Burrough was born June 11. 1802.

Jehu Burrough was born June 11. 1803. Othniel Hart Taylor was born at Philadelphia May 4. 1803.

Wm. Rivers first son of Othniel Hart Taylor and Evelina C. Taylor was born Jan. 5 1833 at S. W. cor. 10th and Race Streets Philadelphia.

Othniel Gazzam Taylor was born June 24, 1834 (son of O. H. & E. C. Taylor) at Race St Second door below 11th Street South Side Philadelphia.

Marmaduke Burroughs, third son of O. H. and E. C. Taylor was born Aug. 17. 1835 Race St. 2nd door below 11th South Side Philadelphia.

Henry Genet, fourth son of O. H. & E. C. Taylor was born at Shodack Rensselaer Co. opposite Albany New York (Residence of Gen'l Genet) July 6. 1837.

Clarence Wills 1st son of M. B. and A. C. Taylor was born July 11. 1862 Camden N. J. 312 Market St.

Evelina Constance Taylor 1st daughter of M. B. & A. C. Taylor born Dec. 5. 1865 at 310 Market Street Camden.

Annie Taylor was born Sept. 3. 1871 at 310 Market Street Camden Second daughter M. B. & A. C. Taylor.

Henry Genet Taylor Jr. 1st son of Henry Genet & Helen Cooper Taylor was born July 19. 1883 at 312 Market St. Camden N. J. ‡ past 5. P. M. Thursday.

Richard Cooper Taylor, second son of H. Genet & Helen Cooper Taylor was born at 312 Market St. Sept 29. 1884 9.45 P. M. Camden. Helen Elizabeth Taylor 3d child H. G. & H. C. Taylor was born at

305 Cooper St. Camden at 11.45 A. M. Feb. 27. 1887.

Marriages.—Jacob Hollinshead married Mary Hollinshead.

William Hollinshead married Hannah

Isaac Burrough son of Sam'l B. married 1st Deborah Jennings daughter of Isaac Jennings of the Province of New Jersey April 3. 1742.

Mary Hollinshead Feb. 10. 1797.

Jehu Burrough second son of Jehu and Ann Burrough was married to Anna Earl of Burlington Co. New Jersey, Jan'y. 1831. Evelina Constance Burrough 2nd daughter of Jehu and Ann Bur-

rough was married to Othniel Hart Taylor M.D. of Philadelphia. Feb. 16. 1832.

Marmaduke Burrough 2nd son of O. H. & E. C. Taylor was married Tuesday Sept. 3rd 1861 to Agnes Caroline daughter of Dr. Joseph & Rebecca C. Crain of Cumberland Co. Pa. by Rev. Joseph Garrison at St. Paul's Church Camden where said marriage is recorded.

Henry Genet Taylor, M.D. 4th son of O. H. & E. C. Taylor was married on Thursday Oct. 23, 1879 to Helen daughter of Alexander & Hannah C. Cooper by Rev. Dr. Foggo and Rev. J. F. Garrison at Christ Church Phila.

William Taylor father of O. H. Taylor was married at Mary's the

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Great Church, Cambridge England June 11. 1774, where said marriage is recorded.

Deaths.-Isaac Burrough died November 30. 1796.

Jehu Burrough his son died March 10. 1803 aged 34 yrs 5 mos.

Jacob Hollinshead died Dec. 19. 1819 aged 88 yrs 1 m. 18 d.

Mary Hollinshead his wife died Aug 7. 1814 aged 77 vrs. 7 days. Sarah Burrough daughter of Jehu & Ann died July 8 1802 aged 4 w. 2 d.

Abigail Wallis Burrough daughter of Jehu & Ann died Feb. 10. 1826. Jehu Burrough Sr. son of Jehu & Ann died Sept. 24. 1836. 33 y. 3 m. 13 d.

Anna Relict of Jehu Burrough Sr. died Oct 7 (6. P. M.) 1846, 74 y. 6 mo. 12 d. at 312 Market St. Camden.

William Taylor father of O. H. Taylor-died at Bergen, Hudson County N. J. at the residence of his son Dr. Benjamin C. Taylor Apr. 4. 1849 in the 77th year of his age.

Mary Alice Taylor mother of Dr. O. H. Taylor died at Greenbush, opposite Albany N. Y. August 31. 1831 in the 57th year of her age.

Marmaduke Burroughs M. D. 1st. son of Jehu Sr. and Anna died Feb. 10. 1844, at Mount Holly-77 years.

Othniel Hart Taylor husband of Evelina C. Taylor died at 312 Market St. Camden Sept 5. 1869 aged 66 yrs. Wm. Rivers son of O. H. & E. C. Taylor died Aug. 31. 1833 aged 8

mos. and was interred in St. Stephen's burial ground cor. 13th & Cherry Streets-Phils.

Evelina Constance daughter of M. B. & A. C. Taylor died Feb 3. 1870. Evelina Constancia Taylor daughter of Jehu & Ann Burrough and relict of O. H. Taylor M. D. died at her residence in Camden Sept 18. 1878 aged 78 years.

Othniel Gazzam Taylor, 2nd son of Othniel H. and Evelina C. Taylor died at his residence 312 Market St. Camden N. J. March 14. 1886 aged 52 years, 2 mos. (11.30 P. M.)

Marmaduke Burrough 3rd son of O. H. & E. C. Taylor died at 310 Market Street Jan. 15. 1890 at 5.45 A. M. aged 54 yrs, 5 mos. Agnes Crain Taylor relict of Marmaduke B. Taylor died July 17. 1890

at 1 P. M. at 305 Cooper St. Camden aged 48 years & born Oct. 28, 1841.

Pedigree of the above-mentioned Hollinshead family as shown by various wills and deeds :

Will of John Hollinshead, Jr. Recorded Secretary of State's Office,

Trenton, Book 4, page 221. Extracts : "I John Hollinshead Jr. of Wisham, County of Burling-ton, Province of New Jersey," &c. Item 1 devises to son Joseph, "plan-tation where I now live given to me by my father as appears by deed of gift, except 5 acres of meadows to go to my son Benjamin," &c. Item 2 devises to "my son Benjamin all the land and plantation I purchased of my Uncle, Aunt, and Cousin William Hollinshead as may appear by deed of sale also five acres of meadows to my son Benjamin out of that William Hollinshead Jr. formerly dwelt." Item 3 devises to "my son John 100£ to be paid by my Executor when he attains full age."

Item 4 devises to daughter Martha £71 6s. when eighteen years old.

Item 5 specifies that in case son Joseph and son Benjamin die before twenty-one years old the executor is to pay surviving brother £40.

Item 7.—" It is my mind that the white Indian Peter remain with thy family, and that there be what is necessary allowed him from me estate."

Item 8 devises everything, including all personal estate and negroes and mulattoes to my widow as long as she remain single; if she marries, everything to revert to sons.

Item 9 nominates brother-in-law Abraham Haines Executor, and my beloved wife Executrix, and is dated December 14, 1739.

[Signed] JOHN HOLLINSHEAD, JR.

Witness: JOHN HOLLINSHEAD,

Saml. Atkinson, Edward Hollinshead.

Probated March 12, 1740.

Letters testamentary granted Hannah Hollinshead, Abraham Haines relinquishing Executorship May 2, 1740. Inventory of personal Estate filed £458 7 1."

Extract from deed dated December 10, 1718, William Hollinshead (Sr.) to John Hollinshead. Recorded Book B. B. B. page 406. Secretary of State Office, Trenton. Consideration £8 for $2\frac{100}{100}$ acres. "Whereas John Hollinshead father of y[•] William and y[•] John in and by hys last will and testament duly recorded in y[•] Surrogates office at y[•] towne of Burlington left all hys land to hys two sons William and John."

Will.—William Hollinshead Jr. of Chester township, County of Burlington. Book 4, page 291, Secretary of State's Office. Let or be recorded that I William Hollinshead, Jr. of Chester Township in the County of Burlington and in the Province of New Jersey &c.

1st.—I will and order that my father and mother shall have a maintenance out of the plantation whereon I now dwell during their natural life, the remainder I give to my beloved wife during her widowhood.

Item.—I give and devise the remainder and reversions of my aforesaid plantation, unto my son Jacob and to his heirs and assigns forever.

Item.—It is my will that my son Jacob shall pay to my two daughters vizt. : Mary and Jerusha, each of them $10\pounds$ apiece in three years after the same shall come into his possession.

Item.—I give and devise unto my son Anthony all that my land and plantation where Thomas Harley now dwells. Containing 130 acress and which was given me by my father by one deed of gift unto my son Anthony his heirs and assigns forever. And I hereby order that my son Anthony shall pay unto my daughter Bathsheba 10£ in three years after the same comes into his possession.

Item.—I nominate my beloved wife (Hannah) my sole executor of this my last Will and Testament and after my just debts are paid and discharged to whom I give all my personal Estate. In witness whereof I hereunto set my hand and seal this Seventh day

In witness whereof I hereunto set my hand and seal this Seventh day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and fortyone. WILLIAM HOLLINSHEAD.

Witness: GRACE RUDDEROW,

THOMAS GILL,

SAMUEL ATKINSON. Affirmed at Burlington August 11. 1741.

JOSEPH ROSS, Sur.

HANNAH HOLLINSHEAD

Letters Test. granted.

Extract from Deed showing whom William Hollinshead, son of Jacob Hollinshead, married. Deed, William Pine and Judith, his wife, daughter of Daniel Lippincott, to William Hollinshead and Hope, his wife, daughter of Daniel Lippincott, and George Githens. Dated September 9, 1793 Recorded at Mt. Holly at Clerk's Office, Book D., p. 232. Recital.of property shows that by the will of Daniel Lippincott dated February 10, 1781, and recorded at the Secretary of State's Office, left certain lands to his daughter Hope, wife of William Hollinshead.

Extracts from the will of Jacob Hollinshead, of the township of Chester, county of Burlington, State of New Jersey. Dated April 29, 1817. Recorded Surrogate's Office of Burlington County. Book B, page 621. Proved January 12, 1820. Item 1 devises to his son Enoch the plantation he is now on and in

Item 1 devises to his son Enoch the plantation he is now on and in possession, including two acres of meadow "if he pays his brother Jacob \$400 one year after my decease."

Item 2 devises to his three daughters, Zillah, Ann, and Jerusha, the same farm he now lives on, beginning at a stone corner to Clayton Hollinshead's land, and runs from thence S. 46° 15″ E. 9 ch. 45 l. to a stone corner to Enoch Hollinshead's; from thence N. 48° 15′ E. 21 ch. 15 l. to James Borden's line; thence along Borden's line N. 24° and 30″ W. 2 ch. 86 l. [or 26 l.?] to a stone corner to Clayton Hollinshead's; thence S. 65° W. 23 ch. 68 l. to the place of beginning, containing 13 acres 29 perches. "To be equally divided between them by my executors and their survivors."

Item 3 devises to his son William the remainder of the farm he now lives on during his life and to be divided among his children after his decease.

Item 4 devises to his daughters Mary and Elizabeth 4 acres on the plantation he now lives on the S. E. cor. next to Clayton Hollinshead's, to begin in the middle of the road from Moorestown to Mount Holly.

to begin in the middle of the road from Moorestown to Mount Holly. Item 5 devises to his son Thomas all the residue of the farm after paying daughters Zillah, Jerusha, Ann Elizabeth and Mary, \$50 each.

Item 6 devises all the personal estate to son Hugh Hollinshead and 5 daughters, Zillah, Jerusha, Ann, Elizabeth and Mary.

Item 7 names Benjamin Hollinshead and George French as Executors. No codicil.

RETURN OF THE GRAND AND PETTY JURY, OF PHILADELPHIA COUNTY, SEPTEMBER 1701.—We are indebted to D. McN. Stauffer, Esq., New York, for this copy of the original in his collection. The Grand Jury Returnable the 2^d of Septem^{*} 1701.

Abraham Carpenter fined xxs John fisher find xxs Jos: Kerle att. [attended] Abram Hooper att Tho: Griffith att Henry Badcock find xxs John Budd Junr. Excused Tho: Wharton att Wm Bevan Excused John Howard " Jacob Coffin att Tho. Bibb att John Howard find xxs David Giffing att Tho: Coates find xxs Emanuel Walker att John Parsons att Wm Lee find xxs John Boucher Excused Petty Jury Wm Jenkins find xxs John Roberts find xxs Robert filetcher att Rich⁴ Taylor att Robt Yieldhall att Pentecost League att Nath Edgcomb att weall Att

Daniel Howell, Att

Notes and Queries.

Petty Jury Returnable Sep^r the 2nd 1701. Tho: Hall Wm Coleman Wm Powell John Wise Wm Chalker Nehemiah Allen Geo: Emblin Darby Green Rob^s Burrus Excused being sick Wm Lea Wm Bevan Excused being David Brintnall. Overseer of John Boucher Poore William fforrest George Harman Antho: Sturgis John Kinsey Sm^u Nicholls Hugh Durburough Excused, Overseer of Poore

EXTRACTS FROM WILLIAM BEAKS OF BUCKS COUNTY, PENNA., yeoman, Inventory of "Goods, Lands and Credits taken 19th of the 7th mo. 1687," in the Doylestown office.

. 57-00-00
. 300-00-00
. 02-00-00
. 00-08-00
. 07-05-00
. 00-02-06
. 10-00-00
. £1.002-00-03
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Queries.

SHOEMAKER, OR SCHUMACHER.—Can any one give me information as to the date of the taking down of the Shoemaker homestead on Germantown Avenue and Shoemaker Lane?

Also, is there any record or information relating to the Shoemaker family, who arrived in Philadelphia in 1686? What part of the Palatinate did they come from; and is anything known of their history before they came to America?

At what time was the name Schumacher changed to Shoemaker? H. C. B.

PORTRAIT OF HANNAH LOGAN.—The late William Logan Fisher used to say that he was sure that there was still in existence a portrait of Hannah Logan, the daughter of James, and the following extract from a letter from her brother William seems to show that such a picture was painted. Can any one tell where it is now? William Logan's letter is addressed to his sister's husband, John Smith, and is dated at Philadelphia, the 17th of 11th mo., 1758. He says: "I sent for my Sister's Picture with an Intention to make thee a present of it, as thou hast y^e Original & most right to it, but my Coz^a Jn^o Pemberton tells me my sister Intends when she Gets possession of it, to destroy it. If so, I can assure her I shall not part with it & thou must be her security she will not. I am with Love &^e." T. S.

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GOFORTH-DOYLE.-Nathaniel Goforth, son of Aaron and Mary, of Philadelphia, married Mary Bunting, 6-20, 1753, at Darby. He had previously (4-27, 1751) married, at Arch Street Meeting, Philadelphia, Mary Dennis, who died 2-27, 1752. Mary (Bunting) Goforth died 8-24, 1774. In PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. III. p. 296, a Nathaniel Goforth is mentioned as one of Colonel John Eyre's party to Pittsburgh, in 1760. Was this the Nathaniel above mentioned, and if so, when and where did he die?

Nathaniel and Mary (Bunting) Goforth had a daughter, Mary, who married John Doyle, 7-30, 1787, at Swedes' Church, Kingsessing, Philadelphia.

Information wanted of their descendants.

MORGAN BUNTING.

WHIPPLE.—Can any one tell me of the parentage of Preserved Whipple, who is said to have resided in or about Cherry Valley, New York, and afterwards settled in Cincinnati prior to 1830?

He married Elizabeth, daughter of George Robert Twelve Hewes, of Boston and Richfield Springs, New York. Among other children he is known to have had:

George M. Whipple. Sarah Hewes Whipple. Sumner Whipple. Julia Whipple. Frank J. Whipple.

H. W. S.

DORSEY—GALE—DENWOOD—HILL.—I have found to-day, in a country house in New Jersey, a Table of Descent, that seems to supply a few *lacunæ* in the late Mr. John Jay Smith's History of the Hill Family (Philadelphia, 1854), in which the maiden name of Dr. Richard Hill's mother is not given, nor are his brothers or sisters named. According to this table, Henry Hill, father of Richard, married Mary, daughter of Leven Denwood. Richard's brothers are John, Henry, Leven, and Joseph, in the order named, and his sisters, Mary, Priscilla, and Milcah. Of these last the first married—Gillis, the second—Dorsey, and the third— Gale.

I do not observe any other item of information not to be found in the "Hill Book," except the unimportant one that Henry Hill (son of Dr. Richard) had by his wife, Ann Meredith, "2 children, Hannah, and one unnamed, who died." As the table is in the handwriting of the careful George Dillwyn, who married Dr. Hill's daughter Sarah, in 1738°, it is likely to be trustworthy.

A letter from Dillwyn to his wife in Philadelphia, dated "Lancaster, March 15, 1762," says: "I found our dear Relations well as they have been for some time past, tho: poor Father is much indisposed. He, mamma & Nancy beg I'll remind their dear Sally & all her Relations of their Love to them." This suggests the query: Did Dr. and Mrs. Hill, "dear Sally's" parents, ever live in Lancaster? So far as I know, the parents of George and of William Dillwyn never visited America.

Any information of Dorsey and Gale, who married, respectively, Priscilla and Milcah Hill, would be acceptable.

I may add that the following mem: relating to persons who had intermarried with the Hill family, appears in the margin of the document in question: "S. P. Moore, deceased 7 mo. 15. 1785. Ann, wife of H. Hill, 12 mo. 11. 1787. Tho. Lamar 4 mo. 29. 1792. Abigail Morris 9 mo. 16. 1793. Benj^a Smith 10 mo. 19. 1793. John Scott, ab' 3 mo. 1795. Rachel Moore, 7 mo. 16. 1796. Mordecai Moore, 7 mo. 30. 1800. Richard Wells, 2 mo. 13. 1801. Thomas Moore 1801. Charles Moore 8 mo. 19. 1801. John Smith (of Green Hill) 1803."

I should also be obliged for anything relating to the Denwood family. THOMAS STEWARDSON.

OSBORNE.—The signature of Charles Osborne appears as witness on many old Phildelphia deeds written between 1714 and 1730. A tracing of his signature by any one having such in their possession, is very much desired by SAMUEL TROTH.

JENKINS.—[PENNA. MAG., Vol. IX. p. 240.]—Has any one ever traced the ancestry of William Jenkins, in Pembrokeshire? If so, will they kindly give me a short outline of the same? GENE.

GARRETT-KNOWLES.—Can any one tell me when and where Nathan Garrett and Ann Knowles were married? They had a child whose birth is thus recorded in Darby Meeting Records: "Hannah born 11 22, 1740-41," believed to have been the first child. What of the ancestry of Ann Knowles? Who were her parents and grandparents?

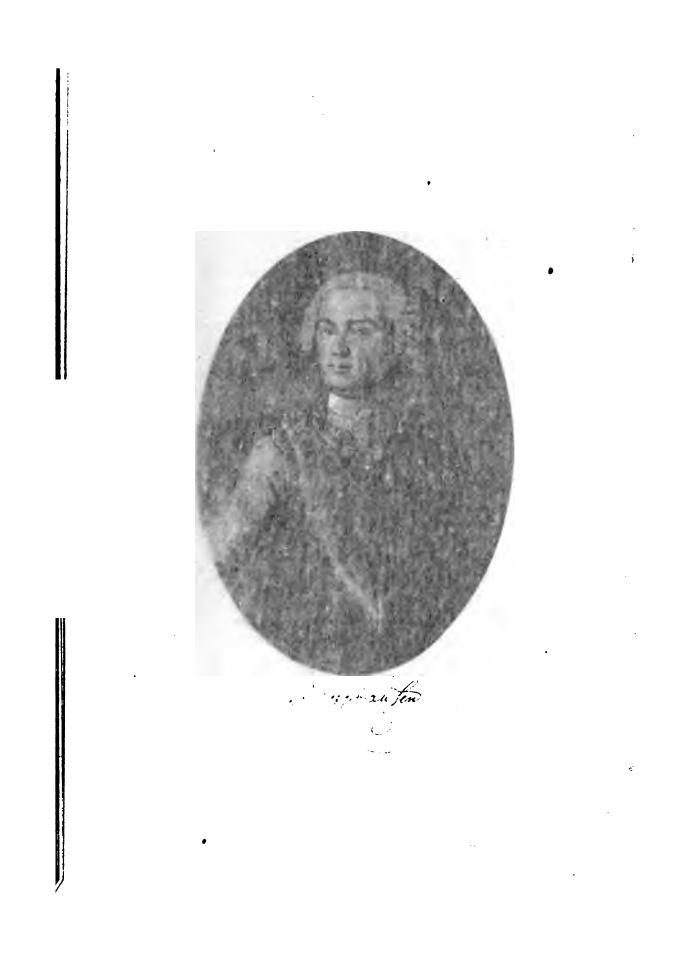
Gene.

Book Notices.

EARLY GRANTS AND INCORPORATION OF THE TOWN OF WARE. By Edward H. Gilbert. 8vo. 58 pp. Fords, Howard & Hulbert, New York, 1891. This is an interesting and curious study of the growth of a Massachusetts town from the time of first settlement, about 1636, through the stages of early grants from the colony, beginning in 1659, creation as parish and precinct in 1742, elevation to a district in 1761, and incorporation as a town in 1775. The text of the ancient petitions, surveys, legislative orders and reports, and legal documents generally show, amid all the originalities of spelling and expression, the practical distinctness and good sense characteristic of the early New Englanders, both in private and public station. The four maps which illustrate the text are, all but one, fac-similes of originals in the Massachusetts archives, and give the present boundaries of the town and location of ancient grants and lines; the Hollingsworth Grant; the Marsh Tract; and the ancient grants including the "Garter." The work is handsomely printed on Holland hand-made paper, and the maps on bond paper. Price in Holland paper, \$2. Half roan, gilt top, uncut edges, \$4.

ITINERARY OF GENERAL WASHINGTON.—We are pleased to announce that the "Itinerary of General Washington, from June 15, 1775, to December 23, 1783," by William S. Baker, to which about fifty pages of new and important matter has been added since it appeared in this magazine, is to be published by the J. B. Lippincott Company, of this city. . . .

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THE

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HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

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DIARY OF LIEUTENANT JAMES MCMICHAEL, OF THE PENNSYLVANIA LINE, 1776-1778.

CONTRIBUTED BY COL. WILLIAM P. MCMICHAEL.

[Lieutenant James McMichael was a native of Scotland, where, prior to his emigrating to Pennsylvania, he had received a liberal education. On the breaking out of the War for Independence he was residing in Lancaster County, and in April of 1776 entered the service as sergeant in Captain John Marshall's company, Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment, Colonel Samuel Miles commanding. He was promoted second lieutenant of Captain John Clark's company, Pennsylvania State Regiment of Foot, Colonel John Bull commanding, in March of 1777; this regiment, on July 6, 1777, was known as the Thirteenth Pennsylvania Regiment, and November 12, by resolution of Congress, was placed on the Continental Establishment, and he was promoted first lieutenant of the same company and regiment, Colonel Walter Stewart commanding, to date June 20, 1777. Lieutenant McMichael was transferred to the Seventh Regiment, Colonel William Irvine commanding, July 1, 1778; to the Fourth Regiment, Colonel William Butler, January 17, 1781; and, finally, to the First Regiment, Colonel Daniel Brodhead, January 1, 1783, and discharged at the close of the war. In 1789 he is registered as a member of the State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania. Several years subsequent he sailed for Scotland, but the vessel on which he was a passenger never reached her destination. It is known that Lieutenant McMichael kept a diary during the whole period of his service with the army, but that portion dating from the time General Washing-

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ton left Valley Forge, to his discharge in 1783, unfortunately cannot now be found.]

1776.

May 27.—After Capt. Marshall's company formed at the Cross Roads, Drumore township, Lancaster County, we all marched at 3 o'clock P.M., and arrived at Colonel Thompson's at 6, where we remained that night. Being necessitated to Lodge without a Bed, I passed the night without sleep,—it being the first night I ever was denied a bed.

May 28.—Marched from Col. Thompson's at 7 A.M., proceeding thro' Fagg's Manor and arrived at Welch's Tavern. Here I spent the night with my worthy friend Lieut. John Clark.

May 29.—Having orders to proceed to Chester we marched at day break, and at 2 P.M., reached our destination; but orders being countermanded we returned to Prospect Hill, near Marcus Hook, where we encamped in tents, which was to me very disagreeable.

May 30.—Having now joined Col. Miles's Regiment we were this morning ordered on parade, when we went thro' our manœuvres and evolutions with great applause.

June 2.—This being the Sabbath Day I was much surprised when I was awakened by the noise of Drums and fifes Beating the Reveille. This day the soldiers appeared much intoxicated.

June 13.—Express at Camp informing us of a number of Tories having mustered at Lewestown. We are preparing to march thither tomorrow in order to disperse them, which we mean to do at the hazard of our lives.

June 14.—Left camp at Prospect Hill for Wilmington, where we received orders to return that evening to our former encampment.

June 15.—Vessels being ready to transport the Troops to Port Penn, we embarked at noon, and stood down the River.

June 16.—At daylight we arrived at Port Penn, where we remained until 2 P.M., when we proceeded a few miles into the country and encamped. June 17.—At Reveille marched for Dover, Kent county, where we arrived at dark, after a fatiguing march.

June 18.—Left Dover at 9 A.M., for Lewestown.

June 20.—Arrived at Lewes at 11 A.M.

June 27.—The Roebuck, man-of-war, and the Liverpool, with three tenders, came into the Bay, but the detestible Tories hearing of the riflemen having arrived evacuated the town.

June 28.—Several scouting parties sent out, who having captured the officers of the Tories, swore them to be true to Congress, and then dismissed them.

June 29.—At 4 P.M. we embarked for Marcus Hook, and having a favorable wind, we reached our desired haven July 1, at 10 A.M.

July 4.—Marched from Marcus Hook at Reveille, proceeded through Chester, Derby and over Schuylkill and arrived at Philadelphia at 2 P.M.

July 6.—At 2 o'clock P.M. marched from our quarters to Stamper's Wharf [between Dock and Spruce Streets] where we embarked for Bordentown.

July 7.—Arrived at Bordentown at sunrise, and were ordered to proceed to Amboy. At 2 P.M. we marched. When near to Allentown, Capt. Farmer's gun went off accidentally and shot a soldier of his own company. Reached Allentown at 6 P.M. and encamped.

July 8.—At 6 A.M. resumed our march—passed thro' Cranberry at noon, and reached Brunswick at dusk.

July 11.—Left Brunswick and reached Perth Amboy at noon, where we discovered the enemy on Staten Island. The inhabitants seem to be friends to our present struggle.

July 17.—At Reveille were informed that the enemy had landed at Elizabethtown, which caused us to be marched there. On arrival at 2 o'clock, we found the alarm was a false one. We determined to cross to Staten Island that night to visit the troops of Gen. Howe, but a hurricane arose which prevented our embarkation. We afterward ascertained that we would have been cut off, had we landed.

July 18.—This morning received orders to resume our

former station at Amboy, and at 10 o'clock left Elizabethtown. This night we joined Gen. Mercer's brigade, no longer to take orders from an officer under a Brigadier General, for we now act as Continental troops, tho' raised for the defense of Pennsylvania.

July 23.—This day 1000 of the Pennsylvania militia came to Perth Amboy. A rifleman was shot by the enemy going in a boat to Staten Island.

July 24.—At the beating of Tattoo a boat was hailed by our sentries, going down Raritan river. This alarmed us all and occasioned us to stand by our arms and go to our alarm posts. On being brought to shore we found the crew had deserted her, and only a few swivel balls on board.

July 25.—At 4 P.M. three schooners came down the Sound and were hailed by our sentries. Returning no answer, a heavy cannonade ensued on both sides—from our battery near the Ferry, and from the enemy at Billop's Point on Staten Island. During the action we had one man killed and one wounded—the schooners got off much damaged.

August 3.—I this morning was ordered to command 120 men, to take all the small craft from Amboy to Red Root Creek near Beamentown.

August 9.—His Excellency Gen. Washington sent a letter to Col. Miles requesting the riflemen to come to headquarters, New York, which we all agreed to, *nemine contra decente*, to march next day.

August 10.—Being relieved from command, I return with my guard to Point Pleasant, near Amboy, and at 10 A.M., the Regiment marched to Elizabethtown and encamped on the Plains.

August 11.—The General was beat at sun-up, the troops were paraded, and proceeded through Newark, over the ferries of Passaic, Hackensack and Powl's Hook, and reached the city of New York at 4 P.M. After forming the regiment in the city, we marched a mile out of Town to a place called Pleasant Hill and there encamped. This night we joined Lord Stirling's brigade, which is entirely composed of Pennsylvanians, Virginians and Marylanders. We are now in view of a formidable English Fleet at the end of Staten Island, said to consist of 100 sail of the line and transports.

August 12.—This day the enemy received a large reenforcement, which presages a sudden attack. We wait impatiently for them, as we only act in our own defense.

August 14.—A deserter from the enemy says, that there are about 25,000 on Staten Island just about to embark to attack us in New York.

August 17.—The movements of the enemy give undoubted indications of a sudden attack, which has caused Gen. Washington to issue a proclamation for all women, children and infirm people to leave the city until after the engagement.

August 18.—Two men-of-war, with their tenders came down Hudson's river—they were fired on by all the batteries near the shore.

August 19.—The enemy having struck their tents, we were closely inspected with regard to our arms and ammunition. The brigade paraded, and on being dismissed, we were ordered to rest on our arms all night. We have intelligence from a deserter that the enemy will attack us in a few days; also that the Phœnix was considerably damaged by our fire on 18th.

August 21.—A severe storm of thunder and lightning today. In the camp adjoining ours, one captain, one lieutenant and one ensign were killed by the lightning.

August 22.—The enemy having landed on Long Island, our brigade was paraded and ordered thither. After leaving our camp, the order was modified—one-half to proceed to Long Island, the remainder to be in readiness to follow at a moment's notice. The First Battalion together with our musketry, and the Delaware Blues, went to the island and we were ordered to our tents.

August 24.—At 10 A.M., we all marched from our encampment and crossed St. George's ferry to Long Island. Just after we had joined the brigade, we had a heavy cannonade, with some small arms. This night we camped in the woods, without tents, in a hard rain. Sentries firing all night.

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August 25.—This morning we were alarmed that the enemy were about to attack us in force; we got ready and marched to meet them. Not finding them we returned to our camp.

August 26.—A scouting party of 120 men, properly officered, were ordered out, but returned without making any discovery.

August 27.—At sunrise we were ordered to march easterly from near Flatbush a few miles, when we discovered the enemy coming against us with 5000 foot and 500 horse. We numbered just 400. We at first thought it prudent to retire to a neighboring thicket, where we formed and gave battle. Here my right hand man fell, shot thro' the head. We were attacked by the enemy's left wing, while their right endeavoured to surround us. Their superior numbers forced us to retire for a short distance, when we again formed and fought with fortitude until we were nearly surrounded. Having by this time lost a great number of men, we were again forced to retreat, when we found that the enemy had got between us and the fort. Then despairing of making good our retreat we resolved to die rather than be taken prisoners, and thus we were drove from place to place 'till 3 o'clock P.M., when we agreed to attempt crossing the mill-pond, that being the only way left for our escape. Here numbers were drowned, but it was the will of Providence that I should escape, and at half past three, we reached the lines, being much fatigued. The enemy advanced rapidly and endeavoured to force our lines, but were repulsed with considerable loss. They afterwards marched towards the Narrows, where they found our First Battalion and the Delaware Blues under command of Col. Hazlet. These battalions were chiefly cut off, we were ordered to cover their retreat, which exposed us in open field to a heavy fire from the enemy 'till evening-the remainder of our troops brought us 23 prisoners. At dark we were relieved and ordered to St. George's ferry to take refreshments. Thus happened the memorable action on Long Island, where the enemy attacked and defeated Lord Stirling's brigade,

consisting of the following regiments: Colonels Miles, Atlee, Smallwood and Hazlet. Major General Sullivan, Brig. Gen. Lord Stirling were taken prisoners, also Col. Miles and Atlee; Lieut. Col. Piper—all of our regiment also, 19 commissioned officers, 23 sergeants, and 310 rank and file. My preservation I only attribute to the indulgent Providence of God, for tho' the bullets went around me in every direction, yet I received not a wound.

August 28.—We marched to the lines at dawn of the morning and there lay under arms 'till 2 o'clock P.M., when we were alarmed that the enemy had come out to attack us. Going to the summit of the hill, we found the alarm false, and so returned to the ferry. We have had an incessant cannonade these four days past. We have the pleasing intelligence by some of our men who were captured and escaped, that the loss of the enemy is greater than ours.

August 29.—Gen. Washington thinking it proper to evacuate the island, we were all ordered to march at 9 o'clock P.M. We crossed at St. George's ferry to New York with great speed and secrecy.

August 30.—A flag of truce from the enemy, gives an account of numbers of our officers being prisoners, who request an exchange. At 1 P.M., we marched from Pleasant Hill, proceeded past King's Bridge and arrived at Mount Mifflin at dark.

September 1.—Having now joined Gen. Mifflin's Brigade, we were all paraded by his orders, when he entertained us with a political discourse, wherein he shewed the propriety of evacuating Long Island, together with the evil consequences which would have attended the maintaining of it.

September 4.—The enemy have now landed at Morrisania, which gives suspicion of an attack here.

September 16.—An attack this morning began with our troops near Hell-gate, which continued for several hours, wherein our troops drove the enemy, killed and wounded 500 of them. Our loss did not amount to 100.

September 17.—This morning the enemy at Morrisania

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attempted to cross the bank which separates them from our troops, but were repulsed by our scouting party.

September 19.—The Fifth Battalion marched from Mount Mifflin to man the lines at Fort Washington, while a number of our troops crossed Hudson's River, expecting an attack on the Jersey shore.

September 22.—Our regiment marched from Mount Mifflin at 10 A.M., and arrived at Mount Washington at noon.

September 23.—At 11 o'clock the whole army at Mount Washington met on the grand parade in order to see a man shot, who had left his post in the battle of 16th inst.—but he was reprieved by his Excellency Gen. Washington.

September 29.—We received intelligence at midnight, that the enemy were advancing. We all paraded immediately and man'd the lines. The alarm proved false and at daybreak we returned to our encampment.

October 9.—At 8 o'clock three men-of-war and three Tenders came up Hudson's River, which brought on a heavy cannonade from all our forts and batteries near the shore. They, however, passed by. We were all paraded and man'd the lines, but had no engagement. We are now situate on the banks of Hudson's River, ten miles from New York, two miles from Fort Washington, with our lines advantageous and well fortified, both by nature and art.

October 10.—A party of 120 men with wagons, were detached from our brigade to take forage from the enemies lines, with the intent to bring on an attack, but they would not come out.

October 11.—A barge of Gen. Washington's coming down Hudson's River, was unfortunately taken for one of the enemy, by our Engineer at Fort Washington, who fired an 18-pounder and killed three men on board.

October 14.—Gen. Lee arrived at headquarters at noon, but hearing of an attack at West Chester, Gen. Washington and he went to see the result. There are a number of fine troops in Gen. Lee's escort. Part of the fleet have come to the mouth of Harlem river.

October 18.—We are now informed of an attack at Frog's

Neck yesterday, where our troops drove the enemy with considerable loss. We being apprehensive of an attack received orders to strike tents and transmit the baggage to Fort Washington, lest it should fall into the hands of the enemy.

October 20.—We marched from Fort Washington at 10 A.M., proceeded over King's Bridge and encamped on Philips's Manor.

October 21.—At sun-up we marched for White Plains, where we arrived at 2 P.M. At 4 o'clock a party of 100 men, properly officered, from our riflemen left to scour the woods near the enemies lines. We have intelligence that they mean to attack us in a few days—they are said to number 30,000.

October 23.—Our scouting party returned early this morning with 35 prisoners—1 regular the remainder Tories. The enemy had fourteen killed in the attack, but unfortunately taking the Delaware Blues for the enemy, we fired on each other, in which six of our riflemen and nine of the Blues were killed.

October 25.—One captain, two subalterns, three sergeants with one hundred men, were ordered on a scouting expedition. We left White Plains at 11 P.M. direct for the enemies advance sentries.

October 27.—Our scouting-party brought in 13 Waldeck and 3 regulars as prisoners.

October 28.—We have received an express that the enemy are rapidly advancing, in consequence of which all our troops were ordered under arms. My regiment was sent to the front to bring on the action, but not to endanger ourselves enough to be taken prisoners. We had not marched two miles before we saw them coming. We were attacked by their right wing (all Hessians) and after keeping up an incessant fire for an hour, we were informed by our flanking party, that their light horse was surrounding us, when we retreated to the lines. Their left wing attacked a party of ours at an advanced post on a hill. Our troops behaved with great fortitude, but being overpowered by numbers, were obliged to fall back to the lines. The enemy attempted to force our right wing in the lines, but were driven back, and finally retreated. The attack lasted from 11 A.M. to 2 P.M.; our loss did not exceed fifty. At 10 o'clock at night we marched from White Plains about four miles and encamped on a hill near Hudson's River, suitable to entrench upon. Being without our baggage and cooking utensils, (they had been sent to North Castle) we were very uncomfortable.

November 1.—Today we had a heavy cannonade near the Liberty Pole—our loss was not much. We encamp in the woods, have no tents, frost and cold severe.

November 6.—The enemy have evacuated their lines and burned part of White Plains, going off towards King's Bridge, which has been the cause of us now receiving marching orders for New Jersey.

November 7.—Left our encampment at noon and proceeded to North Castle, where we encamped.

November 8.—At 6 A.M. left North Castle, and proceeded thro' Philip's, Van Cortland's and Livingston's Manors, and reached Peekskill at dusk and encamped.

November 9.—We embarked on boats at 10 A.M. and sailed five miles down Hudson's River to Lamb's Landing, where we went on shore and marched five miles to camp.

November 10.—Left our encampment at 10 A.M., proceeded thro' Haverstraw and to Clarkstown and encamped on the plains.

November 11.—At Reveille left camp for Tappan and encamped in the woods.

November 12.—This morning continued our march from Tappan, through Scranburg, New Bridge and reached Hackensack at 5 p.m.

November 14.—From Hackensack crossed the Bridge over the Passaic, thence to a pretty town called Sackin river, three miles from Newark, near which we encamped.

November 15.—At day break we left Newark and proceeded to Elizabethtown, where we got to quarters at 3 P.M.

November 16.-We marched from Elizabethtown at noon,

thro' Woodbridge to near Beamantown where we encamped. At the former place we heard the cannonading of Fort Washington, which we subsequently learned was captured.

November 17.—Marched from Beamantown to Brunswick, where we arrived at 2 P.M. Here our soldiers drank freely of spirituous liquors. They have chiefly got a disorder, which at camp is called the Barrel Fever, which differs in its effects from any other fever—its concomitants are black eyes and bloody noses.

November 21.—Receiving news that our troops have evacuated Fort Lee, and that the enemy have landed 16,000 men at Dobb's Ferry and are advancing towards Hackensack, occasioned marching orders to be issued.

November 23.—All of Lord Stirling's brigade (except the riflemen), have marched to meet the enemy at Newark.

November 27.—Intelligence that the enemy are marching for Brunswick causing us to prepare to meet them, but we are reduced to so small a number we have little hopes of victory.

December 1.—The enemy appeared in view at 1 P.M. We were all under arms on the parade. After a heavy cannonade of an hour, in which we had two killed, we received orders to evacuate the town, and proceeded towards Princeton and encamped near Kingston.

December 2.—Just at dawn the General was beat, when we got ready, marched through Kingston and at 8 A.M.reached Princeton, where we got quarters. It is chiefly inhabited by Tories.

December 7.—At 2 P.M. we paraded, the enemy being in sight, when orders came to evacuate the town and proceed to Trenton, where we were quartered at 10 P.M.

December 8.—We paraded in Trenton at 4 A.M., and at dawn crossed the Ferry into Pennsylvania. At 4 P.M. the Hessians appeared in view, but were soon dispersed by several messengers sent from an 18-pounder of ours from the shore. Here we remained in the woods, having neither blankets or tents.

December 9.—At 3 P.M. we marched from near Trenton

ferry to Thompson's Mill near Coryell's ferry, where we encamped in the woods. Weather very cold.

December 25.—We have now received the glad news that marching orders have been issued. At sundown we marched down the Delaware to McKonkey's Ferry [Taylorsville] and crossed at 9 P.M. for Trenton. The weather uncommonly inclement.

December 26.—We arrived at Trenton at 7 A.M., when we began the attack, which continued 'till 9 A.M. We drove them furiously, killed and wounded upwards of 100, and took prisoners 1014. Our loss was but trifling. We returned the same day to McKonkey's ferry, transported our prisoners to Newtown [Bucks County, Penna.] and after suffering much fatigue we reached our camp, and having obtained comfortable lodgings I found Morpheus had got possession of me.

December 29.—Having again received marching orders, we got ready at dark, and at 10 P.M. crossed at Yardley's Ferry, where we lodged. Weather very cold, snow 6 inches deep, no tents, and no houses to lodge in !

December 30.—Left Yardley's at 8 A.M. and reached Trenton at 10 A.M., where we had the pleasure of seeing seven prisoners brought in by our light horse, from whom we learned that the enemy are at Princeton 7000 strong, and intend to attack us at Trenton in a few days.

1777.

January 2.—At 10 A.M. we received news that the enemy were advancing, when the drums beat to arms and we were all paraded on the south side of the bridge [over Assunpink Creek]. Gen. Sullivan with 1000 men were detached to bring on the attack, which they did and reached town at 5 P.M., but our artillery fire was so severe, that the enemy retreated out of town and encamped on an adjacent hill. We continued firing bombs up to seven o'clock P.M., when we were ordered to rest, which we very commodiously did upon a number of rails for a bed. Thus my friend Capt. Marshall and I passed the night until two after twelve o'clock.

January 3.-At 1 A.M. we all paraded and marched for Princeton. We reached Stony Brook at 9 A.M., where we sighted the enemy. Gen. Mercer with 100 Pennsylvania riflemen and 20 Virginians, were detached to the front to bring on the attack. The enemy then consisting of 500 paraded in an open field in battle array. We boldly marched to within 25 yards of them, and then commenced the attack, which was very hot. We kept up an incessant fire until it came to pushing bayonets, when we were ordered to retreat. Here Gen. Mercer was mortally wounded, Col. Hazlet and Major Fleming both killed, with 19 rank and file, and 60 wounded. Having retreated a short distance, we were reinforced, when we immediately rallied, and with the utmost precipitation put our foes to retreat. We killed 60 on the field, wounded 75, and took 215 prisoners. We evacuated Princeton and marched for Somerset Court House, where we arrived at 8 P.M.

January 4.—We marched from the Court House for Pluckamin which we reached at 3 P.M., where we encamped on the north side of a hill very well supplied with large stones, which served us instead of pillows, where we passed two nights.

January 6.—At 9 A.M., we marched from Pluckamin for Morristown via Vealtown, where we arrived at 5 P.M. and encamped in the woods, the snow covering the ground.

January 7.—This morning I secured good quarters, where I lived happily while we remained at Morristown, with very agreeable people.

January 8.—Morristown is devoid of beauty, both in its form and location; the inhabitants very hospitable, all professors of the Presbyterian religion, which renders them to me very agreeable.

January 12.—We marched from Morristown at 3 P.M., and arrived at Chatham at dark, in the suburbs of which we got very agreeable quarters. The young ladies here are very fond of the soldiers, but much more so of officers.

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January 23.—At 4 P.M. marched from Chatham for Springfield, where at P.M. we got quarters.

January 24.—We marched from Springfield at 2 A.M., proceeded thro' Westfield, Scott's Plains, and near to Quibbletown [New Market], where we were attacked by the enemy about 600 strong, with three field pieces. We numbered 350, commanded by Col. Buckner, but at the commencement of the attack the Colonel rode off with precipitation, which was to us a great disadvantage. However, the ground was advantageous, and we killed and wounded seventy of the enemy, with a loss of only four men slightly wounded. We then retreated and reached our quarters.

January 31.—Yesterday we marched to Elizabethtown, and today, after passing through Connecticut Farms and Springfield reached Chatham, where I secured my former lodgings.

February 10.—Having obtained a furlough I left Chatham at 7 A.M.

[Between February 10 and April 11 the diarist passed with his family and friends in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, during which time, also, he was married.]

April 11.—Having now finished my business in Philadelphia, I embarked at Chestnut street wharf at 8 A.M., and being favored with wind and tide, I landed at Billingsport at 10 A.M., where I again rejoined my worthy friends at that place.

April 16.—In consequence of general orders issued by Gen. Schuyler, we were ordered to evacuate Billingsport and go to Liberty Island, which point we reached at sundown.

April 17.—This morning we were ordered to Red Bank; embarked and reached there at noon.

April 22.—A detachment of 1 Major, 2 Captains, 7 subalterns, (one of which I was), and 116 rank and file were ordered to Liberty Island.

April 30.—Having now received our new commissions, we proceeded to the arrangement of the officers. I was nominated a subaltern to Capt. Clark. This was transacted at Red Bank, after which we returned to Liberty Island, in order to arrange the men next day.

May 1.—Early this morning returned to Red Bank, where our regiment was properly arranged, after which, with three companies (one of which was ours), returned to Liberty Island, where we were entertained by a harmonious band of music, and passed the day in jolity.

May 15.—At noon the alarm guns down the river were fired and flags all hoisted. We were paraded and awaited the attack, which proved a false alarm.

May 16.—Having been in a fluctuating manner with regard to the disagreeable appointment of Col. John Bull, we had a few officers detached to the Board of War, in order that the command might devolve on Lieut. Col. Lewis Farmer. Upon the return of the officers, they gave us the impression that the Board was determined to make no change, which caused a rupture among the officers.

June 13.—Embarked [Philadelphia] for Fort Mercer.

June 14.—We were alarmed by a heavy cannonade in the night, and today learn that the enemy are advancing on this place. We received orders to march next day.

June 15.—Marched from Fort Mercer at 2 P.M., crossed Gloucester ferry at 4, and reached Philadelphia at 7 P.M., where we received marching orders.

June 16.—The time being at hand when we were to receive a positive answer to our late memorial against Col. Bull, at noon all the officers of the regiment met, when Capt. Moore, Capt. Robb, Lieut. Finley and I were chosen a committee to treat with the Executive Council. We got but little satisfaction, in consequence of which we returned fully determined to resign, rather than be commanded by Col. Bull.

June 17.—At 10 A.M. we appointed for a meeting of the officers in Elbow Lane, where we set to write out our resignations. I was one of the writers and wrote my own resignation with sixteen more, and we then marched to the State House to deliver them. On the way we were stopped by Col. Farmer, who gave us the pleasing news that Col.

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Bull was not to command us and that Col. [Walter] Stewart was appointed. Col. Farmer further informed us, that Col. Stewart requested all the officers of the regiment to meet him at 4 P.M., at the City Tavern. We immediately repaired to our Quarters where we dressed ourselves and at the time appointed we waited on Colonel Stewart, to our great satisfaction, when after drinking some gallons of Madeira, we returned to our Lodgings much satisfied.

June 18.—We paraded at 4 P.M. and after passing muster, we received marching orders.

June 20.—At 10 A.M. we paraded and marched to the State House, thence to Gen. Gates's headquarters, thence to Gen. Mifflin's, and then returned to the Barracks, where Col. Walter Stewart returned us his thanks in a very polite manner for our behavior during our march through town.

June 22.—At 6 A.M. we left the city for Coryell's Ferry, and at 3 P.M. encamped at the Crooked Billet, [Hatborough] where owing to the bad weather we remained two days.

June 24.—At 5 A.M. we left Crooked Billet, and crossed Coryell's Ferry at 3 P.M., where we encamped on the Jersey shore.

June 25.—We marched from the ferry past Ringo's Tavern, thence to Coxetown and Somerset Court House.

June 26.—We reached Bound Brook, where we awaited an attack of the enemy. They not appearing, we proceeded to and encamped on Mount Prospect.

June 27.—At 7 P.M. we received marching orders, and sent our baggage and tents to headquarters.

June 28.—We marched from Mount Prospect at 10 A.M. on a scout. Our force numbered 1200 men, commanded by Gen. Sullivan. We proceeded through Quibbletown near Bonhamtown, thence through Metuchen, near which we encamped in an open field.

June 29.—At 4 A.M. we left our encampment, returned through Metuchen, where we heard the enemy's drums beat to arms, and we formed in line of battle. They did not come out to meet us, when we returned to Sampton, where finding the enemy had returned to Amboy, we received orders to return to camp, and at 8 P.M. reached headquarters at Middlebrook, much fatigued.

July 3.—Receiving intelligence that the enemy had evacuated Amboy and gone to Staten Island, we received marching orders, and at 7 A.M. passed thro' Baskenridge to Morristown where we went into camp.

July 9.—I have now sat on court martial near a week.

July 11.—At Reveille all tents were struck, after which we paraded and marched to headquarters, where I was ordered to return to Pennsylvania in search of deserters. At 9 A.M. I proceeded thro' Baskenridge, thence to Steel's Tavern, thence to Somerset Court House and Rockyhill and at 9 P.M. reached Stony Brook, where I passed some days with my wife.

July 14.—I left Stony Brook, passed through Amwell, thence to Coryell's, passed Robinson's Ferry and at 8 P.M. took quarters at Sherrad's Ferry in Alexandria township.

July 15.—Departed from Sherrad's, passed Helltown, Hugh's Furnace and thence to Philipsburg, where I crossed the Delaware to Easton. From thence I passed Bethlehem, a beautiful town in which is a cloister, to Allentown and the King of Prussia, where being indisposed I took quarters.

July 16.—At daybreak I resumed my journey passed Fetterolf's Tavern, Mayberry's Furnace, and quartered at Colbrookdale for the night. I met only one person, a young lady, who could speak English!

July 17.—At 6 A.M. I proceeded to Pottsgrove, a pretty town whose people are Tories. I put them to silence, but being informed that an insurrection might take place, I thought it advisable to cross the Schuylkill. Thence I continued on to Brownback's Tavern, and at noon reached the powder mills on French Creek, where delivering my orders to Ensign Lincoln, I proceeded and passing the Valley Forge came to the Spread Eagle on the Lancaster road, where I quartered. Along the road from Easton to Pottsgrove, I was looked upon as a barbarian by the inhabitants, and they appeared to me like so many human beings scarcely endowed with the qualifications equal to that of the brute

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species. Repeatedly I talked Latin to them, when I found that it was worse than English for them to understand. I therefore concluded that they were devoid of any qualification calculated to complete happiness unless when blended with others equally ignorant with themselves.

July 18.—At 6 A.M. I departed from the Spread Eagle, crossed the Schuylkill and arrived at Col. Farmer's on Second Street, in Philadelphia, where I was kindly entertained until the 21st.

July 21.—At 7 A.M. I proceeded through Frankford, Bristol and Trenton to Stony Brook, where I remained until the 28th.

July 28.—I left Stony Brook at 9 A.M., passed Rocky Hill, Somerset Court House, Steel's Tavern and Baskenridge and reached the house of Jonathan Stile, where leaving my hackney, I returned two miles and took quarters.

July 29.—Continued my march through Vealtown, the Cross Roads, the Whitehouse, and Ringo's Tavern, to the house of Mr. Large in Amwell, where I nighted.

July 30.—I rejoined the regiment at Coryell's ferry.

July 31.—We passed Bogart's Tavern and camped at the Cross Roads in Warwick township [Bucks County, Pennsylvania] at 7 P.M.

August 1.—At 3 A.M. the General beat; tents were struck and at 6 A.M. we marched, proceeding thro' the Crooked Billet reached Germantown at 6 P.M., on the plains of which we encamped. Our encampment was very beautiful.

August 8.—The largest collection of young ladies I almost ever beheld came to camp. They marched in three columns. The field officers paraded the rest of the officers and detached scouting parties to prevent being surrounded by them. For my part being sent on scout, I at last sighted the ladies and gave them to know that they must repair to headquarters, upon which they accompanied me as prisoners. But on parading them at the Colonels marquee, they were dismissed after we treated them with a double bowl of Sangaree.

August 8.—We received orders to hold ourselves in readi-

ness to pass a grand review at 10 A.M., upon which we all got into uniform, with our hair dressed and powdered. At noon His Excellency Gen. Washington with a number of General officers passed us; we received them with a General salute, both officers and soldiers, when we were afterwards ordered to our encampment.¹ At 4 P.M. we marched from the plains and proceeded thro' Germantown to White Marsh, where we encamped.

August 9.—Early we marched into Upper Dublin township where we encamped. I am considerably indisposed and our camp is indifferent.

August 10.—At dawn the General beat, when all tents were struck. We marched N.N.E., passed Wells's tavern, then S.S.E. to the Crooked Billet, then N.W., and reached the Cross Roads [Hartsville], where we encamped at 6 P.M.

August 16.—

Since we came here for to encamp, Our mornings have been very damp. But at noonday excessive warm, And like to do us all great harm.

August 23.—At 3 A.M. we marched from camp at Cross Roads, passed the Crooked Billet, and proceeded to Stenton, near Germantown, where receiving orders to march thro' Philadelphia next day, we encamped. The night was wet and the camp disadvantageous.

August 24.—At 3 A.M. the General was beat, when all tents were struck, and at 4 o'clock we marched for Philadelphia. At 6 A.M. we entered Front street, passed down the same in sub-divisions to Chestnut street, when turning we proceeded to the Commons, thence over the Middle Ferry [Market street] on Schuylkill, to the heights of Derby, at 8 P.M. where we encamped. Many of the inhabitants are Tories and possessed of valuable estates.

August 25.—At 3 A.M. tents were struck, at 4 A.M. marched W.S.W. past Marcus Hook, and 2 P.M. encamped in Brandy-

¹ The Marquis de Lafayette witnessed this review, an account of which he also gives in his Memoirs.

wine Hundred, New Castle county, within 5 miles of Wilmington.

August 26.—At 4 A.M. we marched from our encampment to Brandywine Bridge, near Wilmington, when turning N.N.W. we proceeded a few miles and encamped near the east bank of the creek. Here I was ordered on Court Martial duty. Here we also learned, that the enemy had landed and were encamped at Iron Hill.

August 27.—Received orders this evening to march next day to White Clay Creek.

August 28.—We marched from our encampment at 4 A.M. and proceeding thro' Wilmington, Newport and the Rising Sun [Cecil County, Maryland], encamped in White Clay Creek Hundred, where we learned the enemy were near Newark and had driven in the Militia. Here we lay under arms, without tents or blankets, as the wagons were left in the rear. A detachment of 150 men were sent out from Gen. Weedon's brigade to observe the movements of the enemy. We expect a general attack to-morrow.

August 29.—At 3 A.M. we marched from White Clay Creek, proceeded N.E. a few miles up the Lancaster road, then turning marched to the heights of Newport, on Red Clay Creek, where we took post. Our scouting party returned with 14 regulars, prisoners. They gave us to understand that their army was not advancing, but that they intended shortly to attempt the conquest of Philadelphia. Our encampment here was exceedingly beautiful, and being chiefly surrounded by Whig inhabitants, was to us very agreeable.

September 2.—An express arrived at 6 A.M., with news that the enemy were advancing. We struck tents and marched to an advantageous height at the intersection of the roads leading to Newport and Wilmington, and remained under arms to 3 P.M., when we learned that the enemy had advanced to the heights near Christina Bridge and halted. Orders were issued to cook our provisions and to be ready to march at a moment's warning.

September 6.—This morning I was sent out to reconnoitre; proceeded to Newport, thence to the Artillery Park, and afterwards reached our advanced detachment, where I was informed that in the late skirmish three of our regiment were killed and one wounded. At evening returned to camp.

September 7.—Agreeably to General orders of the day, the officers' chests and heavy baggage were sent over Brandywine, and everything prepared for the expected attack tomorrow.

September 8.—At 3 A.M. the General was beat and all tents struck. All the regiments were paraded, the men properly formed with an officer at the head of every platoon, and after wheeling to the right, we remained under arms until 9 o'clock. Then the alarm guns were fired and the whole army drawn up in line of battle, on the east side of Red Clay Creek, with Gen. Greene's division to the right. Here we remained for some time, when Gen. Weedon's brigade (of which my regiment was a part), was detached to the front to bring on the attack. We crossed the creek and marched about a league to an eminence near Mr. McCannon's meeting house, and there awaited the approach of the enemy, who were within half a mile of us. They however, encamped, which occasioned us to remain under arms all night, the sentries keeping up a constant fire. One of our officers on picket, deserted his post and was immediately arrested.

September 9.—At 4 A.M. we received marching orders and proceeded E.N.E. to the Crooked Billet, on the great road from Wilmington to Lancaster; thence thro' Kennett township, Chester county, crossed the Brandywine and turning S.E. encamped in the township of Birmingham, being extremely fatigued for want of rest and severe marching.

September 10.—At noon the alarm guns were fired, and the army drawn up in the usual manner, and marched to a height near the Brandywine, where we took post. The enemy not appearing we posted strong pickets and remained all night in the woods.

September 11.—An attack was made at 7 A.M. on our scouting party, in which Capt. Marshall was wounded. We all

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paraded near Chadds Ford, and had a heavy cannonade followed by small arms on both sides, but not much execution done owing to the distance. However, this proved to be but a feint, while the enemy's Grand Army marched up the west side of Brandywine and crossed at Birmingham Meeting house. Gen. Sullivan's division was detached in front to bring on the attack. Both parties met at 4 P.M., when a heavy engagement commenced, which continued about an hour, when our troops being overpowered in numbers were obliged to give way, at which time we were marched to their aid. We took the front and attacked the enemy at 5.30 P.M., and being engaged with their grand army, we at first were obliged to retreat a few yards and formed in an open field, when we fought without giving way on either side until dark. Our ammunition almost expended, firing ceased on both sides, when we received orders to proceed to Chester. We marched all night until we neared the town, when we halted, but not to sleep. This day for a severe and successive engagement exceeded all I ever saw. Our regiment fought at one stand about an hour under incessant fire, and yet the loss was less than at Long Island; neither were we so near each other as at Princeton, our common distance being about 50 yards. And thus happened the battle of Brandywine, in Chester county; the loss on either side not properly authenticated.

September 12.—At 4 A.M. we proceeded thro' Chester, later to Derby, and encamped near Schuylkill bridge at 9 o'clock.

September 13.—At sunrise we crossed Schuylkill bridge and turning to the left to avoid the city, proceeded to the Falls of Schuylkill and at 11 A.M. reached the site of our former encampment, near Germantown, where we encamped and put up our tents, which we have been without for a week.

September 14.—At 9 A.M. we marched from camp near Germantown, N.N.W. for a few miles, up the great road from Philadelphia to Reading, then turning W.S.W., we crossed the Schuylkill in the centre between Philadelphia and Swedes Ford, 8 miles from each. We reached the great road to Lancaster, at Merion Meeting house, and proceeded up that road, when we encamped in an open field, being denied every desirable refreshment.

September 15.—At 6 A.M. we marched to the Sorrel Horse, the Spread Eagle and to Paoli, where we encamped.

September 16.—Intelligence reached camp at 1 P.M., that the enemy were on the march for Swedes Ford, whereupon we proceeded a mile up the road and turning took post on a hill, by which time an attack commenced between our scouting party and that of the enemy. The day being extremely wet the enemy declined to advance. At 3 o'clock we received marching orders and halted at 2 A.M., but remained under arms until daybreak. The rain fell in torrents for eighteen hours. This march for excessive fatigue, surpassed all I ever experienced.

September 17.—At noon we marched to the Yellow Springs and encamped in the woods.

> I then thought were I but at Maidenhead, I would be treated to a warm bed— But whilst in camp, the wood must be my shade, And ready be to any alarm that's made. Whilst I my sword must gird around my thigh, And fight courageous when the enemy's nigh— Leaving to Providence to consumate What is recorded in the Book of Fate.

September 18.—We marched from the Yellow Springs at 4 A.M.; passed Warwick Furnace and encamped at Reading Furnace.

September 19.—At dawn, broke camp and crossed the Schuylkill at 2 P.M., at Parker's Ford [Lawrenceville], where we had to strip to wade. Reached the great road to Reading, passed the Trappe, crossed the Perkiomen, on the eastern bank of which we encamped. Through false alarms we got no rest, tho' after such fatigue rest would have been very agreeable.

September 20.—At 4 A.M. marched from the Perkiomen, proceeded down the great road, crossed the Skippack, and thence to Pauling's Ford, in Providence township, where we encamped. We had a fair view of the enemy's encampment, being only separated from us by the Schuylkill and a small hill.

September 21.—At 3 P.M. we marched to the Ridge Road, where we halted 'till 9, crossed the Perkiomen and Skippack, passed the Trappe and encamped near Pottsgrove.

September 26.—We left camp at Pottsgrove at 9 A.M. for Pennybecker's Mill [now Schwenksville] where we encamped.

Just when we came unto our camp, an army did appear, They were on an adjacent hill which was to us quite near, They travers'd all the hill about, as tho' we were their foes And seem'd quite uneasy the secret to disclose. But we with mirth and jolity did seat ourselves to rest Upon the hill right opposite, tho' they seem'd quite distress'd. Then taking Carnaghan's canteen, which had in it some rum, We took to us a little draught, my rhyme to end did come.

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September 28.—In consequence of the good news received from our army in the North [battle of Bemis Heights, New York], we were all paraded, and a salute of 13 guns was fired by our park of artillery, with three huzzas.

September 29.—At 10 A.M. we marched from Pennybecker's Mill to the Methodist [Mennonite] meeting house, where we remained several days.

October 3.—Early this morning orders were issued for the troops to be furnished with two days cooked provisions, and each man served with forty rounds of ammunition. At noon the sick were sent to Bethlehem, which indicates that a sudden attack is intended. At 6 P.M. the whole army marched, with Gen. Greene's division in the advance. We passed White Marsh meeting house, when Major J. Murray, Capt. [John] Nice and I were ordered at the head of 80 men to feel their advance pickets, and if we conveniently could, to attack them. Owing to the picket being within a mile of their main body, we were unsuccessful, and rejoined our regiment at daybreak.

October 4.-At 5 after 5 o'clock the attack began from right

to left. We drove the enemy for near 3 miles with the utmost precipitation, but the Maryland militia under the command of Gen. Smallwood, not coming to flank us in proper time, together with the cowardice of the 13th Virginia regiment, gave the enemy an opportunity of coming round our left flank. When their main body attacked our left, we advanced into a field and put every party to retreat that attacked us in front; but by this time we sustained a fire from front, left and part to the rear, when Gen. Stephen ordered Col. Stewart to evacuate the ground from the right of subdivisions by files. It was disagreeable to have to leave the field, when we had almost made a conquest, if the Virginians had stood to our aid. Agreeably to orders, we retreated regularly a short distance, but the enemy taking a different route, we were obliged to march the road from whence we came, in order to head them, but did not fall in with any part of them afterwards. We then marched up the Skippack road to Pennybecker's Mill, where we betook ourselves to rest at 9 P.M. Thus happened the memorable event of the battle of Germantown, in which great numbers were killed on both sides, and which lasted from 5 till 10 o'clock. That of Brandywine, was not in any measure such a general attack, neither was the loss at that place any way equivalent. I had previously undergone many fatigues, but never any that so much overdone me as this. Had it not been for the fear of being taken prisoner, I should have remained on the road all night. I had marched in twentyfour hours 45 miles, and in that time fought four hours, during which we advanced so furiously thro' buckwheat fields, that it was almost an unspeakable fatigue.

October 5.—Today changed our encampment to the west bank of the Perkiomen.

I then said, I had seen another battle o'er

And it exceeded all I ever saw before,

Yet thro' the danger I escap'd without receiving harm And providentially got safe through firing that was warm, But to my grief tho' I fought sore, yet we had to retreat Because the cowardice of those on our left was great.

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October 8.—At 8 A.M. we marched from our camp, passed Pennybecker's Mill and along the Skippack road, then turning N.N.E., we crossed the North Wales road and proceeded to the road leading to Bethlehem, on which we encamped, in the township of Towamensing, 26 miles from Philadelphia, where we remained some days.

October 16.—At 7 A.M. we marched from Towamensing to the intersection of the roads to North Wales and Bethlehem, then turning S.S.W. we proceeded to our former encampment near the Methodist [Mennonite] meetinghouse, adjacent to which, we formed a camp.

October 17.—At 4 A.M. the 13th Pennsylvania, with the 2d and 5th Virginia regiments marched to White Marsh Church, where we built large fires and returned to our camp.

October 18.—This day the agreeable news from the northward arrived at camp, that our army under Gen. Gates had obliged Gen. Burgoyne with his whole army to surrender as prisoners of war, upon which His Excellency Gen. Washington ordered the whole army to be paraded at 3 P.M. when a feu de joy with blank cartridges, followed by three huzzas was performed by the whole army, superintended by the Major General and Brigadier of the day.

October 20.—At 4 A.M. we marched from camp near the Methodist meetinghouse and proceeded to Upper Dublin [township] and there received orders to pitch tents. Here we remained 'till evening when we were ordered to the Broad Axe, thence past Plymouth and Barren Hill meeting houses, but the night growing excessive wet a council of war thought it expedient for us to return to our encampment, where we arrived at daybreak, after marching 30 miles.

October 22.—At 9 o'clock at night we marched and proceeding past White Marsh church, through Flowertown, Beggarstown, and Germantown, halted at the Rising Sun [Nicetown] it then being daybreak.

October 23.—We remained between the Rising Sun and Three Mile run, until 9 o'clock, waiting until Gen. McDougal would attack the enemy at Schuylkill, but they having evacuated their post, we had to return to our encampment.

November 2.—We marched from Upper Dublin and took post at White Marsh, where we erected abatis in front of our encampment.

> By Tories we were now surrounded Either when marching or retreating But Tories still are pusilanimous And can't encounter men magnanimous. We made us merry at their expense While they wish'd we were all gone hence. These were the people called Quakers Who in war would not be partakers. To Liberty's Sons this seem'd but light We still allow'd that we could fight.

November 11.—

The weather now began to cover with snow The Earth; likewise the wind N.W. did blow, Whilst our abode was only in our tents, Where we remained during what events Might here occur, whether of joy or grief— And to attack the enemy was our sole relief.

November 20.—At 8 A.M. we marched from White Marsh, passed Abingdon, we crossed the Neshaminy to Kucklestown, on the heighths of which we encamped.

November 21.—We marched from Kucklestown at 8 A.M., and proceeded past a small town called Four Lanes End, thence to Bristol, when we crossed the Delaware to Burlington, where we arrived at 2 P.M.

November 22.—At 10 A.M. we marched from Burlington to the heighths of Mount Holly, where we took post.

November 26.—Having received word that Gen. Cornwallis with 4000 men were ravaging the county of Gloucester, at 1 A.M. marched to Moorestown and thence to Haddonfield, near which we halted until evening. We learned that the enemy had retreated to Philadelphia, after taking a large quantity of live stock with them. We returned to our encampment at midnight, after a fatiguing march.

November 27.-We left Mount Holly, proceeded to Bur-

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lington and crossed the Delaware to Bristol, near which we encamped in the woods, without tents.

November 28.—At daybreak left Bristol, passed thro' Four Lanes End, over Neshaminy bridge, passed Southampton Meeting house and Abingdon and reached White Marsh at 8 P.M.

December 5.—At 2 A.M. the alarm guns were fired, when we paraded, marched to and man'd the lines. The enemy marched thro' Germantown, Beggarstown, Flowertown, and took post on Chestnut Hill. At 8 A.M. a detachment of Militia, under Gen. Potter were ordered to skirmish with them, in which both sides met with loss. The enemy encamped while our Grand Army remained at the lines. Our baggage, including tents, were sent to the Trappe. The weather was excessive cold.

December 7.—We man'd the lines at 5 A.M.; at 8 o'clock the alarm guns fired, when we discovered the enemy advancing. The riflemen under Col. Morgan were detached to skirmish with them. Their intention seemed to come around our left flank, but could not effect their design; they then went into camp. The sentries kept up a fire all night and everything presaged a general attack in the morning.

December 8.—We stood at arms at 5 A.M., expecting a general engagement, but contrary to our expectation we passed the day at the lines undisturbed 'till 11 o'clock at night, when a regiment from each brigade were ordered to attack at daybreak.

December 9.—We marched to Chestnut Hill, but hearing the enemy had returned to Philadelphia, we returned to our encampment.

December 11.—At 3 A.M. we struck tents, passed White Marsh Church, and on to the upper bridge over the Schuylkill, when the enemy having crossed at the Middle Ferry, attacked a party of Militia under Gen. Potter. The loss was inconsiderable on both sides. We then turned W.N.W. and proceeded thro' Hickorytown and encamped near Swedes Ford. December 12.—At 6 P.M. we marched to the bridge [made of wagons], which we crossed in Indian file, and at 3 A.M. encamped near the Gulph [Mill], where we remained without tents or blankets in the midst of a severe snow storm.

December 19.—At 10 A.M. we marched from the Gulph and took post near the Valley Forge, where our ground was laid out for cantonments.¹

1778.

January 8.—I departed from Swedes Ford, and at 10 A.M. arrived at camp near the Valley Forge, where I was a welcome guest to the officers and soldiers of the 13th Penna. Reg^t. Here I began to assist in building a hut for the winter quarters of Capt. Robert Gray, Mr. Garman and myself.

January 14.—At the request of Colonel Stewart, the officers of the regiment were summoned to dine with him, where we passed the day in civil jolity. In this manner several days were spent, passing by a rotation from the senior to the junior officers. Thus and in many other desirable enjoyments we passed some part of the Winter campaign, making ourselves as happy as circumstances would possibly admit. While confined to the camp, we passed many hours in recreation, viewing the environs thereof and surveyed the most advantageous posts in case of an attack.

February 8.—At 6 o'clock P.M. Capt. John Speer made his exit to the Eternal World, after an indisposition of two weeks. He was a gentleman possessed not only of a patriotic spirit, but also of a large degree of fortitude, and yet after escaping in many dangerous engagements, he at last died of an Intermittent Fever in the 27th year of his age. His remains were interred in Upper Merion, with all the honors of war, accompanied by a great number of officers of Gen. Greene's division.

March 15.—I this morning proceeded to the grand parade, where I was a spectator to the drumming out of Lieut.

¹ Between December 22, 1777, and January 8, 1778, Lieutenant McMichael obtained leave of absence to visit his family.

Enslin of Col. Malcom's regiment. He was first drum'd from right to left of the parade, thence to the left wing of the army; from that to the centre, and lastly transported over the Schuylkill with orders never to be seen in Camp in the future. This shocking scene was performed by all the drums and fifes in the army—the coat of the delinquent was turned wrong side out.

March 20.—To us who had built ourselves a city on the banks of the Schuylkill, the return of Spring brought thoughts of happiness, which we should have enjoyed more fully, were Philadelphia again in our possession. We rely on the prudence and military skill of our worthy General, to accomplish this.

April 30.—This day with most of the officers of Gen. Greene's division I accompanied the corpse of Lieut. Green to Upper Merion, where it was interred with the honors of war. He was a gentleman of an amiable disposition, who unfortunately was mortally wounded in a duel with Lieut. White.

May 1.—Having now an opportunity I thought proper to send part of my superfluous baggage and some of my books to Jersey [the journal from which this copy is made being of the number].

> Farewell my Journal, we must part Which contains some nature but no art— The companion of my sore fatigues Throughout the war, but not intrigues; Therefore adieu my ambiguous book, May you be pleasing to those who in you look.

May 6.—Agreeably to General Orders of yesterday, we paraded at 9 A.M., when a suitable discourse was delivered to each brigade by the Chaplains. At 10 A.M. there was a signal given by the discharge of a field piece from the Artillery Park, for the whole army to load and ground arms. At half after eleven, a similar signal was given, upon which we immediately marched to our alarm posts, where the Commander in Chief reviewed us, beginning at the right of the front line and proceeding to the left, then turning to the left of the rear line he passed along to the right. Attended by all of his aids and guards, he then took post upon an eminence to the right in rear. Immediately afterwards a signal was given for the commencement of the feu de joy, when a discharge of 13 pieces of cannon followed by a running fire of the Infantry from right to left of the front line and continuing to the left with a like discharge from left to right of the rear, were performed. Then a signal for three cheers. This was followed by a discharge of 13 pieces of artillery, with the same ceremonies as in the former fire. We afterwards returned by brigades to our encampment, when all the officers in general were desired to dine with his Excellency Gen¹ Washington, and spent the afternoon enjoying all desirable mirth and jolity. Many patriotic toasts were drank, and at evening we all returned to our quarters.¹

¹ This inspection and review was to celebrate the treaty of alliance between France and the United States, which was signed February 6.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF JACOB HILTZ-HEIMER, OF PHILADELPHIA, 1768–1798.

(Continued from page 102.)

1781.

September 9.—Col. James Thompson went off to Head of Elk with horses for the French army.

September 24.—Today 2500 French troops came to town, and as many yesterday—among them 300 horsemen—and encamped on the Commons on east side of Schuylkill.

October 22.—Early this morning an express brought the news that Lord Cornwallis had on 17th inst. surrendered with his whole army to Gen. Washington.

October 24.—The city was illuminated in honor of Cornwallis's surrender, but am sorry to have to add, that many doors and windows have been destroyed by a set of people who have no name.

October 25.—Fireworks in the State house yard this evening.

November 3.—This afternoon the British colors, twenty four in number, taken from Lord Cornwallis were brought to Schuylkill by Col. Humphreys, aid to his Excellency, and from there brought to town by our Light horse, Capt. Morris, and delivered to President M^oKean of Congress in the State House. At night the French Ambassador's house was illuminated to a great degree.

November 7.—In the afternoon went with Tench Francis and William Gray to look at the oxen Francis brought the money with from Boston—14 teams, 56 in number.

November 13.—One of the three spies arrested last Wednesday night in this city was to-day executed on the Commons. Edison, one of the three, confessed their design to rob the office of Secretary of Congress of such papers as might be of use to the enemy. Edison was formerly a clerk in the Office.

December 3.—Met Gen. Mifflin on Chestnut street—we called to see D^r Adam Kuhn, who lately arrived with his family from Edenton, North Carolina.

December 6.—I inspected two brigades of teams from Bucks county, for the use of the French army.

December 19.—My son Robert returned from a hunt at Frankford, and reports that Gen. Washington was there.

1782.

January 2.—Attended a meeting of the German Society; General Baron Steuben was elected a member.

January 23.—Timothy Matlack breakfasted with me and explained the manner in which the business of the Bank recently established is transacted, and the first of their notes issued bearing date the present month.¹

March 12.—Gen. Knox and Gouverneur Morris set out for Elizabethtown.

March 22.—The Commander in Chief set out for the Eastward; he has been in town since November 26th last.

March 27.—Went to the Indian Queen tavern, coming home stopped at William Sheaf's store owing to the heavy rain. While there three sharp claps of thunder startled me, and when I reached home was told that Governor Dickinson's house occupied by the French Minister was struck by lightning and one man almost burned to death.

March 29.—Col. Pickering, Quarter Master General, breakfasted with me.

June 30.—In the forenoon went to Church [German Reformed], there saw the Hon. Gen. Lincoln, Secretary of War. I mention this because I do not know whether he understands the German language or whether he attended out of curiosity.

July 14.—Gen. Washington from the North and the commander of the French army, from the South, came to town.

¹ The Bank of North America. Vol. XVI.—11

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July 15.—Tonight fireworks were exhibited and several hundred lamps lit on the square between Sixth and Seventh streets, opposite to the French Minister's house, in honor of the birth of the Dauphin.

July 22.—Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth breakfasted with me. Went up to D^r Smith's place [Falls of Schuylkill], thence to Col. Pickering's and Gen. Mifflin's and dined.

July 24.—His Excellency Gen. Washington left the city.

July 25.—Coming home from a ride with my wife, saw the burial of Major Galvan in the Potter's Field. He shot himself with two pistols last night, as did Capt. Charles Craig in Reading on 12th inst.

July 30.—Early this morning went to Front street to see Gen. Lincoln and Col. Samuel Hodgdon set off for Carlisle.

September 2.—Dined with Gen. Mifflin [at Angelica farm, near Reading], with Gen. St. Clair, Samuel Potts, John Patton, Alexander Gordon, Collinson Read, D^r Bond, D^r Wilson, George Ege and others.

October 4.—Gen. Lee, late of our army and just from his farm in Virginia, was today buried in Christ Church yard.

November 1.—Went five miles up the Lancaster road with the Hon. D^r Jones delegate to Congress from Georgia, who is on his way home, from which he has been absent nearly four years.

• November 7.—To-day at noon at the Court House steps John Dickinson Esq. was proclaimed president of this State.

December 5.—In the afternoon Gen. Lincoln drove with me to my meadow to look at my brindle heifer. We met William Jones and together went to the sign of the Buck, where we had a pint of wine.

December 17.—In the morning called to see Gen. Lincoln, who is setting out to see his family near Boston.

December 23.—This morning the last of the French legions left—they came from Burlington and are going to quarter in Delaware.

December 30.—Summoned on the Grand Jury at the State House. In the afternoon we were sworn in and then proceeded to the White Horse, in Elbow Lane. The following gentlemen compose the jury: Zebulon Potts, foreman, William Bingham, Samuel Caldwell, Robert Hare, Capt. Davis, William Turnbull, Reuben Haines, John Shee, Jacob Bright, Samuel Wheeler, Caleb Emlen, Jacob Barge, Col. N. Knox, Capt. Ord, David McCullough, Derrick Ritterson, John Pringle, John Harrison and myself.

1783.

January 1.—Jury met at the White Horse. Considered the bill against Oswald, the printer, for publishing a libel in his Gazetteer of September 28, 1782. Examined the following witnesses: William Bradford Esq., Francis Nicholas, Dr. Gardner, William Harris, James Wilson Esq., and Mr. Van Ort. Yesterday we heard John Reynolds, Edward Burd, Michael Hillegas, William Lewis Esq., William Blair, Jared Ingersoll, and Moses Levy. After debating the bill, it was ignoramused, 16 to 3.

January 3.—The jury met. Another bill of indictment was sent us against Oswald, for printing a libel in his Gazetteer of October 1, 1782, which was likewise ignoramused, 17 to 2. In the evening we took our bills to the Court House, where we received from Chief Justice McKean, who had on his right Justice Bryan, a reprimand for not admitting the evidence sent by the Court to support the bills against Oswald, and several other charges against the jury, as may be seen in the jury's memorial in Hall & Seller's Gazette of January 8th and Oswald's Gazetteer of January 11th. The Chief Justice handed back to our foreman the bills for reconsideration.

January 4.—The jury debated a little about the bills returned by the Court and agreed that they be taken back without change.

January 6.—Met the jury. Attorney General Bradford returned to us the bill we gave in against the three Commissioners, together with one he had drawn himself, which he stated must be the form of a bill, but the jury disliked the form and drew up one more to their mind and intent. At the same time the jury agreed to a memorial to be handed to the Court, in consequence of the reprimand we received from the Chief Justice on Friday last. The memorial was signed by sixteen out of nineteen jurors.

January 7.—The jury took to the Court the bill against the Commissioners, likewise our memorial, which our foreman requested be read in Court. This was not done and the Chief Justice told us that the Court had no further business for us. We then returned to the tavern and paid our reckoning, \$7. each.

January 22.—At the Coffee House bought at public sale the one fourth part (nearest Eighth street), of the Congress stable.

February 13.—The British King's speech arrived in town, wherein he acknowledges the American states independent.

February 15.—Today Stackhouse, a white man, and two negroes were hung for robbing William Ball's house, on the banks of the Delaware.

March 13.—Today we received news by Capt. Barney, that the treaty between England and America was only provisional, until terms are agreed on between Great Britain and France.

March 24.—Yesterday arrived at this port the sloop Triumph, commanded by the Chevalier Duquesne, in 36 days from Cadiz, who brings the confirmation of a general peace.

April 9.—Capt. Rennet arrived here with dispatches from Sir Guy Carleton, informing Congress that the preliminary articles between the Kings of France and England were exchanged by their ministers the 3d of February last, and between the Kings of England and Spain the 9th of said month; and that from that day two months hostilities are to be at an end between England and America.

April 16.—Went to the Court House, where the city Magistrates appeared and caused William Will, Sheriff, to proclaim to the people at large, that all hostilities by sea and land are at an end between America and Great Britain.

April 19.—Examined 249 horses at Wilmington, belong-

ing to the French troops, at the request of Hon. John Holker.

April 29.—Called on the Hon. Mr. Holker and settled with him for keeping and selling several horses he purchased of the Duke who commanded the French Legion.

June 25.—Returning home from a drive with my two daughters, I found the Light Horse gentlemen of this city about my house and yard, prepared to protect Governor Dickinson from being insulted by a set of soldiers from Lancaster, who demanded their pay from Congress, and now of this State. This demand affronted Congress so much, that they agreed to sit at Princeton, and actually moved there yesterday and today.

July 4.—This being the memorable day on which Independence was declared, a triumphal car prepared by Mr. Mason, attended by a number of little boys and girls dressed in white, was seen in the streets of the city.

July 18.—Towards dusk took a ride with my wife, up the Germantown road to see the camp of about 1500 soldiers, who come from Gen. Washington's army.

July 24.—Thermometer $94\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ —it has not been so hot since 1769.

August 15.—In the afternoon with George Mifflin went to Bush Hill to the burial of James Hamilton, aged 72 years, who was interred a short distance from his house. Among seven or more clergymen present, was the Rev. William White, who performed the ceremony. After him Samuel Emlen, a Quaker spoke about fifteen minutes. He began: "I am not a bigot, nor sectarian." The last word was displeasing to some, but I believe the remainder of his discourse was well liked.

August 16.—Dined on turtle at Mrs. Matthews' with William Jones, Robert Erwin, Reynold Keen, Andrew Tybout, Joseph Rakestraw, John Biddle, Dr. Glentworth, Peter Z. Lloyd and James White.

September 8.—Called to see Gen. Mifflin, in Vine street, but found him too ill to be seen; and from there to Miles & Morgan's new sugar-house, now ready for the fifth floor.

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September 11.—After tea went to the Indian Queen to see the horses of Joseph Smith, who is concerned in a stage to New York, by which passengers are conveyed as far as Newark in one day and reach New York by breakfast next morning.

October 3.—Drove the Hon. Ralph Izard to the meadow, to show him my large breed of cattle.

October 17.—The ambassador from Holland, Mr. von Berckel, called to see two of his horses driven in my wagon.

November 4.—Loaned Mrs. Mifflin a horse for her servant to ride to Angelica farm [near Reading] to notify the General of his being appointed President of Congress.

November 5.—Was qualified by Isaac Howell to act as Street Commissioner.

November 11.—This evening arrived six baggage teams of Gen. Washington.

November 12.—Mr. Izard, with his horses and cows went on board ship for Charleston. His Excellency's baggage teams set out for Virginia.

November 22.—Dined with President Mifflin at his home, with James Reed, Col. Lutz, Mr. Lincoln, Col. Clement Biddle, Mrs. Mifflin, her two sisters, and others.

December 8.—Gen. Washington came to town from the North.

December 15.—The illustrious Gen. Washington, after commanding the army of the United States above eight years, having given the Americans possession of New York again, set out for his home in Virginia. He was escorted a little way out of town by His Excellency de la Luzerne, the French Ambassador, on his right, John Dickinson, president of the State on his left, and the City Troop of Horse in the rear. The Hon. Robert Morris and his lady in a carriage, led the advance. Now I think from present appearances it is not likely that I shall have the honor of seeing that great and good man again, do therefore most sincerely congratulate him on the noble resolution he has fixed, not to accept any public office hereafter, but to spend the remainder of his days in private life. This is undoubtedly the best and surest way to preserve the honors he so justly acquired during the late war.

December 20.—Went to Mr. Brown's school at the corner of Third and Vine streets to hear his scholars examined in English and French.

1784.

January 16.—Went in my sleigh with wife, son and daughter, over Delaware on the ice to Joseph Cooper's, but finding him not at home, we returned.

January 19.—Went down to Chestnut street and brought home my fire buckets. Was informed that Joseph Fox had a fall from his horse in the morning and was killed.

January 20.—Attended the burial of Joseph Fox; Arthur Howell, a Friend, spoke at the grave.

January 22.—Employed with the Commissioners in having Market street between Fifth and Sixth streets cleared of rubbish, to enable the people to see the triumphal arch. It was erected on Market a little above Sixth street, about forty feet high, with paintings done on the east side by Mr. Peale. The carpenter work was by Gunning Bedford. At dark just as they began to light the lamps, the painting took fire by accident and was consumed in a few minutes. On the top was a lot of rockets which exploded and killed one man. There was much confusion in the street and many persons were hurt by being thrown down and trampled on. Thus all the labor of six weeks, costing $\pounds 600$, was destroyed, and what was intended to give rejoicing on account of peace being concluded, turned into sorrow at least for this night.

March 15.—Rode to Ogden's ferry on Schuylkill. The ice broke in the night and swept away all the wooden buildings, the water being five feet on the first floor of the house. Mr. Ogden told me that two of his horses perished, and that one of his colts got into the house and up the stairs to the second floor and was saved. He had several boats fastened near the house and they were carried away, and he had to fire off guns at daylight to attract the people on shore to

168 Extracts from the Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer, 1768-1798.

bring a boat to take them off. During the night they expected every minute the ice would overset the house. I measured one piece of ice among others, between the house and the river and found it $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick.

March 20.—Sent my man with three horses up to the Hon. Robert Morris's country seat, to bring back the fire engine belonging to the Amicable Company, which was taken there yesterday, when the house was on fire.

March 24.—In the forenoon went with George Mifflin to his brother's place up the Schuylkill and called at the Fish house at the Falls [Fort St. David], where we saw large heaps of ice, not less than twenty feet high. If it had not been for several white oak trees, which broke the force of the ice, the house would have been carried away. We saw the water marks in the room, seven feet six inches above the floor.

May 1.—Went to Lawrence Seckel's place where a number of gentlemen dined on shad and beefsteaks. His Excellency Gen. Washington arrived here from Virginia.

May 19.—To-night fireworks were exhibited on Market street by Mr. Peale, in the place of those which miscarried at the same place on January 22d last.

May 20.—With Abraham Hunt of Trenton, called to see William Hamilton at Bush Hill.

June 9.—Abraham Hunt and Cyrus Griffin drank tea at my house.

June 13.—This afternoon saw the Free Quakers leave their meeting-house, corner Fifth and Arch streets—it was their first meeting.

July 23.—At Trenton. Breakfasted with Gen. P. Dickinson and found the workmen building a stone house at the end of his wooden one, about a mile out of town.

August 11.—This evening went with Col. John Shee in my chair to Joshua Fisher's place on Schuylkill to see Richard Bache.

August 15.—Returning from Church I saw people crowding about the new Free Quaker meeting house and on inquiry found that the remarkable Jemima Wilkinson, from New England, had preached. I remained and saw her come out, get into a chair and drive away. She had on a white hat, but no cap, with a white linen garment that covered her from her shoulders to feet.

November 24.—Attended the funeral of Andrew Hamilton, whose body was taken early this morning from town to Bush Hill. The Rev. William White performed the ceremony.

December 15.—Thomas Hutchins, just from the backwoods, who has been running the line between Virginia and Pennsylvania, drank tea with us.

1785.

January 5.—Attended the burial of the wife of D^{*} John Morgan, at St. Peters. I walked with George Mifflin; snowing at the time.

January 16.—Mr. Barge and a friend from Germany called to see me. From my house we were called by Mr. Dunlap into his, where we met Michael Hillegas. The bottles and glasses were not idle while we remained.

January 19.—Gen. Mifflin and his lady called at my house and informed me that he had purchased Mr. Graff's house on Market street for £2600.

March 6.—This afternoon attended the burial of Joseph Read. His body was taken from his house to the ground on Arch above Fifth street. He was President of this State about three years ago, and on his arrival from Europe, four weeks ago, was chosen member of Congress.

April 16.—Went out Vine street where I met the following gentlemen: David Rittenhouse, Turbot Francis, Matthew Clarkson, Nathan Sellers, S. Garrigues, Joseph Rakestraw and Hugh Roberts surveying and leveling the ground to the Schuylkill for a canal from said river to the Delaware.

April 23.—In the forenoon went to the State House yard to look at the rows of trees Samuel Vaughan is directing the planting of. Mr. Dean asked me to go up with him in one of the rooms in the State House to witness the printing of money by Bailey and his press.

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May 2.—Attended the anniversary of St. Tammany at David Beveridge's place over Schuylkill, late Reese Meredith's. A large number of gentlemen collected with tickets on their hats which cost 8/4, and afforded us plenty of victuals and drink. The first thing done, was the gentlemen formed a ring and chose James Read Esq. their Chief, Timothy Matlack his Secretary, and George Bryan, William Moore, Plunket Fleeson, Fred Phile, Gen. Daniel Hiester, Colonels Coates, Dean, Will, Boyd, Wade, Eyre, Proctor and J. Bayard Smith, the Chief's Council.

November 16.—Met Mr. Samuel Vaughan in Walnut street concerning the planting of a row of trees on said street from Fifth to Sixth street.

December 26.—Met with the German Society at the school house, and from there to Mr. Geiss's on Market street where we dined.

178**6**.

January 1.—Raw and cold. Had to dine with me Colonels Farmer, Will and Melcher and Mr. John Vaughan.

January 2.—Met at Carpenter's Hall, the Society for Promoting Agriculture. Present, Samuel Powell, James Wilson, Timothy Pickering, George Clymer, Isaac Melcher, Samuel Garrigues, Samuel Hodgdon, George Logan, Azariah Herton and myself.

January 16.—Went to State House in response to a summons from Joseph Cowperthwaite, Sheriff. The judges in their red robes were in their places. The jurymen were A. Markoe, Richard Bache, John Steinmetz, John Moylan, Mr. Donaldson, John Pringle, William Turnbull, Andrew Doz, George Emlen, Robert M^oKnight, Alexander Todd and myself. We determined two causes.

February 3.—Visited Col. Lewis Farmer, in Arch near Fifth street, where I drank punch and wine with a large number of gentlemen, who had called to congratulate him on his marriage last night.

February 7.—The Society of Agriculture met at Carpenter's Hall, eighteen members present. We agreed that a gold medal be given to Col. George Morgan, of New Jersey, for having the best farm-yard the Society has information of. This will be the first medal given by the Society.

February 25.—Col. Ephraim Blaine spent the evening at my house.

May 11.—My son Robert went for the first time in his uniform, to meet the Light Horse, Capt. S. Miles.

July 4.—Went to the Church on Race street to hear Major William Jackson's Oration delivered before the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati. In the afternoon accompanied Governor Samuel Morris to Fish House, on Isaac Warner's place, where we dined on Fish and beefsteaks with the following gentlemen : Gouverneur Morris, Tench Francis, John Lawrence, Richard Bache, John Wharton, Robert Roberts, William Gray, Robert Erwin Jr., Andrew Tybout, Joseph Rakestraw, George Clymer, Joseph Ogden Jr., Peter Brown, Samuel Wheeler, B. Scull, B. Hewes and others. Brought John Lawrence home with me in my chair.

October 11.—This morning about 2 o'clock a number of gentlemen came to my door and informed me that I was elected one of the Representatives for the city of Philadelphia.

October 14.—Went over Schuylkill to Isaac Warner's Fish House and dined with Richard Penn, Robert Morris, Gouverneur Morris, Samuel Morris, Tench Francis, Arthur St. Clair, F. Johnson, Capt. Barry, James Craig, Theodore Forrest, William Hall, John Baker, Samuel Nicholas, William Gray, Joseph Ogden Senr., Joseph Ogden Jr., Robert Roberts, Joseph Rakestraw, Israel Whelen, James White, John Patton and a number of others.

October 20.—At Trenton. Went with Abraham Hunt and wife and my wife to General P. Dickinson's where we drank tea with George Clymer and wife, old Mrs. Lambert, the widow Dagworthy, two Mrs. Cadwaladers, Mrs. de Kue and the General's family. He was sick and could not be present.

October 23.—Attended the Assembly for the first time. No quorum present, adjourned until tomorrow.

October 26.—A quorum present for the first time. Gen.

Mifflin elected Speaker, Peter Z. Lloyd, clerk, Jacob Shallus, assistant clerk and Nicholas Weaver, sergeant at arms.

November 7.—In the evening met at Carpenter's Hall the Society of Agriculture, where Mr. John Sellers produced a model of a bridge that is to be erected over Schuylkill and will cost £25,000. At the same time was exhibited a drill plough just from England that cost £19.

November 8.—John Coxe Esq. was appointed by Assembly the Law Officer, to attend Committees of the House to draw Laws and bills for them. [Mr. Coxe resigned December 26, 1786.]

November 23.—Attended at the State House. The bill of Rutter & Co. for £112. for making the coat of arms over the seat of Justice in the State House passed a second reading.

November 26.—Went to Church—had to dine with me Israel Whelen and his brother Townsend and Daniel Clymer.

November 28.—At 10 o'clock the House two and two set out for the residence of Peter Helm on Race Street [near Second], the lodgings of the late Samuel Atlee, late member for Lancaster, who died suddenly last Saturday, in the Street before he could reach his lodgings. The funeral proceeded to Christ Church, where the services were conducted by the Rev. Mr. Andrews. The corpse was buried in the Churchyard. Charles Biddle, vice president of the Executive Council attended with his associates; their President Benjamin Franklin was absent not being in health.

December 6.—Attended the Assembly. The order of the day was concerning the new road to be made from the Middle Ferry [Market Street] to Lancaster. The report was recommended.

December 8.—Dined with Israel Whelen in Market street near Fifth, and the following gentlemen: Messrs. Moore, Ralston, Willing, Evans and Townsend Whelen, members from Chester County to Assembly and Sam. Morris, William Govitt, William Hall, Mark Wilcox and Col. J. Hannam.

1787.

January 3.—My son William came from Trenton on the ice.

February 20.—After dinner went to General Mifflin's, from thence he and I called at Mr. Robert Morris's, when after taking a few glasses of wine, we went to the State House together. No quorum present.

March 22.—The bill which gives John Fitch the exclusive right for fourteen years to make and vend steamboats, was ordered to be engrossed.

May 13.—This evening His Excellency Gen. Washington arrived in the city from his seat in Virginia. The City Troop of horse received him at Gray's Ferry, the artillery fired a salute.

June 4.—In the evening my wife and I went to Market Street gate to see that great and good man General Washington. We had a full view of him and Major Jackson, who walked with him. The number of people who followed them was astonishing. They had been out to the field to view Capt. Sam. Miles with his Troop of Horse, the Light Infantry and Artillery.

June 17.—Mr. Robert Morris went with General Washington in his carriage to dine with Mr. John Ross over Schuylkill.

July 3.—Returning from a visit to my meadow before breakfast, with my daughter Hannah, we met His Excellency General Washington taking a ride on horseback, his coachman Giles, only with him.

July 17.—In the afternoon went with my wife, Mr. Matthew Clarkson, Mr. and Mrs. Barge to Mr. Gray's ferry, where we saw the great improvements made in the garden —summer houses and walks in the woods—and met General Washington with a number of gentlemen of the Federal Convention, who were spending the afternoon there.

July 27.—Gave the Hon. General Pinckney of South Carolina and a member of the Convention, a list of the best public houses on the road to Bethlehem, where he is going for a few days.

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July 28.—Visited Capt. Sam. Morris who has been confined to his house for five weeks with a bad cut in his right hand.

September 3.—Took my daughter Betsey to Mr. Pine's to instruct her in drawing.

September 4.—Gen. Mifflin and Capt. Dayton of Elizabethtown N.J., both members of the Convention, took breakfast with me.

September 5.—Took the Hon. Mr. Langdon a ride in my phaeton.

September 6.—In the afternoon went with the Hon. Mr. Langdon and Sherman in William Rush's carriage along the banks of the Schuylkill, drank punch, and then took a short ride around and home.

September 23.—With Townsend Whelen attended the funeral of Joseph Ogden Jr., who was shot through the leg last Thursday by the accidental discharge of his gun while in a boat with Benj. Scull. He was buried in Friends' ground.

October 3.—In the afternoon went to the Bettering House, east part, and dined with Edward Shippen Esq. and a large number of gentlemen, who were invited by George Gray, Hugh Roberts, and Peter Brown, County Commissioners, to celebrate the raising of the Court House at the corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets.

December 12.—Today our Convention adopted the Constitution of the United States—votes in its favor 46, against it 23—just ten days after the State of Delaware.

1788.

January 10.—Went to the burial of James Budden, from his house on Chestnut Street between Tenth and Eleventh streets, to the Church Burying ground on Arch Street. As he was a member of the City Troop of Horse, Capt. Miles, the company walked after the mourners.

January 17.—Went to Ogden's ferry, Schuylkill, and met Richard Humphreys, Nathan Gibson, James Bartram and Philip Price—Daniel Rundle not well enough to attend. We were named in order of Court dated December 11th last, to lay out a road on the course of Market Street, to begin on the west side of Schuylkill to the county line, to meet a road lately opened through Chester county. We proceeded with said course which struck Cobb's Creek, the county line, about ten feet north of which the present road crosses the road near John Sellers' mill. On our return we were invited by James Worrall to partake of a dinner he had provided for us, which was very acceptable. In addition to the jurors there were J. Ogden, John Sellers, Nathan Sellers, T. Harrison and — James. We reached the ferry about dark.

February 1.—Attended the funeral of Levi Hollingsworth's daughter who was drowned in Darby Creek, while crossing in a sleigh. I walked with Thomas Morris to the meeting house at Second and Market streets, where William Savery and Nicholas Waln spoke. The body was taken to Arch street ground. A great number attended.

February 13.—Daniel Rundle took a ride over Schuylkill with me to view the new road from Mr. Hamilton's to Cobb's Creek. We called to see John Sellers, with whom we dined.

February 27.—General Dickinson, Townsend Whelen and Timothy Matlack took tea with me.

March 2.—Went to Gen. Mifflin's at the Falls; crossed the Schuylkill on the ice and walked to Richard Peters' where we dined.

March 6.—The House went into Committee of the Whole, McLane in the chair. Edward Tilghman Esq. who is counsel for the City Wardens opposed the bill vesting the right of the Middle Ferry on Schuylkill to a company for building a permanent bridge over the river. He spoke near two hours and a half.

March 7.—Today Mr. Fisher counsel for the Bridge company spoke in its favor.

March 17.—A remarkably fine day for St. Patrick to come to town!

April 14.-Hon. James Wilson moved into my house

S.W. corner Seventh and Market streets, which he rents at \pounds 75. per year.

May 10.—Went to the stable of Mr. John Penn Jr. as requested and put a value on his pair of bay carriage horses and a sorrel saddle horse, £80. for the former and £35. for the latter. He told me that Mrs. Penn and he would set out for England in a few days, and that young John Penn started the 80th of last month. I met him and Mr. Physick at Bristol on their way to New York.

May 22.—Being told that the famous or "infamous" Jemima Wilkinson, as she is called in the newspapers, was to preach at the Centre House, Cunningham's Tavern, near Schuylkill, went there and in a back room, where formerly stood a Billiard table, I saw and heard her. From common report I expected to hear something out of the way in doctrine, which was not the case, in fact heard nothing but what is common among preachers, and commendable. Her speech was much in the New England dialect. She appears to be about twenty five years of age; her head is dressed like that of a man and she has the look of one; her shirt is buttoned close under her chin and sleeves close to the waist, with a black gown, such as Church ministers wear, from her shoulders down to her feet.

June 4.—Took James Wilson Esq. in my chair to Gen. Mifflin's at the Falls, where we breakfasted with J. F. Mifflin, Dr. J. Redman, Capt. Zeigler, and an English gentleman on his travels. At 2 o'clock dined with Capt. Falkner, Gen. Mifflin, Capt. Sam. Morris, Charles Biddle, Josiah Hewes, and William Hall.

September 15.—Attended the Assembly. In the afternoon took Richard Peters home in my chair, he not having a horse in town and being anxious to see his children several of whom have the Whooping Cough.

October 4.—It was three o'clock when the House adjourned, occasioned by the long debates between Mr. Lewis, Mr. Peters and Mr. Findley, concerning Oswald's charges against the Judges.

November 4.—Had to breakfast with me Major William

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Macpherson and J. Salter; afterwards Mr. Speaker Peters and Gen. Mifflin came in, when all of us went to the State House.

November 6.—A number of the members of the House went to Christ Church, where Bishop White read the service and Dr. Blackwell preached—this being the day of thanksgiving appointed by the Bishop.

November 28.—Our girls had a frolic with several young men at our house, His Excellency Gen. Mifflin at their head.

December 12.—Went to the City Tavern, where the city members of the Assembly met a committee of the Managers and Overseers of the Poor—the poor of the Northern Liberties to be separated from the city poor.

December 21.—Attended the funeral of Andrew Doz, who was buried at Fifth and Arch streets. I walked with Thomas Fitzsimons.

(To be continued.)

Vol. XVI.-12

JOHN CLAYPOOLE'S MEMORANDUM-BOOK.

CONTRIBUTED BY CHARLES FRANCIS JENKINS.

[John Claypoole was a son of William Claypoole, whose father, Nathaniel, was the son of James Claypoole the immigrant. William Claypoole is said to have been a tanner. After his marriage he removed from Philadelphia to Mount Holly, New Jersey, where John was born August 15, 1752. The family afterwards returned to Philadelphia. John Claypoole sailed from Philadelphia on board the "Luzerne," a privateer, in what capacity is not known; was captured by an English privateer and committed to Mill Prison. Shortly after his return, May 8, 1783, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Samuel and Rebecca (James) Griscom. She had been twice married, and was then the widow of Joseph Ashburn, who had recently died in Mill Prison. Her first husband was John Ross, an upholsterer, to which pursuit his widow added that of flag-making for the government, an occupation which she and her family carried on for many years. Betty Ross is said to have made the first American flag with stars and stripes. John and Elizabeth Claypoole lived in the little old house, still standing, No. 239 Arch Street, for three years after their marriage. They then removed to Second Street, above Dock, and afterwards to Front Street. For a number of years before his death, which occurred August 8, 1817, he suffered with paralysis. He was buried in the burying-ground of the Society of Free Quakers. of which body he was a member. Elizabeth Claypoole died January 30, 1836. They were the parents of five daughters,-Clarissa, Susanna, Rachel, Jane, and Harriet. The latter died young, the others married.

The little memorandum-book is such a one as might have belonged to a sailor, and have been successfully concealed about his person. Though somewhat torn and mutilated, there are still seventy pages remaining. It is bound in what was once a water-proof cover. After the death of John Claypoole, it was given by his widow to their daughter, Rachel Fletcher, and by her to the late William J. Canby, in whose family it is now preserved. As will be seen, the entries in the book are of a miscellaneous character. On the first few pages are given in brief the most important dates and incidents; turning over a few blank pages, the song and poem appear, followed by copies of letters giving a more detailed account of his adventures. The addresses are written in the back of the book.] was Brought here [Mill Prison]¹

On the 18th of October heard news of Earl Cornwallis^e being taken.

On the 25th of Nov⁷. had the above agreeable News Confirmed.²

On the 27th Capt. McCater taken out of prison and Carry⁴ to London.

On the 19th of Dec^r. 30 prisoners sent off in a Cartel exchang^d.

On the 14th of Feb. 1782 at Night Capt. Bennet Negus wounded by the centinel in attempting to make his escape.

In the Night of the 3^d of March M^r Joseph Ashburn departed this life after an illness of about a week which he bore with amazing fortitude & resignation.

March 31st Henry Laurens Esq^r visited us and on the 2^d of April Capt. Kemp, Tindal &c, made their Escape from Prison.

April the 29th Had an Addition of half a pound of bread to our Daily Allowance.

June the 20th we were visited by his Grace the Duke of Richmond, Gen¹. Conway &c.

 22^{d} took leave of Mill prison marched to Catwater and embark^d on board a Cartel Ship call^d the Symmetry, and on 23^{d} got under weigh and stood out to sea with a fine breeze at N. E., with 216 prisoners on Board on $\frac{2}{3}^{d_{0}}$ allowance of Provision Bound for Phil^a but finding our allowance too small and hearing there was plenty on board, we on the 1^{ab} of July, insisted on having it augmented to full allowance.^{ab}

¹ For an account of life in Mill Prison during the time of John Claypoole's imprisonment, see "Andrew Sherburne's Memoirs." Charles Herbert's "Relics of the Revolution" gives a full and interesting description of life there at an earlier period.

³ Cornwallis surrendered October 19, 1781. The news reached London by way of Falmouth at noon of November 25, and by way of Dover, from France, a few hours later. The information is said to have been smuggled into Mill Prison by means of a newspaper concealed in a loaf of bread.

³ A similar outbreak for the same cause and with a like result occurred on board the "Lady's Adventure," which sailed from Plymouth shortly before the "Symmetry," with about four hundred of the Marblehead and other New England prisoners. On the 7th of July made the Island of St Michals and on the 8th stood off and on while . . . the Captⁿ & a few of . . . went on shore . . . [page torn] . . .

On the 11th of August in the morning was chased by the Ship Gen¹ Washington who came up with us and spoke us. Same day made the land and came to anchor within Cape Henlopen.

On the morning of the 12th . . . [torn] . . . the Bay . . . [torn] . . .

On the 2⁴ of September off Cape Henlopen fell in with and took a Schooner call⁴ the Lady Washington bound to new york a prize to the revenge Privateer, she had formerly belong⁴ to Baltimore and had been 5 days in the enemy⁴ possession when we fell in with her.

A NEW SONG ON THE PRINCES ROYALS LOSING HER SHOE ON THE BIRTH NIGHT BALL.¹

Tune of Doodle Doodle Doo.

Twas at the birth night Ball Sir God Bless our gracious Queen where people great and small Sir were on a footing seen As down the dance with heels from france A Royal couple flew Tho well she trip⁴, the lady Slip⁴, and off she cast her shoe Doodle Doodle Doo the Princes lost her shoe her Highness Hoop⁴ the fidlers stop⁴ Not knowing what to do.

Amazed at such a pause Sir the dancers to a man Eagre to hear the cause Sir around the Princes ran Lord Hertford too like lightning flew and tho unus⁴ to truckel laid down his wand and lent a hand The Royal Shoe to Buckel Doodle Dood Doo &c.

¹ Author unknown.

The Vestal maids of Honnour attentive to their duty all crowded close upon her the Prince survey⁴ their Beauty Admired their Zeal for partners heel But told em he conceiv⁴ tho, some fals steps maid Demiress this soon might be retreiv⁴ Doodle, Doodle, Doo &c.

The Princes soon was shod sir and soon the dance went on tis said some Guardain God sir came down to get it done Perhaps tis true old England too might dance from night till noon if ships of state amoung the great were mended half so soon Doodle Doodle Doo Egad tis verry true or late or soon there out of tune And know not what to do. Finis.

AN AMERICAN ANTHEM.¹

Let Tyrants shake their Iron Rod and Slavery clank her galling chains we fear them not we trust in God New Englands God forever Reigns

How and Burgoyne & Clinton too with Prescot and Cornwallis join^d, together Plot our overthrow in one infernal League combin^d.

When God inspir⁴ us for the fight their ranks were broke their lines were Fors⁴, their ships were scatter⁴ in our sight or swiftly driven from our Coast

The Foe comes on with haughty stride our troops advance with martial Noise their vetterans fly before our youth and Generals yeild to beardless Boys

¹ Author unknown.

John Claypoole's Memorandum-Book.

What gratefull offerings should we bring What shall we render to the Lord Loud Hallallujahs let us Sing And Praise his Name on Every Chord

PORT L'ORIENT the 20th of March 1781.

MY DEAR AND WORTHY FRIEND, -According to my promise, I now intend letting you know every thing worthy of note which has happen¹, to me during this voyage, as far as I have as yet proceeded on it, You may remember that in Oct^r last I ship^d, On board the Luzerne a letter of Marque of 18, 6 pounders bound for France, we were detain⁴ by contrary winds &c in the Delaware so long as the 7th of Nov^r, When we set sail we had at first a fine wind which lasted a few days and we had every appearance of a short passage but the wind shifting before we reach^d our desir^d port our passage proved verry tedious, In the course of which time one of our Ships company named Peter Bartlet, was taken sick, he being an old man and not able any longer to endure the verry great Hardships to which he was daily expos^d, he took his exit on the 25th of Decr, and we buryd, him as decent as our situation would admit, by sewing him up in a spare Hammock and tying some shot to his Heels and Heaving him Overboard, We arived at this port on the 1" of Jan'y 1781, we immediately set about discharging our Cargo which consisted of 275 hogsheds of Tobacco Besides some other articles, after we had done this and cleared our ships and overhauld our riging &c, we took in our homeward bound cargo consisting of salt and different kinds of Merchandize. This L'Orient is about half the size of Phil^{*}. it is a tolerable pleasant citty, and the Inhabitants in General seem to be a verry Industrious people and with all remarkably Polite and civel to strangers especially to Americans for whom they express the greatest Affection, since I have been here I have had a severe fit of sickness which had well nigh carry^d, me off the sod, In the time of my illness I lodged at the House of a Madam Lazaneck who treated me with such Mother like tenderness that I shall never forget it She

has 3 daughters who are verry amiable women and were likewise verry kind to me, Often siting for hours by my bedside and endeavouring to learn me to speak their Language in which I begin now to make tolerable progress, I am now recover⁴, and have got on board again and I expect we shall sail before long so that if we have luck I shall soon be after this letter. Commend me to all friends believe me to be your real friend and verry humble Servt

JN° CLAYPOOLE.

LENOX, COVE OF CORKE May 9th 1781.

DEAR SIR,—In my last letter to you I told you that I expected shortly to be at home, But you find I am disappointed and indeed I have met with so many disappointments in my time that I begin now to be tolerably well season⁴, to them.

We set sail from L'Orient on the 26th of March in company with 7 or 8 sail among which was the Lyon and the ann &c, we had a glorious breeze which lasted us for 7 or 8 days about which time the Lyon parted with us and shap⁴ her cource for the west Indias.

On the 4th of April as we were Pleasantly sailing and pleasing our selves with prospect of soon being at home and enjoying the company of our friends all hands being in high spirits having each of us a good venture on board, but fortune that fickle jade Threw a Privateer in our way who soon made a Prize of us and with us shap⁴ her course for Ireland she was call⁴, The Enterprize commanded by a Thomas Eden and mounted 32 guns. She got safe into Ireland with her prize in company, and came to an Anchor in the River Shannon about 10 miles up, a number of our crew such as chose enter^d, on Board of her, the rest of us 37 in number were sent under guard and in Irons, (except 4 amongst which number was your hum Serv') to the town of Limerick, where we were close confined in a sort of coach house in the Barrack yard and allow^d, sixpence a day to subsist on. Here we found the Inhabitance verry civil to us, and a great number came to see us. After we had staid there about 8 days we were ordered to be march⁴, off to Kinsale about 72

John Claypoole's Memorandum-Book.

miles accordingly a Subaterans Guard of the 68th Reg^t, conducted us as far as Bruff where we were confin⁴, in a horse stable and next day deliver⁴, to another Guard who conducted us to Charleville, and next day to Mallow and from thence to Corke and then to Kinsale where the Prison keeper refused to receive us, except some frenchmen who were with us who were put into Prison, and we were crowded into a wretched sort of Guard house and kept two nights to lay on the wet ground which made several of us sick, we were then march^d, to the Cove of Cork and Put on board this Ship where we are allowed { the Quantity of Provision allow'd to the ships company, but by reason of a little money which I have yet left together with the civility of a few people I have met here I live tolerable considering, But as I had an opp'y of seeing a good deal of this Country as I march⁴, through it, I must here take notice to you the manner in which the Poor people live, which I cannot help calling Beastly. For upon the same floor and frequently without any partition are lodged the Husband & wife and the multitudinous brood of children all huddled together upon straw or rushes with the cow and the calf the pig & the horse if they are rich enough to have one. Their Houses are of several sorts, but the most common is the sod wall as they call it, By sods you are to understand the grassy surface of the earth. Some build their houses of mud, others use stone with mortar for two or three feet from the Ground and sod or mud for two or three feet above that their side walls being seldom above five or six feet high. Sometimes you may see an Ingenious builder avail himself of the side of a ditch, which serves for a side wall, and parallel thereto he rears a wall in one or other of the modes I have described as his own fancy the facility of the method or abundance of materials may lead him.

The only Solace these miserable mortals have is in matrimony acordingly they all marry young Most Girls are one way or another mothers at Sixteen and every house has Shoals of children. Not that I suppose women are by nature more prolific here than in America, yet their early Mar-

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riages and Necessary temperance furnish more frequent Instances of Fœcundity. Yet altho the poor live after such a wretched manner nothing can be more elegant than the manner in which the rich live another thing which surprised me as I traveled through this Country is the thousands of Ruined houses castles and villages which frequently take the Eye as you pass through this Country, occasion^d as I am told by the war of Ireland in Oliver Cromwells Days.

This Ship is a Guard ship of 74 Guns and has been on this Station near 3 years, here we are not oblig⁴, to do any duty yet every method is frequently used to induce us to enter into their service but they not yet prevail⁴, on any.¹

It is impossible for me to tell you when I shall be at home as it does not appear to me that there is any cartel coming here.

Adieu my Dear friend and depend on it you shall as often as possible hear from your real Friend & verry humble Servant

JN° CLAYPOOLE.

MILL PRISON the 1st of Sept' 1781

SIR,—The last letter I wrote you was from on board the lenox in the Cove of Cork, which Ship had orders to weigh Anchor which she did on the 21st of June and set sail for England in company with a fleet of near and hundred Sail, consisting of men of war, Frigates, Sloops of war Transports merchantmen &c, &c, &c, On the 25th of June cast anchor in Plymouth sound and on the 29th we pris,ners were

¹ On the efforts of the English to enlist the American sailors, Franklin, writing to David Hartley in 1779, says, "No cartel has yet appeared; and it is now evident that the delays have been of design, to give more opportunity of seducing the men by promises and hardships to seek their liberty in engaging against their country; for we learn from those who have escaped that there are persons continually employed in cajoling and menacing them; representing to them that we neglect them; that your government is willing to exchange them; and that it is our fault it is not done; that all the news from America is bad on their side; we shall be conquered and they will be hanged, if they do not accept the gracious offer of being pardoned on condition of serving the King, &c."—Diplomatic Correspondence. removed to a Guard ship call⁴, the Dunkirk laying in Harbor where we remain^d, till the 6th of July when myself with 9 others were carry^d, on shore at Plymouth Dock and carry⁴, before a Justice of the Peace who after having examined us one by one in a verry formal manner told us that we stood charg⁴, with High Treason¹ being found in arms and in open rebellion against his King upon the high Seas, for which crime as he term^d it we were to be committed to the Old Mill Prison, there to remain till his king should be graciously pleased to call our Tryal accordingly our mittemus, es were wrote and we were brought to this place where we have been now about 2 months and for aught I know shall be here 2 years, for I do not see any likely hood of our being exchang⁴, and it seems impossible to get out of this place with out the wretched alternative of entering into their Infernal service which however I find many are reduced to the Necessity of doing rather than stay to spend all their youthfull days in this hatefull confinement there is about 300 of us here and our number is daily increasing, the Provision we get here is $\frac{2}{3}$ of a pound of beef and a pound of coarse bread p^r day which however small we make shift to live on with the assistance of six pence a week which we are supply⁴, with from our own country.²

¹ Each American prisoner, though but a common sailor, was committed for high treason. "We were severally and individually committed to Old Mill prison, for rebellion, piracy and high treason on his Britannic majesty's high seas."—Andrew Sherburne's Memoirs.

^{*} A considerable amount of money and supplies was raised in England for the relief of the American prisoners. Franklin, writing November 5, 1781, to Thomas McKean, says, "The subscriptions for that purpose (the relief of the prisoners) in England have ceased. The allowance I have made them of six pence each per week during the summer, though small, amounts to a considerable sum; and during the winter I shall be obliged to double if not treble it." March 4, 1782, he writes, "The slender supply I have been able to afford of a shilling a week to each, for their greater comfort during the winter, amounts weekly to fifty pounds sterling. An exchange would make so many of our countrymen happy, add to our strength and diminish our expense. But our privateers who cruise in Europe will not be at the trouble of bringing in their prisoners and I have none to exchange for them."

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This Prison is situated about half a mile from the town of Plymouth on the side of a Hill so that we can see a good distance to sea the prison yard is about 70 or 80 yards square which serves us to walk in and many a Solitary hour do we saunter away in it.

There is a number of Printed rules hung up in the prison whereby we are to regulate our conduct and the punishment inflicted on us in case of Transgression is forty days confinement in the black hole¹ upon half allowance, notwithstanding which we verry often attempt to make our escape but there is so strict a guard kept over us that verry few effect it we have sent several petitions to the King of France, setting forth in moving terms our deplorable situation humbly praying his most christian Majesty to fall upon some method to get us reliev⁴, but I fear the British parliament are such a stiff-necked set of beings that they will not consent to let us go.

Yours &c &c &c

JN° CLAYPOOLE.

MILL PRISON May 20th 1782.

MY MUCH LOVED FRIEND,-By the date hereof you will perceive that I still continue in this Dreary Mansion, and will I doubt not think it a matter of surprize that I am not releas^d in so long a time.

Indeed I am unable to account for the great delay that has been made in forwarding an exchange of prisoners as the brittish Parliament has 3 months ago passed an act for that purpose.³ ever since which time I have been in daily

¹ The black hole was the guard-house. It was not below ground.

² "In consequence of a proposition I sent over, the Parliament of Britain have just passed an act for exchanging American prisoners. They have near eleven hundred in the jails of England and Ireland, all committed as charged with high treason. The act is to empower the king, notwithstanding such commitments, to consider them as prisoners of war, according to the law of nations, and exchange them as such. This seems to be giving up their pretensions of considering us as rebellious subjects, and is a kind of acknowledgment of our independence. Transports are now taking up, to carry back to their country the poor,

expectation of being releas⁴ and which was the reason why I omited writing to you. But least you should be uneasy for my wellfare, I embrace this opportunity of letting you know that I still continue to enjoy my health, which I think considering my situation is a little to be wonder⁴ at.

Our number is encreased to near seven hundred¹ and we are so much crowded that it begins to grow verry uncomfortable.

As I believe you were acquainted with Mr. Joseph Ashburn,³ I beg leave to inform you that he was brought to this prison in a short time after me, he died in the night of the 3^d of March after a illness of about 10 days which he bore with amazing fortitude retaining his sences till the last moment of his life.

I cannot omit mentioning to you an ugly accident that happen^d here about 8 months ago. A Capt^a Negus who had by some means got out of the gate and was making off was shot down by a centinel, but as his wound did not prove a mortal one he is now almost recover^d. It is a common practice with these rascals if any of us attempt to escape to fire on us and down with us at once. But Not-

¹ In 1781, Franklin estimated the number of American prisoners in England as upwards of eight hundred. March 4, 1782, there were said to be nearly a thousand, and at the time of the final exchange the number had increased to about eleven hundred. This included all the prisoners in England and Ireland. It will be seen from Claypoole's statement that by far the greatest number was confined in Mill Prison.

³ Joseph Ashburn was the second husband of Elizabeth Griscom, she having previously married John Ross. The story goes that Ashburn, while in Mill Prison, often talked with John Claypoole about his wife, Betty, and at his death sent farewell messages by him to her. Claypoole, on his arrival in Philadelphia, hastened to deliver these messages, and inside of eight months he married her.

Joseph Ashburn and Elizabeth Ross were married June 15, 1777. They had two children: Zillah, b. September 15, 1779; Eliza, b. February 25, 1781.

brave fellows, who have borne for years their cruel captivity, rather than serve our enemies, and an equal number of English are to be delivered up in return. I have, upon desire, furnished passports for the vessels."— Franklin to Jay, 24 April, 1782.

withstanding all their vigilance a few make shift to get away sometimes, it is about 2 months since our friends Capt Jn^o Kemp & Allex Tindal with five others got off and as I am since inform⁴ are safe arrived in France.

His Excellency Henry Laurens¹ has been to see us and has given us to understand that we are very soon to be releas⁴ the manner of our exchange being already settled, for his part he is exchang^{4 3} and last week took his departure from this Kingdom, that you may enjoy many years of happiness, and never know what it is to lose your liberty is the sincere wish of your real friend and very Humble Serv⁴

JN° CLAYPOOLE.

PHILADELPHIA the 16th of Aug '82.

MY VERRY DEAR FRIEND,—The last letter I wrote you was from Mill Prison in England I think I told you that Mr. Laurens had been to see us,³ which Gent^a gave great reason to think that a cartel would soon be settled in our favour Accordingly on the 22^d of June 216 of us left our Dreary Mansion and embark^d at catwater⁴ on board cartel ship call^d the Symmetry bound for Phil^a In our Passage we touch^d at the Island of S^t Michaels and some of us went on shore at a Portugueze town call^d Ponto de'la Gardo, it is a pleasant and beautifull Place abounding with all kinds of fruit.

¹ Laurens's imprisonment in the Tower from October, 1780, to November, 1781, may have deepened his feelings of sympathy for Americans in English prisons. He writes,—

³ Says Andrew Sherburne, "The prisoners considered this visit as a high compliment, and treated him with every mark of respect; indeed, the gravity and dignity of his appearance commanded respect."

⁴ One of the harbors at Plymouth.

[&]quot;After my enlargement I further urged that business [the exchange of American prisoners] to its completion, visited those prisoners at a considerable expense to myself, administered to some of them relief from my own impoverished pocket, and obtained much greater for them from other persons."—Henry Laurens to the President of Congress, May 30, 1782.

² Laurens was exchanged for General Burgoyne.

Nothing more of any consequence happen⁴ to us during our passage which lasted 50 day⁴

I have the pleasure to find all my friends in good health at home which I assure you is no small satisfaction after so long a separation.

I am now about to go on the ship Hyder Ally Bound on a cruise, and as soon as I return you shall hear from me again.

Adieu my Dear friend and believe me to be

sincerely yours

JN° CLAYPOOLE.

[These addresses are written in the back of the book.]

Haslam & Cleypole, cyder merchants and Fruiterers N° 75 upper Thames Street, London.

John Warder, N° 6 Bury Street St Mary Axe. London. Benjamin West, Newman Street, London.

Henry Laurens Esq^r, Fludyer Street, N^o 23 Westminster, London.

Thomas Eden & Company Mercht[•] N[•] 2 New Court Crutched Friars, London.

Andrew Montgomery belonging to the 68th Reg^t laying in the town of Limerick in the Kingdom of Ireland whose father is Thomas Montgomery living in Hopewell (?) Township Cumberland County State of Pennsylvania N. America.

Jnº Percival . . . [page torn]

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF NATHAN SELLERS, 1776–1778.

CONTRIBUTED BY HORACE W. SELLERS.

The diary of Nathan Sellers, for the year 1776, is principally a record of such duties as were occasioned by the Revolution. Almost every day seems to have been occupied in "making priming wires," "at salt petre," and in signing money. In April commence the frequent entries which subsequently appear in regard to attendance at muster, generally at "Fox Chase, per order of Colonel." This, however, was not his first association with military affairs, for the testimony drawn up against him by the Darby Meeting, and pursuant with which he was subsequently disowned by the Society, bears date of "y^o 28th day of y^o 12th m^o 1775," and charges him with "joyning with the present commotions in training and or learning the military art."

On August 6, 1776, he writes: Signing money. At Darby, Capt. Rudolph's Company marched.

August 10.—Passed muster. Signed 5 quires.

August 11.—At Colonel Paschall's.

August 13.—Wrote Colonel Paschall's Will. Our Company marched to Philadelphia.

August 14.—Went to Philadelphia expecting to march. Returned home.

August 15.—Went to Philadelphia, went on Board Shallop; 10 o'clock P.M. sailed.

August 16.—Arrived at Bristol 6 o'clock A.M. At Trenton in the evening. Lodged in the Barracks.

August 17.—Marched to Prince Town. Lodged in the College.

August 18.—Remained in College.

August 19.—Marched to New Brunswick.

August 20.—Marched to Amboy and encamped back of the Town.

August 21 to 27.—At Camp at Amboy.

August 27.—At camp. Battle on Long Island. Ordered to march to Newark.

August 28.—At 2 o'clock A.M. marched to Elizabeth Town. Alarmed in the evening.

August 29.—Marched to Newark. Father and Sammy arrived with Order of Congress for my return.

[The following is a copy of the order referred to:]

IN CONGRESS August 26. 1776.

A petition from sundry paper makers was presented to Congress and read praying that Nathan Sellers an associator in colonel Paschall's battalion and who has marched to New Jersey may be ordered to return home, to make and prepare suitable moulds, washers & utensils for the carrying on the paper manufactory.

Resolved That the prayor of the petition be granted. Extract from the minutes

CHAS THOMSON Secy.

[On the reverse of this paper is written :]

The within Nathan Sellers being discharged the service agreeable to the within resolve of Congress, he together with his Father John and Brother Samuel Sellers Messengers on this occasion, having first produced the permission of the Honble. the Committee of the City & Liberties of Philada to come forward to this Camp, they are permitted viz John Sellers the Father & Nathan & Samuel Sellers his sons to pass from hence to Philada.

Head Quarters Augst. 30th 1776 JONATHAN PASCHALL DANL. ROBERDEAU Col Brigadier General

In Council July 24 1777:

The Council being desirous of obtaining a survey of the shore of the river delaware and of the land for about 3 or 4 miles to the westward taking in the great roads leading to the Southward where they may extend further than that distance from the river and remarking the several places where the enemy may land, the kind of ground adjoining whether marshy, hilly, open or covered with woods, and where there are several heights near each other remarking their altitudes and distances apart-and remarking particularly the several creeks and streams of water as far up at least as the tide flows and the places where they may be forded or passed by bridges-Where there are swamps near the river or roads noting particularly their kinds & sizes nearly-Passes of difficulty to an army to be accurately surveyed and well described—They therefore direct you to proceed immediately upon this duty with as much secrecy and dispatch as the nature of it will admit—beginning at Grays ferry on Schuylkill and making your observations down the river as far as Christiana Creek.

> (signed) GEO. BRYAN Vice-president.

IN COUNCIL PHILADELPHIA July 24, 1777.

The Council having occasion to take a rough survey of the country near the river Delaware have authorized and directed Mr. Nathan Sellers to perform that service between Schuylkill and Christiana Creek. All persons are hereby requested to be aiding and assisting in the said service when called upon.

> (signed) GEO. BRYAN Vice president.

To

ALL CONCERNED.

Delaware State Ss

allowed (signed) JNO. M. KINLY, Presd⁴.

August 13th. 1777

YORK TOWN, April 11th, 1778.

SIR.

The Honourable the Treasury Board having Occasion of another Form for the making of Paper, you are therefore as a good Whig and sincere friend to American Liberty requested without delay to accompany the Express who takes

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this to you, so that you be here as soon as possible, bringing with you such Tools as may be necessary.—As to Wire we have enough here with us.

Yours &c

(signed) M. HILLEGAS

Please to keep an account of your Expenses, as they will be reimbursed.

MB. NATHAN SELLERS.

This may certifie that Mr Nathan Sellers y[•] bearer hereof is on his Return from York Town to Darby Town Ship in Chester County, & ought not be molested or impeded on his way, having been employed by y[•] Board of Treasury & given evident Marks of his attachment to y[•] cause of y[•] united States. (signed)

YORK TOWN, May 2d 1778.

WAR OFFICE YORK TOWN May 3d, 1778.

Permit the Bearer Mr Nathan Sellers to pass unmolested from hence to his Father John Sellers's in Darby Township Philadelphia County he being a loyal Subject of these States.

By order of the Board

(signed)

RICHARD PETERS

E. GERRY

is,

To all Continental officers & others whom it may concern.

The Honorable Treasury Board

To Nathan Sellers Dr.

May 2d. 1778.

To making a fine paper mould					£10
To laying 56 letters at 7/6 each	•		•		21
To Cash pd. for wire	•	•	•		126
To do for frames & Copper		•	•		2
To Expenses Coming to York	•			•	6159
To Expenses at York .	•	•	•	•	8 15 11
To 7 days Coming & returning	•	•	•	•	7 – –
To Expenses to return .	• .	•	•	•	5
				-	£61 14 2

These may Certifie that the bearer hereof Nathan Sellers, who has uniformly and Constantly born a steady Testimony for the Cause of the united States, and rendered Acceptable Services therein, was at the time he was notified to attend in the Militia an invalid, having had an Uncommon hard fitt of the Flux and fever, in which his life was a long while dispaired of, and from the Danger of which he was but just recovered, and in nowise fit for or capable of any Military duty. Given under my Hand this 30th day of Septm. 1778. (signed)

BOAZ MATTHEW

Capt.

I do hereby Certifie, That Nathan Sellers, wire worker, Hath Voluntarily taken and subscribed the Affirmation of Allegiance and Fidelity, as directed by an Act of General assembly of Pennsylvania passed the fifth day of December, A.D. 1778. Witness my Hand and Seal the Eleventh day of October Anno Domini, 1779.

L.S. (signed)

ISAAC HOWELL COM^r. No. 44.

The Petition of Nathan Sellers of Chester County Humbly Sheweth

That Major D. Braddish in Collecting Horses for the use of the States, on Saturday last took from your Petitioner a mare: That the sd. Mare is with Foal, and your Petitioner humbly Concieves Unfit for the Service: That the Major encouraged your Petitioner to apply to your Excellency respecting her: That she is all the Horse kind your Petitioner had, and you may be assur'd he will take all possible care to keep her out of the Enemies' Hands should she be return'd. He therefore humbly prays that you would please to order her to be return'd to him again, and your Petitioner will gratefully acknowledge the favor, and as Duly bound will ever pray &c.

Feby. 23d. 1778

NN. SELLERS

To his Excellency GNL: GREEN

Indorsed:

SIR,

If the above mentioned mare is not fit for the service tis General Greene's wish that she be returned to Mr. Sellers To Col. LUTTERLOH Your most obdt. D. Qr. Mr. Gl. ROB. FORSYTH A Camp Pro Tem

[On the reverse side of the paper is written the following:]

MR WILLIAMS

You will see to find the horse and if as stated he is to have it back

(signed) LUTTERLOH

For very particular reasons, it is thought the within mentioned horse ought to be restored to the owner. He is in Col: Vose's possession

(signed)

A. HAMILTON A D C

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HEAD QUARTERS April 19th 1778

THE BATTLE OF GERMANTOWN DESCRIBED BY A HESSIAN OFFICER.

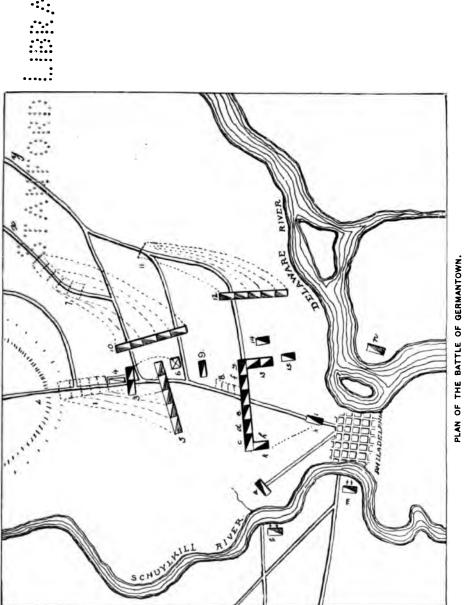
[The following extracts from the journal and report of Captain Frederick Ernest von Münchhausen was furnished to the Society some years ago by the late George Bancroft, who had it transcribed from a manuscript in his possession. It has been translated for the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE by Joseph G. Rosengarten, Esq. Captain Münchhausen was attached to the Regiment Landgraf, and he also served on the staffs of Sir William Howe and Clinton.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

On October 4th, I rode very early to Philadelphia by order of my General to arrest a man named Reichel, who was concealed there. In the late war he was a Lieutenant and Regimental Quartermaster in the Brunswick Battalion Wittorf,-came to this country two years ago, and has been constantly employed by the Quartermaster General of the Rebels,-this was Lutterloh's title,-he remained in the Brunswick service and was employed in its departments. I was very near Philadelphia, about half past five in the morning, when I heard cannonading in my rear. I hasted quickly as possible to the headquarters of Lord Cornwallis, asked one of his adjutants to report the firing to his lordship, who was still asleep, and to have Reichel arrested. Then I hastened to return to my General. As I knew that the General was always to be found where the fire was sharpest, I rode at once towards the heaviest reports and there I found him. General Washington yesterday assured his whole army, over 20,000 strong again, that Burgoyne was completely defeated, that we had not 6000 men in camp, on account of the numerous detachments sent to Philadelphia, to Willmington, to Billingsport etc.,-that we had sent the best troops to these places. Now was the time to defeat us like Burgoyne, and if they would behave like really brave soldiers and keep quiet, he promised that tomorrow evening he would lead them into Philadelphia. After he had given his men rum, leaving a couple of thousand men with the bag-

198 The Battle of Germantown described by a Hessian Officer.

gage, tents etc., in his camp fifteen miles from our outposts, last evening at six o'clock he started in three columns to march against us. Just before starting, he detached 600 men with three guns and ordered them the next morning an hour before daybreak to attack our left wing, where the Hessian Jägers were posted on the Schuylkill, with great noise and hotly. Washington himself marched the whole night, a couple of miles from our outposts he halted, again issued rum to his men, and then formed the columns in line which were to attack our right wing, namely the Guard and 1st Battalion Light Infantry,-with the other two columns he attacked at first in column, afterwards they moved into line,-our 2nd Battalion Light Infantry, which as I have said, stood somewhat in front of our line advanced as an outpost, and which owing to the heavy fog and the unusual quiet maintained by the enemy, was first aware of his approach by his attack. The Light Infantry, as may well be believed, was forced to fall back; they formed again however, when the 5th Regiment of the 2nd Brigade came up in good order,-they held the advance of the heavy force of the enemy in check for a time, but were after severe loss forced to yield ground too. At this time I came up and was greatly astonished to see what I had never seen before, the English rapidly flying. By order of my General, who was on the spot, the 40th Regiment came up at this critical Col. Musgrave, who commanded it, saw the moment. Light Infantry and the 5th Regiment throw themselves on him; he detached half his regiment forward to sustain them, and threw himself and the other half in a massive building between the two roads on which the two columns of the enemy were coming. This well planned and boldly executed movement of Col. Musgrave was of the greatest advantage to our corps,-the enemy took so much time in waiting for guns with which to drive him out, that General Howe, who had hurried back, got time to bring up the rest of the 2nd Brigade, the 1st, 4th and 3rd Brigades, with the Hessian Leib Regiment, formed them in line, and forced the enemy to fly. In the meantime our Jägers on the left .

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wing were attacked by the 600 men, sent by Washington over the Schuylkill; this led the General to send to their support a Hessian Grenadier Battalion left in camp, and the Donop Regiment as well as the Grenadiers at first moved forward with the rest of the line, but was obliged to fall back and form on the left wing of the Hessian Leib Regiment, on a hill make a defensive line to cover our left flank. At this time too, they attacked our Guard, the 1st Battalion Light Infantry and Whym's [sic] corps, and drew off apparently to their left, as if they would outflank our right wing, but here too, they were brought to a stand, mainly by the arrival of the English Grenadiers and a Battalion of Hessian Grenadiers. Cornwallis left a battalion of Hessian Grenadiers in Philadelphia, and these as well as the two English Regiments detached yesterday just across the Schuylkill, which were at once brought back to Philadelphia, were seen by the Rebels coming forward, and thus helped to the final result. The Hessian Grenadier Battalion which came from Philadelphia was posted between the Donop Regiment and our Jägers and the Grenadier Battalion Minnigerode which was with the Jägers.

[EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN.¹]

- No. 1, First column of the Rebels, which
- No. 2, came over Chestnut Hill,
- No. 3, the Light Infantry in the upper part of Germantown
- No. 4, threw itself into this position
- No. 5, then formed in line, and then
- No. 6, were posted by Col. Musgrave in the house which they steadily held,—
- No. 7, the second column of the Rebels which attacked the Light Infantry at No. 3, on the flank and drove it as well as the 5th Regiment from its advanced position back to
- No. 8, where it formed for an attack on No. 6, the house in which Col. Musgrave and the half of his Regiment the 40th were posted, while the other half was at

No. 9, where it was attacked and formed in line.

Nos. 10 and 11, the third column of the Rebels,

No. 12, the line taken by it, attacking at

¹ The discrepancies in "Explanation of the Plan" are in the original.

No. 13, our Guard,

- No. 14, the 1st Battalion Light Infantry, and
- No. 15, Whym's Corps.
- a. The Hessian Jägers supported by the Minnigerode Grenadiers,
- b. attacked by 600 Rebels with 4 guns.
- c. Hessian Leib Regiment,
- d. 3rd Brigade,
- e. 4th Brigade,
- f. 2nd Brigade,
- g. 1st Brigade English troops, completing the line, with which General Howe drove the enemy and marched forward.
 - Observations: As the lines of c., d., e., f., g., join Nos. 13, 14, and 15,—so they stood in order in camp.
- h. is the Donop Regiment as it made
- i. the English Grenadiers
- k. a Hessian Grenadier Battalion which came from Philadelphia
- m. militia with 2 guns,
- n. Militia threatening Philadelphia,
- x. y-the two roads by which most of the Rebels withdrew, and on which we pursued them for some distance.

On the one road General Howe with Lord Cornwallis followed with the English Grenadiers, Dragoons, two Brigades, English troops, and the 2nd Battalion Light Infantry. On the other road General Grant followed with 2 Brigades English troops, 1 Battalion Light Infantry and Whym's Corps. The Hessian Jägers and 2 Battalions Hessian Grenadiers remained to cover the left wing, Donop and the Leib Regiment of the Hessians and the 40th English Regiment remained near Chestnut hill and moved gradually back to Germantown,—both under the command of Gen¹ von Kniphausen. On the right wing and back to Philadelphia were posted the English Guards under General Matthiers [*sic*] and distributed on that line.

On both roads we followed the enemy over 9 miles beyond our outposts; it was impossible for us to get up to them and still more to seize any of their guns, for these had been sent on before the soldiers retired. Besides the roads were very good and their army had plenty and good horses. Our loss was 387 killed and wounded, among them 35 officers, and of these the English General Agnew and two Colonels were killed. The Hessians lost only 14 killed and wounded,—Gen¹ v. Stirn was the only officer wounded,—a slight contusion of the left arm. Our loss was very small. Of the Rebels we buried more than 300, and took prisoners 438, including 47 officers.

The Rebels carried off a large number of their wounded, as we could see by the blood on the roads, on which we followed them so far. Add to this the large number that in case of defeat always run away, and their loss must have been very serious. Some of their munition wagons fell into our hands. Everybody admits that Washington's plan was a good one; through his excellent spies he knew exactly our position, and that through the detachments sent out to the distant points of our much too extended lines, everything depended on a single line, and if he attacked us, there were no regiments in reserve to send to the threatened point. On this account he planned a false attack on the left wing, to alarm us, and when we heard his 4 guns, which he had ordered to be fired rapidly, we should move in that direction, and his two columns would fall on our centre and either drive us on if we drew our right wing to support the centre, then his 3d column would attack our weakened right and come in on our rear through Germantown.

To alarm the garrison in Philadelphia at the same time as he attacked us, Washington directed some hundred militia to show themselves both on the Jersey shore of the Delaware and across the Schuylkill. Lord Cornwallis soon saw that this was only a false attack, and promptly moved out to the front. The Grenadiers returned in the evening to Philadelphia. In the evening after dinner General Howe again offered me a post in the English service, as the heavy loss of the day made a good opportunity. I will wait however, to learn whether General von Jungheim in Cassel, who has looked after my interests up to this time, has not got me a Company yet,—for that is, I think, as good as Major in the English service.

LETTERS OF LIEUTENANT JOHN RICHARDSON, 1776.

[Mr. J. Howard Lewis, Swarthmore, Delaware County, Pennsylvania, has in his collection originals of the following letters of Lieutenant John Richardson, of the First Battalion Chester County Associators, Colonel James Moore commanding, addressed to "Mr. John Crozier, Springfield township, Chester County, Penna. To be left at Conestoga Wagon Philadelphia."—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

MOUNT WASHINGTON NEAR YORK August 25. 1776.

My DEAR FRIEND,—About 10 days ago I receiv'd which was handed me by Capt Jenkins who brought it from the Lakes in Canada-how it went there I cannot tell-Nothing could aford me more Satisfaction than to receive them frequently-I am glad you receiv'd mine I left for you and Hope you have my papers from Warricks—I have Attemp twice to write but have neglected sending each time till the Contents were no News so shall write but little of that Article-After a March of Four days we arriv'd at York about 3 in ye Afternoon I being the last Company of the Regiment brought the Colours, the Colonel brought the Battalion down to Meet us & we paraded the Streets. I went to long Island the Next day to See Frank Johnson & the Officers of that Battalion who were all hearty the rest of the day I spent with General Mifflin & the Next day set of for this Place at 3 O C in Morning and arriv'd abt. 10. We imediately went to Work & in a short time Compleated a Stony fort of 34 Cannons which will require near 2 Thousand men to man and will never be taken I think; in a week's time abt. 130 Ships Arriv'd which Since has almost amounted to 300-we were attack'd by the Pheanix a 40 Gun & the Rose a 28 Gun Ship Commanded Wallace the Noted Cruizer we hullled them repeatedly but the Wind being Fair they passed us Since which we attacked them with 5 Galleys and did Considerable damage but we were

obliged to retreat with loss of several Men Since which sent two fire Sloops up to Graple them One of them Grapled the Pheanix but by Cutting their Cable they got Clear it being Dark the other Grapled a Tender in mistake for the Rose which was soon consum'd the Captain of one the Sloops is lost-We yesterday were Orderd to March Out after going 5 miles were orderd back again & expect to Morrow we shall march for long Island as the Enemy have landed most of their Men, our people have had several Scirmishes Washington intend to have us at the first General Attack-the Militia of your State are some in York some we hear are going home we have upwards of 6000 Men in and Near York Dunsmore & Clinton has arriv'd-they have Hessian Riflemen-Our fortifications are inumerable & shoud the possess the City they will never Penetrate the Country but cou'd they get footing where we are now they might hem in all York Island as its but a Mile Wide from River to River & Join the Main by a Bridge 2 miles above us so that is of the greatest importance & not to be given up-Doctor Currie is encamped two miles from York I have not seen him yet-My health is a little impaired by our hard living, on Guard Eviry week, & up all Night-we man the lines at 3 O Clock eviry Morning which Keeps my apitite in General verry strong-I long much be with you once more I hope we shall Determine matters soon that I may come I don't know whether I will Continue Another Year in ye Army tho I have not determin'd-let me hear how my Chester Friends are Daddy Cowplands Family Ashbridges Aunt Molly, J Shaw &c & how the Military there go on How Col Davis acts who thought me too young for a Company What state you are in to Defend in case of Attack-The people about here are verry Kind & I have more General acquaintance among Gentry & farmers than any Man in Camp owing to a Relation I found Near here who is in great Esteem & verry Rich but they have gone from home lately-An Army have frequently been call'd a School & properly so, for here are all the Various Characters in life-all I want is a friend which my particular disposition cannot find here we just received account from York of the Interception of some letters from one Colol Sedgwick to the Regulars he was to have given up a fort call'd Bunker Hill on the first Attack & as most of the water us'd in York is brought from one Spring the Spring was to be poisoned & on Searching his chest the poison & Number of Letters were discovered on which a Court Martial was Called and he is to be Hanged this day being 26 Aug—the Scotch Troops were entitled to settle lands the Rebels had fled from & for Refusing to fight Contrary to their Enlistment which was to defend themselves on the lands given them—Four officers were shott & 3 whole campanys whip'd some of the are now in the Sound & we hear'd great firing all day Expect there has been a considerable Engagement.

I am &c

Yours Sincerely John Richardson

CAMP ON MOBBIS'S HEIGHTS YORK ISLAND Septr 24

DEAR SIR,-Your agreeable letter of the 15 Inst. is just handed me by Major Patton . . . You know my Zeal in the Glorious Cause for which I left the Calm Contented life with all the Sweets & pleasure of the Woods & Fields, my rural Friends, and most Delightful Scenes; for this Embrac'd & Courted Hostile Fields, so foreign to my Nature for this I choose to be where Death and Devastation riots, in hopes to stop her Horrid Steps, or lend a helping hand to save an Injur'd Country After writing my last the regulars landed on a small Island not 50 yards from the main where the Centries of each side discovered each other I was oposite them when a Ship lying there fir'd & drove me of shooting one man in the hip with a Nine pound ball it slightly wounded only. We were preparing Bridges the 13 & 14th of this Inst across Harlem river to the Main that in case of attack there might be assistance to or from York and on the 15th being Sunday the regulars began Canonading in both Rivers when 5 Ships in East River got as far as Turtle Bay near ye midle of York Island where they attackt a fort we had there, when our people began retreating & imediately about 7 thousand of them landed and at same time a body of them began a landing at York the Sudeness & Surprize set the troops in York imediately to retreating in the greatest Disorder and Confusion when the Enemy Enterd York without further Molestation taking our Waggans and baggage Some Prisoners Aminittion Provision Heavy Artillery &c this Joind to our former Bad Fortune was verry discouraging and The Next Day a large body of them with Artillery &c made another Attack on a Body of Troops who imediately began retreating again but the General coming rallied them & some of the officers were horsewhipt others left their Men by themselves who returned to Action and determined on a Stand when the General Sware he would Run thro the Body the first man who ran from his post when they Mett the Enemy in order and after firing a short time both Armies Broke their Order & our people Rushing furiously up the Hill where the Enemy were Posted behind a stone wall with every advantage of Trees Bushes &c Struck them with Terror that they imediately began a flight and our people pursued near a Mile when theyre Catridges being Spent they return'd and got a fresh suply but the Enemy thought proper not to come out their lines this little success has had surprising good effects on the Spirits of the Troops, last Saturday I was in the Jersey to see some of the flying Camp but think they are under no Discipline they were mutinous about pay likewise & the provincials Altee & Miles Batt. have likewise mutinied & most all desertedlast Saturday 3 O'C we Discovered a great fire at New York but cou'd not tell what it mean till we are since informed by Deserters that most of the Town is burn supos'd to be done by our people & we learn by Montreseur who told it to General Putnam on Sunday while he was here with a flag of Truce & Genl putnam since has told to me that During the fire the Caught a Number of our people who they had prisoners & threw them into the Flames & if they

met an American coming out of a house they imediately Cut his throat & several others they tyed up by the Heels & cut them from ear to Ear & yesterday they Caught the Captain of a Company of Rangers & hung him imediately for a Spy & have murdered a great many Women likewise & have taken up allmost eviry person in York & intend to Execute a great Number all this is said to be done by Hessians who have plundered eviry One without Distinction or regard to Whig & Tory-Yesterday a small party attempted a landing on the Main at Morisenia where our people drove them off but they wounded a Colol & Kill'd an Adecamp they attack'd powles Hook fort I coud see the firing last Night & this morn but believe they have taken it as firing has Ceas'd—We drum'd out a Captain in Womans Clothing for Cowardice in the Engagement the 16th we broke several officers for plundering-I have just come off a Guard at the lines I was close by the Enemies Centries several times but they did not fire our Guard were 1000 on Picquet we heard them at Work all Night & this morning find they have built a fortification being up all Night I must sleep Shall write again in 2 or 3 days I am my Dr Sr Wishing your Hapiness with Sincerity Yours &c JOHN RICHARDSON

RICHARD PRESTON, SR., PURITAN QUAKER OF MARYLAND, GRANDFATHER OF SAMUEL PRESTON, MAYOR OF PHILADELPHIA.

BY SAMUEL TROTH.

The seventeenth century was an epoch in the religious history of the English people, to which may be traced the peculiar shaping of the American Colonial Articles of Confederation, and the political complexion of the Constitution of the United States in its bearing upon the doctrine of universal religious liberty. That period witnessed the advent of many men of strong character and of extraordinary willpower, who, seeking to overcome the prevailing evil of their time, became leaders of thought and centres of sects bound together by doctrines of theology. These, with a conscientious zeal for their own conception of the Divine will, strove with each other for supremacy, and assailed their ecclesiastical neighbors with a vigor akin to jealousy, and bordering upon hate. This disturbing element obtained in several of the American colonies, until an exigency arose, in which it became necessary to lay aside factional differences and unite on common ground for mutual protection from a common enemy.

As a natural consequence of these fraternal interests and experiences, the War of Independence not only freed our colonies from the political dominion of the mother-country, but of greater and world-wide import was it, that when the time came to form a more perfect bond of union, the fresh memories of former religious feuds admonished the wise heads of the convention to draft a constitution from which the ecclesiastical question should be entirely eliminated, and Church and State forever divorced in the government of the new republic.

Thus was born the first pure democratic nation, protected by the Christian idea of individual religious accountability

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and obligation, and of voluntary adoration shorn of political dictation.

Richard Preston, the grandfather of Samuel Preston, Mayor of Philadelphia, was one of those self-assertive characters, who, in whatever age they live, will push to the front and take active part in the live issues which frequently agitate communities.

He probably came from Great Britain, in 1635, in the vessel "Paul of London," " aged twenty-one years;" but this is not certain. The Land Records of Virginia show that, in 1636, a Richard Preston, "of Virginia," in consideration of the transportation of his "now wife" and two other persons, not named, received a grant in that province of one hundred and fifty acres. In 1639 he received two grants; one of one hundred and fifty acres and one of five hundred acres. In 1641, five hundred acres, and in 1651, another of five hundred acres, adjoining a former grant. This land was situated in Norfolk County, where, since the early part of the seventeenth century, Puritans from England had been settled under the protection of the stanch old non-conformist families of Wyatt and Bennett. Here they had established a little colony, notwithstanding the adverse influence of the Church of England, which, with variable effect, harassed them for several years, until, about the beginning of the latter half of the century, the persecution became so intense that several families availed themselves of the refuge offered by Captain William Stone, acting Governor of the Province of Maryland, under Cecil, Lord Baltimore, and accepted the offers of land and liberty for all new-comers.

Although Lord Baltimore doubtless desired the spread of the Roman Catholic Church, of which he appears to have been a consistent member, yet, like Penn, in Pennsylvania, a half-century later, he pursued a policy favorable to the upbuilding of a dependency that should prove remunerative to the Proprietor, being careful to refrain from any official religious action that might jeopardize his financial interest, even resisting the claims of the provincial Jesuit colonists when counter to his own. Inasmuch as both Penn and Baltimore were sincere in their religious convictions, each used the means within their control to erect a colonial monument expressive of a dependence upon Divine Will, as each understood it; but, as "Man proposes and God disposes," both had to yield to the inevitable.

The execution of Charles I., with its religious consequences, warned Lord Baltimore that he could only retain control of his Barony of Maryland by offering his territory as an asylum for people of all Christian denominations. Taking into his plans the shrewd politician, Captain William Stone, a former High Sheriff of Northampton County, Virginia, he commissioned him Governor of Maryland, on condition that he should introduce five hundred colonists of British and Irish descent into his province; allowing two thousand acres to each person who should bring twenty colonists. This land should be subject to a yearly rental of forty shillings to Lord Baltimore for the first seven years; for the next fourteen years, forty bushels of wheat, and thereafter one-twentieth of the yearly yield or profit, or, in lieu thereof, ten pounds sterling.

An idea may be formed of the religious agitation pervading the Province at this period of its history, and of the diffusive character of religious sects already present or prospective in the colony, from a law passed by the General Assembly, April 20, 1649, and confirmed by Lord Baltimore, in London, August 26, 1650. It is termed "An Act concerning Religion." Among other measures, it provides that, " If any one should declare call or denominate in a reproachful manner or Way any person, a heretick, Scismatic, Idolator, puritan, Independent, Prespiterian, popish priest, Jesuite, Jesuited papist, Lutheran, Calvenist, Anabaptist, Brownist, Antimonian, Barrowist, Roundhead, Separatist or any other name or terme in a reproachful manner relating to matter of Religion shall for every such Offence forfeit ten shillings, one half to be paid to the person to whom such reproachful words are used." "And whereas the enforcing of the conscience in matters of Religion hath frequently Vol. xvi.—14

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fallen out to be of dangerous Consequence in those commonwealths where it hath been practised, and for the more quiett and peaceable government of this Province and the better to preserve mutual Love and amity amongst the Inhabitants thereof, Be it Therefore also by the Lord Proprietary with the advise and consent of this Assembly Ordereyd and enacted (except as in this present Act is before Declared and sett forth), that no person whatsoever within this Province, professing to believe in Jesus Christ shall from henceforth be any waies troubled Molested or discountenanced for his or her religion nor in the free exercise thereof, nor any way compelled to the beliefe or exercise of any other Religion against his or her consent soe as they be not unfaithfull to the Lord Proprietary or molest or conspire against the civill Government established or to bee established in this Province under him or his heires."

This was the condition of the Province on the religious question when Richard Preston, Sr., came into it with his wife Margaret and children,—Richard the younger, James, Samuel, Naomy, and Margaret. Governor Stone was then in full power, and Richard Preston was one of those who sustained confidential relations with him. On July 15, 1651, the Governor issued to him this commission: "These are to authorize Mr. Richard Preston, Commander of the North side of Putuxent River, to grant warrants to the said Surveyor for the laying out of any convenient quantities of Land upon the said River on the North side thereof not formerly taken up, to any Adventurers that shall make their just title appear."

Richard Preston took up land on the north side of Patuxent River, at that time part of Anne Arundel County, afterwards embraced in Calvert; and also on the south side of the river in St. Mary's, for himself, wife, children, and about seventy colonists. In the autumn of 1651, the English Parliament being advised that the Maryland colony was favorable to a royal ruler, appointed commissioners with authority to enforce obedience and reduce the Province to submission; and on March 29, 1652, Governor Stone was formally deposed and the government placed in control of six Maryland commissioners,—"Robert Brooke Esq., Col. Francis Yardley, Mr. Job Chandler, Capt. Edward Windham, Mr. Richard Preston and Lieut. Rich⁴ Banks."

A few months later, Captain Stone having agreed to submit to Parliament, he was reappointed Governor, and Thomas Hatton, Robert Brooke, Captain John Price, Job Chandler, Colonel Francis Yardley, and Richard Preston were commissioned as the Council of the Province.

On December 2, 1652, Governor Stone deputized Richard Preston, "one of the Council and Commander north of the Putuxent, to appoint officers to draft one able man out of seven with arms and ammunition and provision for 30 days, to meet at Mattapania on Putuxent by the 20th of the month."

This was for an expedition against the Indians, but was not executed, as the Puritans of Providence, having made a treaty of peace with their own Indian neighbors, refused to fight the southern savages of St. Mary's County.

For about two years the Parliamentary Provincial Government was undisturbed; during which time Richard Preston was also one of the judges of the Provincial Court held at St. Mary's.

In this domain the Puritan element represented by Preston, Brooke, Fuller, Durand, Strong, and Lloyd predominated, showing the ascendency of that religious phase in all departments of the government through those years. In 1654, Lord Baltimore made another effort to gain control by insisting that all landholders should take the oath of fidelity to him as Proprietor, and submit to his terms of rental or suffer confiscation of their lands. After a year of controversy without agreement, Captain Stone, the compromise Governor, attempted by force of arms to compel submission to Baltimore. He was resisted by the Puritan party, defeated in a short, sharp battle near the Severn River, taken prisoner, tried, and condemned to death for "rebellion against the lawful government of the Province."

We may judge of the ability and political tact of the sub-

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ject of this sketch from the fact that he held official position in the Province almost continuously during his residence, under all of the differing administrations. He represented Lord Baltimore, the Parliament, and the people.

Living on the north side of Patuxent River, between the older Catholic interests centring in the lower county of St. Mary's and the Puritan colony northward on the Severn, in their own especial county of Providence, he, probably, as a fair-minded man, apprehended the errors of both, and, as peace-maker, sought the truth on middle ground, finally taking refuge in the Quaker fold. During the controversial period immediately preceding the decisive battle at Severn River, the Provincial Assembly was held at his house; he was elected Speaker, and the public records were placed in his custody. They were not, however, well defended, for, shortly after, those records, and also arms and ammunition belonging to himself and others, were captured by a small squad of Captain Stone's soldiers. At a subsequent court, held December 26, 1655, an attachment was granted for "Mr. Richard Preston on the estate of Cap^t W^m Stone to be liable to satisfy unto the said Rich⁴ Preston the sum of Twenty-nine pounds ten shillings sterling for Gunns and Ammunition taken from his house by Josias Fendall one of Cap' Stone's Officers and Accomplices in the last Rebellion, if the General Provincial Court shall so determine."

The Province continued about three years in control of the Parliamentary party, Preston still continuing to represent his constituents, until April, 1658, when, at the General Assembly held at St. Leonard's, there was a confirmation of the agreement that had been made "between Cap^t Josias Fendall and Philip Calvert on behalf of Lord Baltimore, and Cap^t W^m Fuller and Mr. Richard Preston, to surrender the government of the said province to his Lordship's Officers."

Soon after this change of administration, Richard Preston and his son-in-law, William Berry, were fined for harboring Josiah Cole and Thomas Thurston, two travelling Quaker preachers, who had been expelled from the Province for disregarding some of the conditions of an act of Assembly.

There is no evidence that he then acknowledged membership with that religious body, but his sense of justice prompted him to shield the unfortunate, and a better acquaintance with them and their tenets led him to adopt their teachings. However it may be accounted for, and strange as it may seem, the Quaker Society of Maryland was recruited from the Puritan ranks.

Among the families which gave strength and political influence to that movement in its infancy in the Province were those of Preston, Fuller, Thomas, Berry, Parrott, and others of like prominence in the Puritan Church.

It has been charged that the Quakers were persecuted in Maryland on account of their religion, but the records prove this to be incorrect. The only persons made liable to disfranchisement or other punishment by reason of any particular religious opinion, at any period of Maryland history, were infidels, Jews, and Roman Catholics. The laws which the Quakers refused to obey were those relating to personal service in defence of the government and the requirement of an oath of allegiance and fidelity to the Proprietor, which applied alike to all persons without discrimination. The sole bearing of those laws was self-preservation, without any concern for religious predilections or with any desire to suppress heresy, differing in this respect from the Church of England rule of Virginia and the Puritan Church domination of Massachusetts Bay as to Quakers. But, on the other hand, when the Puritans were at the height of their power in Maryland, they not only disfranchised, for a time, all those who should profess the Roman Catholic religion, but endeavored also the withdrawal of government protection from them. The charge as to the religious persecution of Quakers in Maryland is groundless.

The order of July 23, 1659, against Quakers is in the following words: "Upon consideration had of the disturbance in the civil and military part of the government by the Quakers,—orders as followeth, viz.: Whereas it is too

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well known in the Province that there have of late been several vagabonds and idle persons known by the name of Quakers that have presumed to come into this Province as well dissuading the people from complying with the military discipline in this time of danger, as also from giving testimony, or being Jurors in causes between party and party, or bearing any Office in the Province, to the no small disturbance of the Laws and civil government thereof. And, that the keeping and detaining them as prisoners hath brought so great a charge upon this Province, the Governor and Council taking it into their consideration have thought fit to appoint and do hereby for the prevention of the like inconveniences for the time to come, require and command all and every the Justices of the Peace of the Province that so soon as they shall have notice that any of the aforesaid vagabonds or idle persons shall again presume to come into this Province they forthwith cause them to be apprehended and whipped from constable to constable until they be sent out of the Province." Richard Preston, Justice of the Peace, Burgess of Calvert County, and member of Assembly, must have been in some measure a party to such legislation by virtue of his tenure of office; but, as the records of the Assembly held February 28, 1659, show that he was excused from attendance at that session, being on a visit to England, he may have been absent at the July session, when the "Order against Quakers" was passed. In this connection it is of interest to note that in 1688, Thomas Thurston, probably the same who was expelled from the Province in 1659, was a member of the Lower House of Assembly, and, being a Quaker, was excused from taking the usual oath of fidelity; and in 1692 one Thomas Thurston held the government position of principal military officer in Baltimore County.

In 1663, Charles Calvert, Governor of Maryland, in a letter to his father, Lord Baltimore, at London, alludes to Richard Preston, the "great Quaker," as having sent a "Runlett of Tobacco" for "a token" to his Lordship. It is evident that Preston, with a Penn-like diplomacy, used his influence in high places for the benefit of his brethren in the faith.

Richard Preston, Sr., continued to represent Calvert County in the Provincial Assembly until his death, in 1666, and for some years was Speaker of the Lower House.

After his death, his son, Richard Preston, Jr., the father of Samuel, of Philadelphia, became a member of the Assembly, representing, first, Dorchester, and, subsequently, Calvert County.

Samuel Preston's father died in 1669, and his mother, Margaret, married the widower William Berry, a prominent Quaker citizen of Calvert County, whose first wife was a daughter of Richard Preston, Sr. By this marriage William Berry became the stepfather as. well as uncle of Samuel Preston, the only child of Richard, Jr., and Samuel became an inmate of his family until he came of age, when he probably took formal possession of the plantation on Patuxent River, left to him by the will of his grandfather Richard, which had been in the occupancy of Benjamin Lawrence.

James and Samuel, the other sons of Richard Preston, Sr., I have been unable to definitely trace. Rebecca and Sarah, the two younger daughters, who were born after their parents' arrival in Maryland, married, respectively, Lovelace Gorsuch and Edward Pinder, the latter serving several years as Sheriff of Dorchester County.

The children of the second marriage of Samuel Preston's mother were Benjamin, Joseph, and Richard, all of whom died young, and Thomas, born in 1678, who married Sarah Godard. This was the one called in the will of Samuel Preston, of Philadelphia, "my dear brother Thomas Berry."

A LETTER OF MISS REBECCA FRANKS, 1778.

CONTRIBUTED BY HENRY F. THOMPSON.

[The following letter of Miss Rebecca Franks, a daughter of David Franks, to Mrs. Paca, *née* Anne Harrison, the second wife of William Paca, of Wye Island, Talbot County, Maryland, and a delegate to Congress, is interesting, as it treats of social life in Philadelphia the winter preceding the evacuation of the city by the British. It was forwarded to Mrs. Paca by Edward Tilghman, who was "out on his parole," with a package containing "six gauze handkerchiefs, two small pieces of gauze, and two sets of coloured ribbons." The "smart beau" of the text may have been Colonel Sir Henry Johnson, who commanded Stony Point at the time it was captured by General Wayne, and who Miss Franks subsequently married. The original is preserved in the collection of the Maryland Historical Society.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

DEAR NANCY,—You may see the above is not my writing a very smart beau, I assure you wrote it, but not being acquainted with your disposition was afraid to go on.

I expected ere this to have had an answer to the letter, I wrote by Betty Tilghman. What is your excuse. I hope 'tis want of opportunity and not inclination.

You can have no idea of the life of continued amusement I live in. I can scarce have a moment to myself. I have stole this while everybody is retired to dress for dinner. I am but just come from under Mr. J. Black's hands and most elegantly am I dressed for a ball this evening at Smith's where we have one every Thursday. You would not Know the room 'tis so much improv'd.

I wish to Heaven you were going with us this evening to judge for yourself. I spent Tuesday evening at Sir W^m Howes where we had a concert and Dance. I asked his leave to send you a Handkerchief to show the fashions. He very politely gave me permission to send anything you wanted, tho' I told him you were a Delegate's Lady. I want to get a pair of Buckles for your Brother Joe.

If I can't, tell him to be in the fashion he must get a pair of Harness ones. The Dress is more ridiculous and pretty than anything that ever I saw-great quantity of different coloured feathers on the head at a time besides a thousand other things. The Hair dress'd very high in the shape, Miss Vining's was the night we returned from Smiths-the Hat we found in your Mother's Closet wou'd be of a proper size. I have an afternoon cap with one wing-tho' I assure you I go less in the fashion than most of the Ladies-no being dress'd without a hoop. B. Bond makes her first appearance tonight at the rooms.

No loss for partners, even I am engaged to seven different gentlemen for you must know 'tis a fix'd rule never to dance but two dances at a time with the same person. Oh how I wish Mr. P. wou'd let you come in for a week or two -tell him I'll answer for your being let to return. I know you are as fond of a gay life as myself-you'd have an opportunity of rakeing as much as you choose either at Plays, Balls Concerts or Assemblys. I've been but 3 evenings alone since we mov'd to town. I begin now to be almost tired. Tell Mrs. Harrison she has got a gentleman in her house, who promises me not to let a single thing in it be hurt and I'm sure he'll keep his word-the family she left in it still remain. I had a long conversation about you the other evening with John Saunders. He is just the same as when you knew him-two or three more of your old acquaintances are in town such as Prideaux & Jock De-Lancy they often ask after you. Is Mrs. White with you. I long to hear all that concerns you. Do pray try to get an opportunity. The clock is now striking four, and Moses is just going out to dinner-quite the Congress hours. Moses wrote to your Mother about her house six weeks ago. Did she get the letter. All your Philadelphia friends well and desire their loves-Mine to all in Maryland.

When you see the Miss Tilghmans, tell them I never hear a new song or piece of music that I dont wish them to

218 A Letter of Miss Rebecca Franks, 1778.

have it. I must go finish dressing as I'm engaged out to Tea.

God bless you. B. F.

Thursday Feb^y 26, '78.

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I send some of the most fashionable Ribbon and Gauze have tried to get Joe's Buckles in all the best shops, but in vain. B. Redman is here and sends her love.

A DIRECTORY OF FRIENDS IN PHILADELPHIA, 1757–1760.

[The following directory of Friends in Philadelphia is copied from an original MS. in the "Pemberton Papers," Vol. XIV., presented by Mr. Henry Pemberton to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It is endorsed "An Account of Friends' Families belonging to the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, and some few families not altogether in Unity, visited by Daniel Stanton and John Pemberton. Began in 1757 and finished in 1760." Upwards of five hundred and fifty names appear on the list.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

On the Southward of the City Bounds.

Susannah Scarrett, south side of South street.

In Second Street.

Luke Morris, Widow Moore (widow Siddons' daughter), Daniel Jamison's wife, Moses Mendenhall, Joseph Wharton, Joseph Johnson, and his sister and children, Anthony Morris Jun².

At Wicaco and other Streets thereabouts.

John Hart, William Clifton, John Lawton, William Jarvis's wife, Widow Moore, John Wharton, Margaret Carpenter and two sons, Samuel Davis, William Garwood's wife, George Wood, at Brockden's place, George Adam's wife, 220 A Directory of Friends in Philadelphia, 1757–1760.

Richard Renshaw and children, Joseph Lownes, George Gray's wife, at the Ferry.

John Brown, in Water street, between Pine and South streets.

John Goodwin's, Pine street, between Front and Second streets.

In Lombard Street.

Aquila Roberts,	•	•	•	l	between	Second	and
Samuel Minshall,	•	•	•	ſ	Thir	d streets.	

William Crabb; Robert Smith's wife there.

In the Squares between Pine and Spruce Streets, from the Waterside.

Nehemiah Allen, .	•	. `	١
Joseph Richardson,	•	•	Water street.
Thomas Robinson, and		•	Water street.
John Erwin's children,	•	• •)

James Moore (west side Water street).

Daniel Offley,	•	•)
Isaac Garrigues, Widow Pole	•	. Front street, west side.
Widow Pole,	•	.)
Joseph Yarnall, .	•	. Spruce, between Front . and Second streets.
Joshua Humphreys,	•	. J and Second streets.
Joseph Marshall, .	•	: } east side Second street.
William Griffiths, .	•	. } •
William Fishbourne,	•	•)
Robert Strettle, .	•	. [Pine, between Front and
Samuel Wetherill, his	•	. Pine, between Front and . Second streets.
cousin Sam. there,	•	.)
Samuel Rhoads, .		·) between Second and
Widow Armitt, .	•	between Second and Third streets.
Mary Powell,	•	.) Init streets.

Joseph Reynolds,	•	•	د .	
Charles Townsend,	•	•	•	
Samuel Richards,	•	•	•	in Spruce street.
Jacob Carver,	•	•	•	_
Widow House,	•	•	• •)

John Drinker, Blathwaite Jones' wife, Thomas Hood's widow there. Isaac Jenkinson, Pine street Second and Third streets. Susannah Hinton, in Fourth street. Elizabeth Gardiner, in Eighth street.

In the Squares between Spruce and Walnut Streets, from the Water Westward.

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Benjamin Mifflin, Abraham Mason,	•	•	•	$\}$ Water street.
Mary Bringhurst, Widow Griffiths, Samuel Neave,	•	• •	•	} east side Front street.
Joshua Fisher, Deborah Cordery a John Mifflin Jr., Jonathan Evans,	and sig	ster,	• • •	} west side Front street.
William Pusey, John Faries, .	•	•	•	} on the Dock.

Mary Lisle, east side Second street.

Josiah Sharrold,	•	•	•)
James Lownes,	•	•	•	
Henry Lisle, .	•	•	•	in Second street.
Hannah Lloyd,	•	•	•	
James Wharton,	•	•	•	
Abel Janney, Mif	flin's	alley	, · .	J

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Elizabeth Carr, William Dilworth, Hannah Peters and law, Dilworth a Mary Drinker and	her a nd wi daug	jon in fe, hter,	· · · ·	Walnut street, between Second and Third streets.
Joseph Thomas, Daniel Williams,	•	•	•	} on the Dock.
Robert Proud, William Brown, Friends' Almshous	e,	• •	•	Walnut, between Third and Fourth streets.

Silas Pryor, in Fifth street.

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In the Squares between the Water, Walnut, and Chestnut Streets to East side of Second Street.

Reese Meredith, Walnut and Water streets.

	the)
• •	•	
1		
} · {	•	in Water street
		III Water screet.
• •	•	
• •	•	J
	•)
fe		> east side Front street.
• •	•	}
	•)
• •	•	\succ Front street, west side.
•	•	J
	 } 	<pre> }</pre>

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Mary Wharton,	•	•	•	٦ ١
E. H. & E. Moode,	•	•		Chostnut streat couth
John Baldwin,	•	•		Chestnut street, south side.
John Fisher,			•	81de.
Thomas Ackley,		•	•	J
Mordecai Yarnall,	•	•		1
Samuel Wharton,	•	•	•	
Samuel Morris Jr.,		•		Second street, east side.
James James, .	•	•		Second street, east side.
Widow Gregory an	nd da	ughte	er,	J
Hugh Forbes, E. Tl	homa	s the	re,	
Hugh Forbes, E. Tl Thomas Hopkins,	•	•	•	} Norris's alley.
Sarah Green, . John Sitez, . William Clothier, James Con, .	•	•		1
John Sitez,	•		•	
William Clothier,				> Morris's alley.
James Con.				J
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	-	-	•	-

William Starr, Walnut street.

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In the Squares between the Waterside and Walnut Street and Chestnut Street, Westward.

Widow Jones,	•		•)
William Topham,	•	•	•	
John Stagg, .	•	•	•	
Rachel Pemberton,			•	
James Pemberton,		•	•	
Owen Jones, .	•	•	•	on west side Second
Jacob Jones, .		•	•	street.
Jacob Lewis, .	•	•	•	
Thomas Hallowell,	and	•	•	
N. Goforth there,		•	•	
Ann Page, .	•	•	•	
Thomas Stretch,		•	•	J
Moses Foster, .	•	•	•	on west side of Second ر
Tho & W ^m Lightfo	ot,	•	•	} street.

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William Robinson, Joseph Lownes Jr., Samuel Lewis, Jacob Miller and sister, Jacob Miller and sister, John Hallowell, Villiam Ranstead, Caleb Hugh's (Grace Coffin there), John Burden,							
Samuel Bettle, } by the tan-yards on the John Hood, Dock.							
Jonathan Hood,							
Ann Rakestraw and the Widow Taylor there, } Walnut street.							
James Whitecall, Joseph Ogden (Josiah Hughes there), John Guest, Benj. Kendall (J. Jenkinson there), John Jones, Samuel Garrigues, Joseph Hallowell, John Garrigues, Mary Peters, Christopher Marshall, Samuel Howell,							
Israel Pemberton, .							
Rebecca Binhall, Fourth street, east side.							

•

Michael Sisk, Walnut street.

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David Evans, Rethond	Jone	8)
there,	•	•	Fourth street, west.
Rees Thomas's daughter	8,	•)

Charles Norris, Chestnut street. Job Walker's wife and children, Walnut street. Robert Tempest's wife, Walnut above Fifth street. Moses Musgrove, in Seventh street.

In the Squares between Chestnut Street and Market Street, from the Water Westward.

Joseph Saunders,	•	•	•)
Josiah Bettle, .	•	•	•	\rangle east side of Water street.
White Massey,	•	•	•)

Widow Bowman, west side of Water street.

Benjamin Hough, Nathaniel Allen's wife and	> east side of Front street.
children, J	,

Joseph Morris, . . . Widow Hoodt, . . . Sarah Mifflin, widow Jno., .

Francis Richardson, . Deborah Claypoole, . Widow Paschall, Esther Mifflin and daughter, Sarah Hyde and sister, .	• • •	Aarket street, south side.
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James Wagstaff,	•		•)
W ⁼ Savery, .	•	•	•	
Widow Brientnall,		•		in Second stress on the
Jonathan Zane,	•	•	•	in Second street, on the east side.
Thomas Williams,		•	•	east side.
William Trotter,		•	•	
John Hill, .	•	•	• .	J

Widow Lancaster, in Blackhorse alley. Widow Reading, Sarah Allen there.

.

Joseph Davis, . William Peters, James Stephens, John Cummins, Benjamin Paschall, Spencer Trotter,	•) in Chestnut street, on the north side.
Widow Trotter,)
Joseph Stretch,	•	•	•	
Esther Class, .	•	•		on the west side of Sec-
Joseph Trotter,	• •		•	ond street.
John Jarvis, .	•	•	•	
James Eddy, .	•	•	•	J
John Benson, . Widow Evans, J there, . Joseph Maule, Richard Humphrey Edw. Jones, Jno. Perch there, John Walkinson, Mott there, . John White, . Joseph Parker, George Morrison,	and	J.	R.	on the west side of Sec- ond street.

•

•

James Hendricks, . James Truman, . Widow Avis and son, John Thompson there, George Shoemaker,	• •) in Elbow lane.
Samuel Emlen, . Tacy Morris, . John Burr, . Widow Hays, . Jacob Shoemaker, . John Biddle, . Aquila Jones, . Charles Jones, .	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	on the south side of Market street.
Samuel Howell, . Joseph Marriott, . Widow Powell, . Samuel Bissell, . Widow Bissell, . John Lownes, . Obadiah Eldridge, .	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	on the east side of Third street.
Joseph Way, Hannah Hudson, . Richard Wagstaffe, George Gray, Widow Harper, . Anthony Woodcock, John Thatcher, . Simeon Warner, .	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	on the north side of Chestnut street.
Mary Evans and William Warner's daughters, Widow Betterton, . Jeremiah Cresson, . Ellis Lewis, Lydia Bettle, Content Nicholson,	n . 	} in Strawberry alley.

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Samuel Harford, . Patience Gray, . John Cresson, . John Case, Enoch Flower, . Ann Widdifield, . Joshua Pearson, .	$\left.\begin{array}{c} \cdot & \cdot \\ \cdot & \cdot \end{array}\right\}$ in Strawberry alley.					
Mary England, Trotter	s aney.					
Isaac Moss, Jonathan Shoemaker, Joseph Rakestraw, .	· · · } on west side of Third · · · · } street.	ł				
Reuben Foster, . Eden Haydock, . Charles Brockden's wi	: ; } on south side of Market e, . } street.	t				
Joseph Howell, . Peter Howard, . E. and S. Morris, . Anthony Benezet, . Caleb Evans, . Widow Evans and son Isaac Lobdell, .		f				
Hannah Ashburnham, in Fourth street.						
Widow Clarke, Mary White and Marth James Ennis's wife a dren, Whitehead and Jon th reys,	 Owen, d chil- } on west side of Fourth street. Iumph- }	1				

Joseph Harmer, in Ranstead's alley. John Bezor, in Petty's alley.

•

•

Charles Jenkins's wife and o dren,	on south side of Market	
dren,	•	street, between Fourth
Robert Lewis,	• • •	and Fifth streets.

Edmund Winder's wif	è, .	• >	
William Luffburrow,		. on north side of Chestnu	t,
Mary Lingard, .		. between Fourth an	d
Widow Miller, .	•	. F ifth streets.	
Anthony Siddens, .	•	between Fourth an	
Gaanna Emilan		`	
George Emlen, . David Edwards	•	•	
David Edwards			

David Edwards,	
Widow Thomas,	in Chestnut street, on the
Joshua Hastings, .)	in Chestnut street, on the orth side, between
Widow Edgerton there, \int	Fifth and Sixth streets.
Evan Peters, John Haynes, } in Fifth street.	
John Haynes, } in Finth street.	J

John Potts, in Market street. Mary Biles, in Sixth street. Robert Hopkins, in Market street, between Sixth and Seventh streets.

In the Squares between Market and Mulberry Streets, from the Water Westward.

Thomas Clifford,	•		. `)
James Carmault,	•	•	•	
James Wilson,			•	
John Milner, .		•	•	on the east side of Water
Mathias Aspden,		•	•	street.
Rebecca and Eliza			le,	511001.
Martin Ashburn's		,]		
Alice McColley th	ere,	5	•	
William Fisher,	•	•	• •)

Caleb Jones and			
man,	•	•	on the east side of Front
Francis Rawle,	•	•	street.
Joshua Howell,			

230	A Directory of Friends in Philadelphia , 1757–1760.	lory of Friends in Philadelphia, 1757–).
John	Burden	2	

W: Ri	hn Burden,
Re Ja Ju Ma Ca Jo	mes Rickey, becca Jones there, mes Draper, dah Foulke's wife, ary Attmore, leb Attmore, seph Williams, mes Sharp and mother,
Th Sa W W Th St Ma	mes Pearson, nomas Robinson, muel Griswold, idow Dawson, idow Gosnell and mother, . nomas Hough, ephen Stapler, ary Tongue and sister, . illiam Davis,
	bert Parish,) in Arch, between Front muel Bell, and Second streets.
Le Jo Jo So W M M T T T T Y W	Tidow Green, . sonard Haywood, . seph Sermon, . hn Head, . lomon Fussell, . illiam Fussell, . argaret Thomas, son and daughter, . illiam Craigg, . idow Shute, . idow Shute, .

•

danghtan	re, . and 	on north side of Market, between Front and Second streets.
Benjamin Gibbs, . Joseph Baker, .	• •	
Rebecca Steel, Henry Steel, Samuel Mickle, Widow Durborrow, . Robert Worrell, Widow Lawrence, Benjamin Hootton, Joseph Johnson, John Drinker, Jr., Mary Coates,		on the west side of Sec- ond street.
Elizabeth Harman and mo David Bacon, Thomas Davis, Sarah Lloyd, Jonathan Carmault, . Joseph Jacobs, Elizabeth Paschall, David Dashler, Catherine Wistar, Richard Wistar, Jane Nichols, Widow Brockden,	other,	on the north side of Market, between Sec- ond and Third streets.

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Mago	lalen Brown,

Magdalen Brown, Widow Siddens and daughter, Paul Kripner, Widow Elfreth, Samuel Burge,	in Third street, on east side.
Hugh Roberts, Sidney and Sarah Evans, . Owen Roberts, Joseph Boyd,	$\Bigg\} \text{ in Church alley.}$
Joseph Styles, Widow Hart, Samuel Bryan, Samuel Head,) in Mulberry street, on the south side.
Richard Parker, Jeremiah Warder, Samuel Evans, Samuel Preston Moore, Joseph Fox, Anthony Dashler, Jacob Shoemaker Senr., . Isaac Greenleaf, Ruben Haines,	in Market, between Third and Fourth streets.
Elizabeth Stephens, John Chandler, J. Hawksworth there,	in Fourth street.
William Gardner,Elizabeth Hawkins,Widow Duborrow,Widow of Arnold Coster, .Mary Standley,Stephen Paschall,	hin Market, between Fourth and Fifth streets.
Harman Casdrop, Widow Foster and daughter, . Isaac Coarse,	$\left. ight\}$ in Fifth street.

•

Doughty Jones, in Market, between Sixth and Seventh streets.

David Clarke,	•	•	.) between Sixth and Sev-
Thomas Tilbury,	•	•	between Sixth and Sev- enth streets.
Geo. Webster's wif	e,	•	. }
Isaac Zane, .			. in Sixth and Market
Davis Baisett, .	•	•	. } in Sixth and Market . streets.
Widow Shaw and		•	.) between Seventh and .) Eighth streets.
Mary Groth, .	•	•	\therefore Eighth streets.

In the Squares between Mulberry and Sassafras Streets, from the Water Westward.

—— Milner, Mulberry street.

Edward Penin				•)
Samuel Shoem	aker	,	•		Water street, on the east
Abel James, Robert Waln,		•		•	∫ side.

Widow Parrock and daughter, Water street, west side.

William Callender,		•	•	1
Widow Newtown,	•	•	•	east side of Front street.
John Jones, .		•	•	> east side of Front street.
William West,	•	•	•	J

Joseph Pemberton's school,	• >	
John Elton's wife,		
Edward Brooks,	.	
Thomas Brooks,	.	
Benjamin Shoemaker, .	. [on the west side of Front
Abraham Carlisle,	• }	street.
Samuel Oldman,		
Widow Moore and daughter,	.	
Widow Warner,	.	
Rose Coates and daughter,	. J	

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	n Philadelphia, 1757—1760.
Mary Taggart and sister,	.]
Thomas Fisher,	• on the north side of Mul-
John Gillingham,	
Widow Owen,	berry, between Front
Jacob Cooper,	and Second streets.
Ann Thornton and scholars,	.)
Isaiah Bell,	• >
Joseph Chetham,	.
Isaac Roberts, smith,	\cdot in Second street.
Jeremiah Elfreth,	
Peter Miller's wife,	.)
Joseph Penyard,	、 、
Martha Stackhouse,	•
• • · · · ·	
Isaac Bartram, Isaac Lincoln's wife, .	•
	•
Charles Lyon's wife, . Widow Prown	· in Same hotmoon
Widow Brown,	. in Sassafras, between
Joseph Warner,	. Front and Second
Peter Thompson, William Brown In	. streets.
William Brown Jr., .	·
Henry Shute,	•
Isaac Cathrall, James Cassells,	•
	·
Nathaniel Brown,	•)
Jeremiah Elfreth Jr., .	•)
William Atkinson,	in Elfreth's or Preston's
William Waine,	. alley.
Sarah Halloway,	. aney.
Israel Cassell,	·)
Anthony Morris,	•)
Paul Chandler.	. west side of Second
Paul Chandler, Samuel Morris,	street.
Thomas Say,	

Benjamin Trotter,		· · · · · het	north side Mulberry, between Second and	
Mary Pound, .	•	•	· J	Third streets.

Henry Cliffton, east side of Third street.

Adam Paar)	south side	Sassafras	s, be-
Adam Eoey,		•	•	· y	tween	Second	and
John Moore,	•	•	•	·J	Third st		

John Parrish, west side of Third street.

Nathan Bewley,	•	•	. jin	n Cherry,	between
Joseph Wood,	•	•	. }	Third and	Fourth
Moses Thomas,	•	•	.)	streets.	

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Joshua Mitchell, west side of Fourth street.

Alexander Parker, Christian Thompson, . Widow Shaw and children, Musgrove Evans,	
Benjamin Morgan, Isaac Phipps,	.) in Cherry, between Fifth .) and Sixth streets.
Elizabeth Morris, Jas. Wood's children, .	: } east side Water street.
Richard Wood, Thomas Marshall,	: } west side Water street.
Samuel Bonnell, John Jones, Mary Wiley, Joseph Davenport's wife, Arthur Sackwerell, . John Gilbert Sen ^r ., John Gilbert Jr.,	· · · · } east side of Front street. · ·

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Samuel Hastings, Jeremiah Lynn and Samuel Crispin,	l siste	ers,	•	}	Front street, west side.
Henry Casdrop's w John Parrock, Robert Evans and Widow of Joseph Hannah Parrock,	the Willia	•	: }	}	north side Sassafras, be- tween Front and Sec- ond streets.
Lawrence Rice, Joshua Emlen, John Hastings, John Marle, . John Phipps, . John Coster, . Edward James' wife	fe,	•	•	J	east side of Second street.
William Norton, Robert Wilson,	•	•	•	}	in Emlen's alley.
David Wilson and Drinkers there, Seymour Hart, Thomas Preston,	two • •	of th		}	Vine, between Front and Second streets.
Thomas Priestley children, . George Dilwyn, Widow Abbott,	•	•		}	Sassafras, between Sec- ond and Third streets.
Ebenezer Robinson Robert Hugh and					
Isaac Roberts, . Edward Evans,	•	•	•	}	Sassafras, between Third and Fourth streets.

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Jonathan Biles, Third street, west side.

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On the Northward of the City bounds.

John Biles, .		•	•	ן in	Water	street,	above
William Rakestraw	,	•	•	}	Vine	e street.	

In Front Street, between Vine and Callowhill Streets.

Charles West, Charles West Jr.

Widow Davis, .	•	•	•)
Lydia Cathcart,	•	•	. }
J. Hilderbrandt,	•	•	.)

Peter Bankson's wife, James West.

Rachel Hartley, Vine street. Widow Williams, late Rice, Second street. William Shipley, in Second street.

James Arbuckle,	•	•	•)	Callowhi	i 11,	between
John Williams,	•	•		Y	Front	and	Second
James Ratcliffe,	•	•	•	J	streets.		

Samuel Noble, in Second street.

Thomas Brown,	•	•	. ۱	1
T. Lenon's wife,	•	•		Vine street.
Ab. Gardner, . John Hood, .	•	•		

Above Poole's Bridge.

Widow Estaugh, Thomas Williams' wife, William Preston and Rebecca Warder there, Joseph Stinyard's wife, Thos. Masterman.

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At Kensington.

Joseph Lynn, Henry Dennis, William Pearson, Samuel Fennimore, Isaac Dutton, William Vaune and wife, William Holton, Rowland Ellis, John Norris, Dennis there.

Belonging to Fair Hill Meeting.

Isaac Norris, Benjamin Mason, Joseph Jessup, Jonathan Mifflin, Hannah Harrison, Thomas Hood's wife, William Shute, John Renshaw Senr., John Renshaw, Jr., John Hulme at Frankfort, Jacob Dubree, Hannah Dubree.

On the other Side of Schuylkill.

Widow of Jonathan Edwards, William Warner, Isaac Warner, Arnold Warner, Euronica Warner, Jane Widows, Leonard Fell.

Daniel Cooper at the Ferry opposite the city, on the Jersey shore.

WILHELM, BARON INNHAUSEN AND KNYPHAUSEN.

To the majority of Americans the name of the Baron William Knyphausen is so associated with the troops he commanded that it naturally awakens in their minds recollections of stories handed down from days of bitter strife, when the word "Hessian" seemed but another mode of expressing that of plunder! plunder! So it sounded to the ears of Philadelphians on that dark day of September, 1777. when Howe and his German auxiliaries took possession of the city. While the conduct of some of the rank and file under Knyphausen furnished grounds for the charges that have been brought against the Hessians, it was not applicable to all, as we know from the fact that many of them availed themselves of the first opportunity that offered of quitting the service of their sovereign without ceremony and settling in this country, where they became good and industrious That they differed in character is not surprising citizens. when we remember that some were compelled to serve, while others were induced to enlist by representing to them that America was a perfect "land of promise," overflowing with riches, and that no objection would be made to the plundering of people who were in rebellion against their king. Nor should these charges be applied to the officers, who, as a rule, were men of education and position, widely separated by social rank from the men they commanded. It is true they were soldiers by profession, but they were not soldiers of fortune who had voluntarily hired themselves to serve a foreign power. They simply served their superiors, and endeavored to support with their swords the ruling houses to which they bore allegiance. It was but natural that in doing this they should have excited the bitter hatred of men fighting for their liberties, and it is certain that nothing so united the colonies in their demand for independence as the course pursued by Great Britain of endeavoring to conquer them with the aid of foreign troops. These facts, however, did not alter the individual characteristics of the men who were thus employed, and after a century has softened the bitterness which a performance of their professional services excited, there is no reason why we should continue to ignore the personal qualities of men whose names are a part of our country's history.

To Von Knyphausen's career little attention has been paid, and there does not appear to have been any wish to do him injustice by those who have written on the subject of the Revolution. The letters and papers necessary for a proper understanding of his character, if they exist, are in Germany, and have never been published. Bancroft, whose residence abroad gave him better opportunities than any other American historian has enjoyed, and who probably had authority for the opinion he formed, wrote, next to General Heister "stood Lieutenant-General Knyphausen, remarkable for taciturnity and reserve, one of the best officers in the Landgrave's service, of rare talents in his profession, with a kindly nature, and the accomplishments of a man of honor." Jones, the Tory historian of New York. said, "When Knyphausen took command of the city of New York he was in high esteem as a good soldier, an experienced general, an honest man, of easy access, and of great humanity."

Wilhelm, Baron Innhausen and Knyphausen, was born in Lützberg, Germany, November 4, 1716. His father was colonel in a German regiment under the Duke of Marlborough. He was educated at Berlin, and entered the military service in 1734. By 1775 he had risen to the rank of general, and in 1776 came to this country as second in command of the Hessian troops under General de Heister, whom he succeeded.

He arrived in America towards the latter part of October, 1776, bringing with him the second division of Hessians, the regiment of Waldeckers, one thousand strong, the Second Foot, and the Third Light Dragoons. These troops were promptly transferred from Staten Island to a point

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near New Rochelle, where Knyphausen remained, covering Howe's base of supplies, until after the battle of White Plains, when he advanced to the northern end of New York Island. He led the column that was to make the attack on Fort Washington from the north on November 16, and while the opposition he met with prevented him from arriving on the ground until the place was about to surrender, his conduct was such that the captured fort was re-named in his honor and was placed under his command.

He does not appear to have taken an active part in the Jersey campaign that followed the surrender of Fort Washington and Fort Lee, but the regiment that bore his name was one of those captured by Washington at Trenton on The following year he commanded a Christmas, 1776. division of Howe's army on its way from the Head of Elk to Brandywine. On the morning of September 11 he moved forward from Kennett Square to Chadd's Ford, the duty assigned to him being to command the attention of the American army stationed there while Howe should cross the stream above its forks and attack Washington's right. The following anecdote regarding Knyphausen on that morning has been preserved in the neighborhood: As he was moving down the road leading to the ford, a Quaker woman of English birth came forward and exclaimed, "Oh, my dear man, do not go down there, for George Washington is on the other side of the stream, and he has all this world with him." "Never mind, madam," replied Knyphausen, "I have all the other world with me." Knyphausen was entirely successful in the object he had in view, and held the attention of the Americans until Howe had gained a position on their right, when both advanced and compelled Washington to retire.

When Howe took possession of Philadelphia, Knyphausen was left at Germantown, where he commanded the troops posted along the line of School Lane, west of the main street. At the time of the battle, on October 4, these troops were moved forward to support those that Washington had attacked and driven from Mount Airy, and it was

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while leading one of these brigades that the British general Agnew was killed. When Howe withdrew his troops from Germantown and quartered them in Philadelphia, Knyphausen, for a time, occupied the house of General Cadwalader, on Second Street. He was described by a resident of the city to Watson, the annalist, as being "German in appearance, always very polite in bowing to respectable citizens in the streets, not tall, but slender and straight. His features were sharp and martial, and he was very honorable in his dealings." He had a strange way of spreading his butter on his bread with his thumb that caused some comment, but the following anecdote from the "Diary of Deborah Logan," recorded on the authority of Charles Thomson, leaves no doubt regarding his scrupulous honesty :

"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 his library. When the enemy were about to evacuate the city, Monsieur Du Simitière, 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 preservation, 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 remember) from Louis XVI., King of France, to the Philosophical Society,-of many volumes in 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 Simitière 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 sent for the agent of General Cadwalader, and, giving him an inventory which he had caused his steward to make out upon 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 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, who carried off the books. I understood that the books had been sent to Dr. Franklin's care, and had not yet been placed in the library of the Philosophical Society."

Knyphausen was with Howe when he marched against Washington at Chestnut Hill, vainly threatening to capture him and his army, or to drive them in confusion over the Alleghanies. In the retreat from Philadelphia across Jersey Knyphausen commanded the advance, and as the baggage was sent ahead of the army to secure it from the attack of the Americans, it came under his charge, and he did not participate in the battle of Monmouth.

In the same year that Philadelphia was evacuated he, in conjunction with Cornwallis, conducted an extensive foraging expedition into Westchester County, New York, and in December, 1779, when Clinton assumed command of the expedition against Charleston, he left Knyphausen in command of the city of New York. In January, 1780, he sent a detachment across the Hudson on the ice at Paulus Hook, and another from Staten Island over the Raritan. The former captured a company at Newark, while the latter took two majors, two captains, and forty-two privates prisoners, and burned some buildings in Elizabethtown.

In June of the same year he again crossed from Staten Island to Elizabethtown Point with five thousand men to encourage a mutinous spirit which he understood existed in the American army. As they advanced towards Elizabethtown they were fired upon by some militia, and the British general Sterling, who led the troops, received a fatal wound. He was carried to the rear, and Knyphausen at once took his place at the front. "A mutinous spirit," says Steadman, the English historian, "had certainly discovered itself among the soldiers of the American army, but arose from distress, and not from disaffection. The British commander experienced a grievous disappointment. Instead of being received in the Jerseys as friendly, the militia very gallantly turned out to oppose them. During the march from Elizabethtown to Connecticut Farms, a distance of only seven miles, they were annoyed by parties of militia the whole way. When the British troops approached Springfield, a detachment from that army which was represented to be mutinous was seen drawn up in force on the other side of the river to dispute their passage."

The militia turned out from all quarters, and from behind every hedge and tree poured a murderous fire into the British columns. Nevertheless, the troops under Knyphausen pushed on. The village of Connecticut Farms was destroyed by fire, and in the affray the wife of the Reverend Caldwell, a chaplain in the American army, was killed. "The tragical fate of Mrs. Caldwell," says Irving, "produced almost as much excitement through the country as that which had been caused a preceding year by the massacre of Miss McCrea;" but, adds Carrington, "like that event, however sad, it could not be charged to the account of the British commander." Knyphausen continued his advance to within half a mile of Springfield, but finding the country fully aroused, he determined to retire, and, Steadman says, it was only the fear that his retirement would be looked upon as a flight that prevented him from recrossing to Staten Island. General Carrington says, however, that, having learned of the capture of Charleston, and knowing that Clinton was returning to New York, he determined to remain where he was,-on the Jersey side of the Raritan,-knowing that it would be a good base from which to strike at Morristown. Certain it is that no sooner had Clinton arrived than such attempt was made, but, owing to the skilful manœuvres of the Americans, the British were unable to accomplish their object, and, after burning the town of Springfield, they recrossed to Staten Island.

This was the last expedition of special note in which we know Knyphausen to have been engaged. He remained in America until the close of the war, and returned to Europe in the same vessel as Clinton. "Bodily infirmity and the loss of an eye," says one writer, "caused his retirement in 1782, when he returned to Europe, having, as he said, achieved neither glory or advancement." Towards the end of his life Knyphausen became military governor of Cassel, where he died December 7, 1800.

The portrait of General Knyphausen is the reproduction of a carte-de-visite, taken from an original in the possession of the family. It was obtained through Mr. J. G. Rosengarten, by the kindness of Captain O. von Verschuer, from Lieutenant Baron von Knyphausen, the lineal descendant of General Knyphausen. In his letter, Lieutenant von Knyphausen says, "The General was buried in the old military cemetery at Cassel, but that was abandoned, and the monument was removed to an island near Castle Lützburg, in East Friesland, Hanover, the family estate, where the portrait is also preserved." On the back of the carte-de-visite Lieutenant von Knyphausen has written, "Gen. Wilh. Fryherr of Innhausen and Knyphausen, Chief of the Hessians in the war between England and the United States 1777-1783."

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Botes.

COLORS OF THE PHILADELPHIA ASSOCIATORS.—The Independent Advertiser, of Boston, Massachusetts, of February 1, 1748, contains the following "DEVICES and MOTTOS painted on some of the Silk Colours of the Regiments of Associators in and near Philadelphia."

I. A Lion erect a naked Scymeter in one Paw, the other holding the Pennsylvania Scutcheon. Motto, Pro Patria.

II. Three Arms, wearing different Linnen, ruffled, plain and chequ'd; the Hands joined by grasping each the other's Wrist, denoting the Union of all Ranks. Motto, Unita Virtus valet.

III. An Eagle, the Emblem of Victory descending from the Skies. Motto, A Deo Victoria. IV. The Figure of Liberty sitting on a Cube, holding a Spear with

the Cap of Freedom on its Point. Motto, Inestimabilis.

V. An armed Arm, with a naked Faulchion in its Hand. Motto, Deus adjuvat Fortes.

VI. An Elephant, being the Emblem of a Warrior always on his Guard, as that Creature is said never to lie down, and hath his Arms ever in Readiness. Motto, Semper Paratus.

VII. A City walled round. Motto, Salus Patriæ, Summa Lex.

VIII. A Soldier with his piece recover'd, ready to present. Motto, Sic Pacem Querimus.

IX. A Coronet and Plume of Feathers. Motto, In God we Trust.

X. A Man with a Sword drawn. Motto, Pro Aris et Focis &c.

Most of the above Colours, together with the Officers Half Pikes and Spontoons, and even the Halberts, Drums, &c., have been given by the good Ladies of this City, who raised Money by Subscription among themselves for that Purpose.

PENN FAMILY.—According to Granville Penn in bis "Memorials of Sir William Penn" (Vol. II. p. 580), and also according to Burke in his "Commoners of England" ("Penn"), the inscription on the monument to the admiral in St. Mary's Church, Redeliffe, states that Sir William read "the Derres of Repres of Lader, in a function of William of the was "of the Penns of Penns-Lodge in y. County of Wilts, and those Penns of Penn in ye C. of Bucks." The part in italics is altogether omitted in the version of the inscription given in the PENNSYLVANIA MAG-AZINE, Vol. XIV. p. 172, which is a transcript from Mr. Lea's copy taken from the monument. As Mr. Lea says, in a foot-note to the page mentioned, that, from its elevation, the reading of the inscription, even with a glass, was a very difficult task, I suppose he could not see the part I have underlined, and so omitted it.

P. S. P. CONNER.

CURIOUS CHRISTIAN NAMES .- Names of persons belonging to the Handy family in Maryland : Goliah Godolphin Rinaldo Rinaldini Puffendorf Gordon Marius Handy. Lucretia Anne Elizabeth Eleanora McCloster Gordon (Handy) Toadvine.

Rev. Mr. Adams, an eccentric and deaf clergyman of the Episcopal Church, of the Eastern Shore of Maryland, records the following bap-tism: "Fortune Ritty Buck, baptized Forty Ripping Bucks." B.

LINES WRITTEN AT THE "ASSEMBLY," PHILADELPHIA.-The following "lines written in an Assembly Room, in Philadelphia, and at-tributed to Colonel Joseph Shippen," contain names well known in this city. We are indebted to the courtesy of Mrs. Charles C. Harrison, a great-granddaughter of the "lovely White," for this copy.

> In lovely White's most pleasing form, What various graces meet, How blest with every striking charm, How languishingly sweet. With just such elegance and ease, Fair charming Swift appears, Thus Willing, whilst she awes can please, Thus Polly Franks endears. A female softness, manly sense And conduct free from art, With every pleasing excellence In Inglis' charms the heart. But see! another fair advances With love commanding all, See happy in the sprightly dance Sweet, smiling, fair McCall. Each blessing which indulgent Heaven On mortals can bestow, In Sally Coxe's form and face True index of her mind. The most exact of human race Not one defect can find. Thy beauty every breast alarms, And many a swain can prove That he who views your conquering charms Must soon submit to love. With either Chew such beauty dwell, Such charms by each are shared, No critic's judging eye can tell Which merits most regard. Tis far beyond the painter's skill, To set their charms in view, As far beyond the poet's quill, To give the praise that's due.

HUNSICKER.-On the fly-leaves of a copy of Saur's Bible, Germantown, 3d ed. 1776, is the following record:

Diese bibel gehöret Henrich Hunsicker dem Jungen zu und ist Mir Kauft worden von meinem Vatter d/ 5 Abrill 1803.

D: 11 January 1782 ist Henrich Hunsicker gebohren des abends um 9 uhr Soli Deo gloria.

Den 11 October 1804 ist Henrich Hunsicker verheirat mit Maria Detweiler.

Maria Detweiler was born February 14th Satterday evening at 9 o'clock in the year of our Lord 1784.

15 Februarius 1806 ist unser dogter Catharina Hunsiker auf diese welt geboren des abens um 11 uhr. 22 October 1807 ist unser Sohn Johanes Hunsicker auf diese welt ge-

bohren des nachmittags um 3 uhr.

Den 15 martz 1810 ist unser Sohn Henrich Hunsicker auf diese welt gebohren des nachmittags um 2 uhr.

Den 13 martz 1812 ist unser Sohn Danyel Hunsicker auf diese welt gebohren des morgens um 8 uhr.

Den 3 September 1814 ist unser Dogtter Maria Hunsicker auf diese welt geboren des abens um 8 uhr.

Den 11 September 1817 ist unser Sohn Pilzus Hunsicker auf diese welt geboren des abens um 11 uhr und ist gestorben den 21 februarius 1 uhr.

12 April 1818 ist unser Dogter Ester Hunsicker auf diese welt geboren des morgens um 5 uhr.

This 3 Day of March 1821 Was our Son Wailloim Hunsicker Was Born in the four noon at 11 Clock.

This 8 Day of March 1823 Whas our Dauchter Elizabath Hunsicker Was Born in the Afternoon at 5 oclock.

Unto uz a child waz given Unto uz a Daughter was Born the 10th Day of December 1826 at 1 oclock and became the name Suzanna Hunsicker. T. S.

CARTER-SUTTON-MORRIS-HILL-RIDGWAY. - According to a memorandum made by me in February, 1870, the following is a copy of entries in a Bible of 1698 (imprint not recorded in my note) that had once belonged to William Carter:

William Carter, son of Joanas & Dority his mother (sic) was born the 20th day of the 4th month called June 1651 & was baptised at one day ould. William Carter came to Pensilvania the 9th month 1682.

Philadelphia 26th 6th month 1721, William Carter married Mary Sutton, widow.

William Morris son of John and Mary Morris born 27th 4th month 1785, at Spring Mills in White Marsh Township.

Anthony Morris son of John and Mary Morris born at Spring Mills in White Marsh the 10th day of 8th month and 6th day of the week.

And departed this life 9th mo. 2d day, 1740 and was buried at Plimouth Meeting

The following endorsement, in the handwriting of Mrs. Margaret Morris, née Hill, is upon the marriage certificate of William Morris and Margaret Hill, who were married at Philadelphia, 21st Ninth Month, 1758:

Richard Hill Morris & John Morris, Twins, were born Sep. 28. 1759. R. H. M. died Aug. 29. 1760. Deborah Morris was born Nov. 29th 1760. Richard Hill Morris was born Sep. 5th 1762.

Mary Morris was born June 19th 1764. Died Feb. 14. 1765. April y^o 14th 1766.

On this sorrowful day my dearly beloved companion & husband W. Morris departed this life (after an illness of 12 days) & is I trust, at rest in the bosom of his & my glorious Redeemer. He was aged 30 years & 9 mos.

And now Lord! what wait I for? my hope is in thee.

Gulielma Maria Morris was born August 18th 1766. The last dear Pledge of the fondest & happiest Love that ever was experienced by Mortals. M. M.

I copy the following from a "Trenton Bible" (printed by Isaac Collins) : Mary Oldden Ridgway (sic) was born on 4th Day the 17th Feby 1808,

17 minutes past 10 o'clock in the evening. Mary Oldden Ridgway Died 26th of November 1809 at 1 o'clock & 50 minutes in the Morning, aged one year nine months & nine Days.

James Ridgway was born 34 day the 28th Nov. 1809 1 past 7 o'lk in the evening.

Elizabeth Ridgway was born 2⁴ day the 8th April 1811 15 minutes past 9 o'clock in the evening.

Rebecca Ann Ridgway was born the twenty fourth day of September 1813 about fifteen minutes before nine in the morning, on the Sixth day of the week. T. S.

ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES, PHILADELPHIA.—Mr. Frederick Schober sends us the following extracts from a letter of Dr. Edmund Porter, of Frenchtown, New Jersey, to Dr. Thomas Miner, of Haddam, Connecticut, dated October 25, 1825, describing a meeting of the Academy of Natural Sciences, of this city, which he attended:

... When the mirror of life is looked into, who does not discover his aberrations? Who has not erred? The first geniuses of the age, the greatest men of the world, with a sigh, exclaim, "poor human nature." I sometimes indulge myself in contemplating great minds, who have not had the advantages of either an Academic or Collegiate education. I have contrasted them with those, who have passed the ordeal of the first of literary examinations, and find some consolation in believing that the glare of glory, has hallowed their names, while the most studious sons of science have sunk in the scale of common approbation, have mingled with their mother earth and are forgotten. The idea is melancholic, but not the less true.

I am almost, sometimes, a disciple of the doctrine of destiny, and have been led to these remarks, in consequence of my association in Philadelphia, a few evenings since, with a Society of gentlemen, members of the "Academy of Natural Sciences." There were present fifteen or twenty. Among the number was La Suer, Rafanesque, Say, Peale, Pattison, Harlan, and Chas, Lucien Bonaparte.

Among this collection, life was most strikingly exemplified.—La Suer, with a countenance weather beaten and worn, looked on, for the muscles of his iron bound visage seemed as incapable of motion, as those on the medals, struck in the age of Julius Cæsar. Rafanesque has a fine black eye, rather bald, and black hair, and withal is rather corpulent. I was informed that he was a native of Constantinople. At present he lives in Kentucky. Dr. Harlan is a spruce young man and has written a book. Peale is the son of the original proprietor of the Philadelphia Museum, and one who visited the Rocky Mountains with Major Long; he is a young man, and has no remarkable indications of countenance to distinguish him. Say, who was his companion in the same expedition, is an extremely interesting man; to him I am particularly obligated, for showing me their Museum and extensive Library. He spoke of Benjamin Silliman, not that he knew him personally, but as being one of the first men of the age. I think he told me that their society, had published nine volumes. They commenced their operations in 1812. *Pattison*, I remember to have seen some five or six years ago on a mineralogical excursion in my neighborhood. I judge that the cause of his devotion to natural history, is the cause of the want of something to amuse and diversify the tedium vita of a bachelor's life. Griffith superintends the dispensatory. There is nothing remarkable for which he is distinguished.

Bonaparte is the son of Lucien Bonaparte and nephew to the Emperor Napoleon; he is a little set, blackeyed fellow, quite talkative, and withal an interesting and companionable fellow. He devotes his attention to ornithology, and has published a continuation of Wilson's work on the above subject.

There was also a little fellow called Dr. Coates, with a nose similar, to

what you have sometimes seen, on the front of an Irishman's face turned up; nevertheless he is a young man of science, and highly respected. I do not know what kind of a nose Lavater most liked-at all events Dr. Coates may keep his own nose. Hays, an interesting Jew, delivered the lecture on mineralogy. He had collected his specimens on the Catskill Mountains. C. L. Bonaparte read a memoir on the "Golden Ployer." To a novice it seems curious, that men of the first intellect should pay so much attention to web-footed gentry with wings.

A Latin letter was read by Mr. Collins descriptive of a certain plant, growing on the waters of the Arkansaw; for my part I did not under-stand much of it—however it was to those who did, not the less valuable.

MEMORIAL TO BARON STIEGEL.—Zion's Lutheran congregation, Manheim, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, propose to place a chime of ten bells in their tower as a memorial to Baron Henry William Stiegel, who, in 1762, founded the town and donated the land on which their church stands. Baron Stiegel came to America in 1750, from Manheim, Germany, and twelve years later began the manufacture of glass and stoyes in Lancaster County. In 1774 he became financially embarrassed and died poor.

REYNOLDS.-In a copy of the "Federal Ready Reckoner," 1793, found at Leary's, the following genealogy is recorded :

Geo. Reynolds was born March 9th, 1767. Nancy Reynolds, his wife, was born October 10th 176(?)

Was married October 17, 1792. Died November the 20th, 1803. John Reynolds was b. Monday, June 23, 1794.

Elizabeth Reynolds b. March 16, 1796.

George Reynolds b. April 8, 1799. William Reynolds b. January 10, 1801.

Ann Reynolds b. March 5, 1803.

VISIT TO VALLEY FORGE.-On Saturday, June 18, 1892, a large number of gentlemen, members of the Historical Society of Penn-sylvania, in charge of Librarian Frederick D. Stone, passed a field-day at Valley Forge. A special train conveyed them to Washington's headquarters, and, after inspecting the old mansion, an informal meeting was organized on the front lawn. Vice-President Charles J. Stillé made some appropriate remarks and introduced Professor Howard, who read extracts from the oration of the late Henry Armitt Brown, Esq., delivered on the spot in 1878. After partaking of a luncheon, served in a tent on the lawn in the rear of head-quarters, carriages were taken to the head-quarters of Lafayette and Knox, Forts Washington and Huntington, the site of the cantonment of the troops and the line of intrenchments on Mount Joy. On returning to head-quarters, impromptu addresses were made by Judge Armstrong, John Lucas, William Watterall, Wil-liam S. Baker, and Craig Ritchie, Esq. A vote of thanks to Mr. Stone was passed for the success and pleasures of the field-day.

A LIST OF JUSTICES OF BURLINGTON COUNTY, NEW JERSEY, 1682-1709.—The following list of justices of the jurisdiction, liberties, and precincts of the court at Burlington (1682–1709) was prepared by Francis Bazley Lee, of Trenton, N. J. The manuscript records still remain in the State capitol, and form a most valuable commentary upon

Notes and Queries.

the earliest history of West New Jersey. In the arrangement of matter the date gives the first appearance of the name, although many of the members of the court sat for several years. The justices were members of the Quarter Sessions, Special, Common Pleas and General Courts, Court of Errors, and, at a later date, the Supreme Court (Combury establish-ment, 1704).

Justices.

Sen	1689		Thomas Ollive	Nov	21. 1692	Danll Leeds
Geb.	1682 "		Robert Stacy		20.1692/3	John Tatham
	"		John Chaffen			
	"			No.	16/1693	Jno. Worlidge
	"		William Biddle	Nov	3/ "	Tho Revell
	"		Thomas Budd	reby :	20 / 1693	Nathaniel West-
	"		John Cripps			land
~		•	Benjamin Scott	Aug	8 / 1694	John Curtis
Dec.	. 19/168	2	Elias Farr			Peter ffrettwell
			(ffarre)		20 / 1694	Jeremiah Basse
	y. 1682/		Mahlon Stacy	Aug	8/1695	Jno. Adams
	6 Month					Samll Harriott
8.	"	"	Jno. Skeen	"	"	John Holling-
"	"	"	Tho. Gardner ¹			head
**	"	"	Henry Stacy	"	" 1698	Thomas Bibb
"	"	"	Wm. Emley	"	** **	Anthony Elton
20.	12.	1683	Francis Collins	"	"	Joshua Ely
3.	4.	1684	Robert Dims-	"	** **	Michaell New-
			dale			bold
"	"	46	Daniell Wills	"	"	John Test
"	"	"	Robert Turner	Nov	3. "	John Jewell
8.	6.	1684	ffrancis Daven-		20 "	William Hew-
	••		port			ling
8.	6.	1685	Willm Peachee	"	" 1699	Ralph Hunt
<i></i>		1000	James Budd	"	" 1699	Joshua New-
**	"	"	Geo Hutcheson ²		1055	bold
15.	10.	1685	Richard Guy	Aug	8 <i>j</i> 1700	Richard Ridg-
26.	10.		Andrew Robin-	лид	0/1/00	
20.	1.	1000		A	8/1700	way Robert Wheeler
12.	3.	1696	son Richard Lau-	Aug Nov		Sam ¹ Furnis ⁶
14.	0.	1000			4/1700 5.1705	
"	"	"	rence	June	5. 1705	Roger Parkes }
	5.		George Deacon			(Roger Parke) §
15.	0. "	100/	Edw Hunloke	T		William Budd
"	"	"	Ja: Marshall	June C		John Bainbridge
			Willm Myers). (j	John Rudroe
15.	5.	1687	Richard Bas-	Dec 10). "	Michael New-
			nett ⁴	~ ~~		port
23.	6. "	1687	Jno. Wood	Sep 23		William Bustill
"		**	James Martin	June	1709	Enoch Andrews
2 0.	12.		Tho. Lambert	Sep 13	. 1709	Danll Coxe ⁷
	Nov.		Jno. Skene			Hugh Huddy ⁸
Nov.	. 21.	1692	Wm. Righton	Dec	1709	M' SoMmans
			-			

¹ Thomas Gardiner, King att'y, Feb. 20, 1699.

⁸ Justices called magistrates, 1686.

• President, 1705.

7 Coll.

² President 12, 3, 1686.

⁴ Aug. 8, 1692, Attorney-General. ⁶ Burgess.

* Coll.

Notes and Queries.

Governors.

August 1682 D. Mo.	Sam ¹ Jenings Gov- ernor	D. Mo. 10. 7. 1686 Jno Skene Governor 20. 12 1687 Daniell Coxe Gov-
8. 3. 1684	Thomas Ollive Deputy & Prest	ernor John Skene Dep
3. 4. 1684	Deputy & Prest Thomas Ollive Gov- ernor	Governor May 12/1694 Andrew Hamilton
8. 9. 1685	John Skene Depy Governor under Byllinge	Governor and Judge

Sheriff.

Sep 26 1682 John White	Nov 3. 1701 Isaac Marriott Aug 8. 1702 Hen: Grubb Sub.
1692 James Hill	Aug 8. 1702 Hen: Grubb Sub.
Feby 20 1699 Joseph Cross	Sheriff
Sep 29. 1700 Christopher Weth-	Dec. 10 1706 Hugh Huddy
erill	

Recorder.

Sept 26 1682 Tho: Revell Feby 1699 Edward Hunloke	Aug 8 1702 Hugh Huddy
Feby 1699 Edward Hunloke	Jan 11 1704 Captain Jewell for-
clerk	mer clerk.
May 8 1701 Thomas Gardiner	
clerk of sessions	l

LAFAYETTE IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.—Mr. Charlemagne Tower, Jr., of Philadelphia, is engaged upon a work on Lafayette in the American Revolution, and will be obliged to any one possessing letters of Lafayette, written during that struggle, who will send copies of them to him in care of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Queries.

RUSH-TIPPIN-MAXWELL.-Information is requested as to parents of Sarah Rush, who married Benjamin Tippin. What relation was Sarah Rush to Dr. Benjamin Rush?

In the year 1749, Audley Maxwell moved from Pennsylvania to Georgia. He had a brother James, who about the same date moved from South Carolina to Georgia. The names of parents, brothers, sisters, or other data, is requested.

Savannah, Ga.

WILLIAM HARDEN.

DEWEES.—In the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. VI., pages 75 and 77, appears the name Cornelius Dewees, who married Margaret Richards, granddaughter of Owen Richards, one of the early Welsh settlers in Chester County, Pa. Was this Cornelius Dewees a son of William Dewees, who died in the "township of Germantown" in 1745, and who was the father of the wife of Henry Antes, of Moravian Church history? Information is desired by a descendant,

MRS. E. A. WEAVER.

3215 Spencer Terrace, West Philadelphia, Pa.

Notes and Queries.

OGDEN.-The date of birth and death of Lewis Ogden, of New Jersey, who married Margaret Gouveneur; and also of the wife of Uzal Ogden, father of Lewis, is requested.

A. B. M. I.

CLARKE.-Which son of Benjamin Clarke, of Stony Brook, New Jersey, was the father of James Clarke (married Susan Everingham), whose father was Dr. Israel Clarke of Clarkesville?

A. B. M. I.

MATRICULATES, COLLEGE OF PHILADELPHIA.—Information is desired concerning the following matriculates :

May, 1759.

Joshua Clayton, s. James Clayton, of New Castle government. John Cook, s. Silas Cook, of Rhode Island. Stephen Watts, s. Stephen Watts, of Bucks Co., Pa. Samuel Cample, s. Hugh Cample, of Penna. John Porter, s. John Porter, Bucks Co., Pa. May 9, 1760. William Paxton, s. Joseph Paxton, Trenton, N. J.

Stephen Porter, s. James Porter, Maryland. James Lang, s. Patrick Lang, Lancaster Co., Pa James Anderson, s. Samuel Anderson, Chester Co., Pa. Robert Johnston, s. John Johnston, Chester Co., Pa. John Stewart, s. Andrew Stewart, Lancaster Co., Pa.

May, 1761.

James Sayers, s. John Sayers, Philadelphia. George Rundle s. George Rundle, Devonshire, England. Walter DuBois, s. Isaac DuBois, late city New York. Edward Armstrong, s. Robert Armstrong, New Castle Co., Del. James Huston s. James Huston, Philadelphia.

May 3, 1762.

George Saunders, s. George Saunders, Barbadoes, W. I. Joseph Hutchins, s. Henry Hutchins, Barbadoes, W. I. William Hopper, s. William Hopper, Maryland. James Weims Moore, s. William Moore, Pennsylvania. May 21, 1775.

William Allston, South Carolina.

John Caldwell, Philadelphia.

Matthias Harrison, Philadelphia.

Paxton Hatch, Boston, Mass.

Joseph Lisle, Philadelphia.

George Simpson, Philadelphia.

John Smith, Antigua, W. I. Thomas Watres (sic Watres), South Carolina. James Yard, New Jersey.

William Temple Franklin, London, O. E.

Joseph Mayo, Virginia. James Hopewell, Maryland.

Robert Dorsey, Maryland.

MAJOR WILLIAM BAILY.—Information is wanted in reference to the ancestry and life of Major William Baily, who died at the battle of the Cowpens, and of his son Robert, who wrote "Life and Adventures of Robert Baily," published in 1822. READ'S "THE PILGRIMS OF THE GREAT ST. BERNARD."—In what magazine was T. Buchanan Read's story of "The Pilgrims of the Great St. Bernard" first published? K.

EARLY PRINTING IN WELSH IN AMERICA.—The will of John Humphrey, of the Welsh tract, dated September 22, 1699, and proved August 31, 1700, contains the following clause: "I give and bequeath 10 lbs. $[\pounds 10.0.0]$ towards putting in the Press the Testimony of the 12 Patriarchs in the Welsh tongue if conveniences can be had for the same in these America pts. otherwise if it canot [sic] be had I order the same to be disposed for charitable uses by the monthly meeting."

If this once popular book was printed by Jansen, it is the first book in Welsh printed in America, and antedates Pugh's "Annerch ir Cymru" (Philadelphia: Andrew Bradford, 1721), which has hitherto held that place, by some twenty years.

REV. JOHN ARROWSMITH.—Who was the Rev. John Arrowsmith? He is mentioned in the will of Ann Cox in 1699, and seems to have been a clergyman of the Church of England. C.

CLAYPOOLE PORTRAITS.—Information is requested as to whether there are any portraits of James Claypoole, the emigrant, his ancestors or descendants, and in whose possession they are. G.

POTTS-HOWELL-PETERSON.-Does any one know of the existence of a signature of Daniel Potts, of Philadelphia County? He died about 1728, at about 30 years of age. A tracing of his signature is desired.

Moses Wells, son of John and Olive, of Philadelphia County, married Rebecca Howell, June 1, 1721. Can any one give the names of her parents?

Hance Peterson owned land in Brandywine Hundred, New Castle County, Delaware, as early as 1689. He was one of the first churchwardens of Holy Trinity (Swedes' Church, Wilmington) in 1697. One of his sons was Israel Peterson. Can any one furnish information of Hance or Hans Peterson's family connections,—his parentage, his wife's name, and names of his children?

The writer would be glad to have any information sent to him direct, as he desires it for use in a genealogical work now in course of publication.

Canonsburg, Pa.

THOMAS MAXWELL POTTS.

Replies.

The suggestion for the list of books enumerated in the "curious lot of manuscripts in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania" (PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. XV. p. 501) had its origin, I fancy, in "Addison's Catalogue of Books," found in and designed for a ladies' library. (*Vide* Addison's Papers, Nos. 37 and 92, in the *Spectator*.) Adding the names of ladies eminent in society in 1778, as authors, was no doubt, as you say, a bit of satire.

Bellefonte, Pa.

J. M.

SHOEMAKER OR SCHUMACHER FAMILY.—In answer to H. C. B.'s query, in the April number of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, I would reply that the earliest information we have regarding them is that obtained from Besses' "Suffering of Friends," and from this it appears that in the year 1657, William Ames and George Rolfe, English Friends, visited Kreisheim, now Kriegsheim, in the Palatinate, and made many converts. In 1663 a fine of five shillings was imposed on each person every time they assembled for worship; to collect this fine, their cattle and household goods were seized and sold, they being, no doubt, farmers. Among those who suffered greatest were George and Peter Shoemaker. In 1680, William Penn heard of the persecutions this little band of Quakers were undergoing, and visited them, inviting them to join him in his colony in Pennsylvania. This led to the formation of the Frankfort Company, and the settling of Germantown, under the lead of Pastorius. Professor Seidensticker visited Kriegsheim in the hopes of learning more of these early Germans, but found their church records had been destroyed by fire in 1848, so that no trace remained. Among the inhabitants in 1680 were three brothers, or cousins, bearing the name of Schumacher,-viz., Jacob, unmarried, who came out with Pastorius in 1683; all trace of him is lost. The Friends' Meeting-House, Main and Coulter Streets, stands on land given by him. In 1685 came Peter, his son Peter, Jr., daughters Mary, Frances, and Gertrude, and cousin Sarah, while in the same year sailed George, Sarah his wife, and their seven children, George, Jr., Barbary, Abraham, Isaac, Susanna, Elizabeth, and Benjamin. The father died at sea, but the widow and children arrived in Germantown 1st mo. 26th, 1686.

George, Jr., on 12 mo. 14th, 1694, married Sarah Wall, granddaughter of Richard Wall, a prominent English Friend, who had taken up six hundred acres of land in what is now Chelton Hills. The most of those hundred acres of land in what is now Chelton Hills. The most of those bearing the name come from this marriage. For a fuller account of this line than is proper here, see "The Shoemaker Family, of Cheltenham," p. 76, in "The Old York Road and its Early History." Susanna married Isaac Price, 1st mo. 4th, 1696. They were the ancestors of the late Eli K. Price, who has recorded in "The Family" a genealogy of that line. Isaac, brother of the two above, married Sarah, daughter of Carbard Hendricks a prominent Friend and one of the four signers to Gerhard Hendricks, a prominent Friend, and one of the four signers to the first protest against slavery, issued by the Germantown Friends, 2d mo. 18th, 1688. Hendricks had drawn lot No. 8 in the Pastorius division, which was situated on the main street, where Shoemaker Lane now is. On the rear, close to the Wingohocking Creek, he, in 1682, erected a stone house, which remained until torn down by Mr. Mehl in 1840, and from its passing to his son-in-law became known as the Shoemaker House. A tenant house built close by on a large rock, and near the railroad, called the Rock House, still stands. From this rock, tra-dition says, William Penn preached to the people assembled below in the meadow. (See picture of the house in "Watson's Annals.") The old Hendricks' Bible is now in the possession of Mrs. Samuel M. Shoemaker, of Baltimore. It was printed in 1538, and has a number of Shoemaker records in it. Benjamin Shoemaker, son of Isaac and Sarah, sat in the Provincial Council, and was three times mayor of Philadelphia, and for sixteen years its treasurer. His son Samuel succeeded him as treasurer, and was also twice mayor. From this line descends what is known as the Shoemaker-Rawle-Morris-Pennington branch. (See Keith's "Provincial Councillors.") The Shoemaker homestead H. C. B. asks about was built by Isaac prior to 1732; it stood on the north corner of Germantown Avenue and Shoemaker Lane and was in the possession of the family until 1842, when it was purchased by the late George M. Thompson, who shortly afterwards tore it down and erected on the site what is now known as Cottage Row. Pictures of the

house show it was built after the old German style, two stories high, with an entrance from the rear, while on Germantown Avenue was a door-way leading to the cellar, which gave it the appearance of a threestory building. It was large and commodious, being quite pretentious for its day.

As to the time of Anglicizing the name Schumacher, it is probable it began very shortly after the family arrived. Richard Wall, in his will, dated 1697-8, writes it "Shoemaker," though most likely the Germans retained the style of the Fatherland, the change thus being a gradual one.

Germantown, 6th mo. 3d, 1892.

THOMAS H. SHOEMAKER.

Book Notices.

VIRGINIA GENEALOGIES. A GENEALOGY OF THE GLASSELL FAMILY OF SCOTLAND AND VIRGINIA, ALSO THE FAMILIES OF BALL, BROWN, BRYAN, CONWAY, DANIEL, EWELL, HOLLADAY, LEWIS, LITTLE-PAGE, MONCURE, PEYTON, ROBINSON, SCOTT, TAYLOR, WALLACE OF VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND. By Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden, M.A. Wilkes-Barre, Penna., 1891. Large 8vo, 788 pp. Price, \$8. Among our genealogists, the Rev. Mr. Hayden has the reputation of an indefitimable and consumptions worker, and this is more than sur-

Among our genealogists, the Rev. Mr. Hayden has the reputation of an indefatigable and conscientious worker, and this is more than sustained by the work before us. Few indeed will appreciate the patient labor and research of eight years required in the compilation of so much data from early wills, Revolutionary letters and documents, parish, county, and State records, with which its pages are enriched. Its value will be appreciated by genealogists in general, but Virginians in particular will ever be indebted to the reverend gentleman for the first comprehensive history of many of their prominent families. A chapter on Descent, preliminary to the genealogies, and replete with information for those whose vanity incline them to seek first for royal and noble ancestors before those of the freemen and yeomanry of Great Britain, is deserving of careful reading. In addition to the genealogies of the sixteen families given on the title-page of the work, are the following : Alexander, Ashby, Ashton, Bankhead, Barnes, Beckwith, Blackburn, Blackwell, Briscoe, Britton, Brockenbrough, Bronaugh, Buchanan, Bullitt, Bushrod, Caile, Campbell, Carter, Cary, Chichester, Chinn, Claggett, Coalter, Cooke, Cordell, Covell, Cox, Crawley, Crosby, Dade, Doddridge, Downman, Edwards, Eltonhead, Eno, Eustace, Fairfax, Fleet, Forrest, Foulke, Fowke, Fox, Franklin, Gaskins, Gordon, Grayson, Grinnan, Halsey, Hanson, Harrison, Hart, Hayden, Hayes, Henderson, Henry, Hooe, Horner, Jones, Kenner, Key, Lee, Lippett, Madison, Marr, Mason, McCarty, McGuire, Morson, Morton, Nalle, Overton, Patton, Payne, Paynter, Pearson, Pegram, Phillips, Pickett, Ramsey, Randolph, Scarborough, Screven, Smith, Somerville, Spann, Stannard, Stone, Tabb, Taliaferro, Terry, Thacker, Thompson, Threlkell, Tomlin, Travers, Tucker, Turner, Underwood, Vance, Waller, Ware, Washington, Webb, Weeks, Whiting, Williams, Winston, Wood, Wormley, and Yates. Numerous illustrations and portraits, and a full index of names, add value, and the good typography attractiveness t

Mr. Hayden is now preparing a volume of Delaware Genealogies, with a genealogical history of the Van Dyke family of New York, New Jersey, and Delaware, and allied families of Johns, Nixon, Robinson, and Stuart, with collateral lines.

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THE

PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE

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HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Vol. XVI.	1892.	No. 3.

THE FIRST PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON.

At a special meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, held on Monday evening, 29th February, 1892, the original sketch for the first authentic portrait of Washington, a reproduction of which appears as a frontispiece, was presented to the Society by Mr. Charles S. Ogden, of Philadelphia. Mr. William S. Baker, on offering the resolution of thanks, said,—

"On the 21st day of May, 1772, nearly one hundred and twenty years ago, George Washington, of Mount Vernon, in the colony of Virginia, wrote as follows to Jonathan Boucher, an Episcopal clergyman at Hanover and St. Mary's parish: 'Inclination having yielded to importunity I am now contrary to all expectation under the hands of Mr. Peale; but in so grave so sullen a mood and now and then under the influence of Morpheus when some critical strokes are making that I fancy the skill of this gentleman's pencil will be put to it, in describing to the world what manner of man I am.'

"The Mr. Peale referred to was Charles Willson Peale, an honored name in the annals of American art, and the portrait of Washington which came from these sittings is the familiar three-quarter length, representing him at the

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age of forty in the costume of a colonel of the Virginia militia, a blue coat faced with red, bright metal buttons, and a dark-red waistcoat. On his head is the hat usually called the Wolfe hat. It is always alluded to as the first authentic portrait of Washington, and is known to us by a number of engravings and reproductions. After the death of Washington the picture came into the possession of his adopted son, George Washington Parke Custis, of Arlington House, Virginia, and from him descended to his daughter, Mrs. Robert E. Lee. It is now in the possession of a member of that family.

"The sittings for this portrait were recorded by Washington on the blank pages of an interleaved almanac for the year 1772:

" ' May 20.—I sat to have my picture drawn.

"' May 21.—I sat again to take the drapery.

"' May 22.—Set for Mr. Peale to finish my face."

"An entry in his account-book is still more pertinent to the subject:

"' May 30.-By Mr. Peale drawing my picture, £18.4."

"The original study for this portrait (the head and shoulders only), and from which the three-quarter length just described was painted, was retained by Mr. Peale, and formed one of the interesting features of his gallery of Revolutionary heroes included in what was known as Peale's Museum, at Philadelphia.

"At the time of the sale and dispersion of the Peale Gallery, October, 1854, twenty-seven years after the death of the artist, the original study, the uniform having been changed to the Continental colors, was purchased by Mr. Charles S. Ogden, of this city, and has been in his possession from that time.

"The following letter from Rembrandt Peale, son of Charles Willson Peale, to Mr. Ogden, dated Philadelphia, September 18, 1858, forms part of the history of the picture, which is really the first authentic picture of Washington, antedating for a short time the production of the threequarter length:

"'DEAR SIR,—The portrait which you purchased from the Peale Gallery I distinctly remember from my youth and during all the changes in my father's gallery to be the portrait of Washington, painted by my father at Mount Vernon in the year 1772. Washington was then a colonel in the Alexandria militia, and the picture in the Mount Vernon collection represents him in the English uniform, Blue and Red. I am under the impression that your picture was the first study for the large picture now at Arlington, which was finished at Mount Vernon, and that my father subsequently (during the war for Independence) changed the dress to the Continental costume, notwithstanding that in our catalogues of the Museum Gallery this portrait has always been called "Col. G. Washington."'

"This is the picture before us, and I now have the pleasure of reading a letter from Mr. Ogden in reference to it, which will not only explain itself, but furnish a source of much gratification to the members of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania:

"' COLONNADE HOTEL, February 22, 1892.

"'MR. FREDERICK D. STONE,

"' LIBRARIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNA. :

"'DEAR SIR,—I send for presentation to the Historical Society my portrait in oil of Washington, painted by Charles Willson Peale at Mount Vernon in the year 1772, the first portrait that was made of Washington, it being the original study for which the three-quarter length was made, known as the "Arlington picture."

" ' Also a letter from Rembrandt Peale, a son of the artist, relative to the authenticity of the portrait.

"Also a portrait in oil, by the same artist, of Bill Lee, familiarly known as "Billy," Washington's favorite military servant during the war for Independence.

"'These portraits were purchased by me at the public sale of the Peale Gallery in Philadelphia. The frames are the originals that surrounded them when upon exhibition in the Peale collection of pictures in the museum.

"' I am sincerely yours,

"' CHAS. S. OGDEN.'

"The portrait of 'Billy Lee' in its connection also has its interest. The date of its execution is not given. 'Billy,' as Mr. Ogden states, was the favorite military servant of Washington during the Revolutionary War. He survived his master, and under the provisions of his will was well cared for at Mount Vernon.

"In the history of American portraiture, this portrait of Washington, in consequence of its being the first authentic original, will always occupy a prominent position, and the members of the Society have good reason to congratulate themselves on its acquisition."

Mr. Baker then offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted :

"Resolved, That the thanks of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania be tendered to Mr. Charles S. Ogden, of Philadelphia, for his generous and thoughtful action in presenting to the Society the portrait of Washington, painted by Charles Willson Peale at Mount Vernon in 1772, the original study for the three-quarter length representing him in the costume of a Virginia colonel, and also for the portrait of 'Billy Lee,' the favorite military servant of Washington, by the same artist."

THE ANCESTRY AND EARLIER LIFE OF GEORGE WASHINGTON.

BY EDWARD D. NEILL, D.D., SAINT PAUL, MINNESOTA.

The writer of this article received a note from the late Joseph L. Chester, of London, the able and painstaking editor of the "Westminster Abbey Registers," dated 8th September, 1877, in which were these words: "In your 'Founders of Maryland' is a letter of John Washington the emigrant. Can you by any means obtain for me a tracing of his signature to that letter, or of his signature from any other source? It would be of inestimable value to me. I have lately come upon a deed which I have strong reasons to think is his, and if, on a comparison of the two signatures, this should prove to be the case, I think my long, protracted labors over the Washington history would come speedily to an end."

In another letter, dated August 17, 1878, he wrote, "I have come into possession of the Washington deed of 1657, of which I wrote some time ago. . . I lost the deed when it was first offered for sale, two years ago, it having been ordered by somebody who wanted it on account of other names in it. A month ago he sent it to me, by post, saying that he had no further use for it, and that he had heard I was interested in the Washingtons. It was a very odd affair, but proves the truth of the old maxim that everything comes to the man who waits."

Doctor Chester had found the administration of John Washington on the property of his mother, Amphillis Washington, but it remained for Henry F. Waters to discover his father, and for Moncure D. Conway¹ to give an account of his mother's family.

¹ See N. E. Hist. Gen. Register, 1890, Harper's Magazine, May, 1891.

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Lawrence Washington, the fourth son of Lawrence Washington, of Sulgrave, Northampton, a younger brother of Sir William Washington, of Packington, and Sir John Washington, of Thrapston, entered Brasenose College, Oxford, when he was nineteen years of age, on the second day of November, 1621, and in 1624 was one of its Fellows, and from 1627 to 1632 he held the responsible position of lector. He resigned his fellowship to accept the rectorship of Purleigh, Essex, to which he was presented by the widow Jane Horsmanden, the aunt of Warham Horsmanden, in 1657-58 a member of the Governor's Council in Virginia,¹ and for several years a prominent citizen of that colony. He remained rector of Purleigh until November, 1643, and then was ejected on the charge of being "a common frequenter of ale-houses, not only himself sitting daily, tippling there, but also, incouraging others in that beastly vice." He was permitted after this to hold a poor living, which it had been difficult to have any one accept.

Thomas, a son of Sir Edmund Verney, fell in love with a maiden of lower social position, whom his parents were unwilling that he should marry, and in August, 1634, he was sent over to Virginia in the ship called the "Merchant's Hope," the "master under God Robert Payge." After remaining several years in America, he returned to England.²

It is worthy of note that Lawrence Washington, the rector of Purleigh, should have lowered his standing in society by marrying Amphillis, the daughter of John Roades, a farm servant of Sir Edmund Verney. In the will of the latter, proved on the 23d December, 1642, after bequests to his son Thomas and others, he gives to his "servant John Roades," of Middle Claydon, an annuity of ten pounds.

The rector Lawrence died about 1650, leaving Amphillis a widow, with six children. John was the eldest, the time of whose birth was probably about 1634. Lawrence was baptized June 23, 1635; Elizabeth, August 17, 1636; William in 1641.

¹ Neill's "Virginia Carolorum."

² Camden Society Publications, No. 31, "Letters and Papers of Sir Edmund Verney." The birth or baptism of Margaret and Martha is not known. The mother, Amphillis, was buried at Tring, the 19th of January, 1654, O.S., and on the 8th of February letters were granted to her son John to administer the goods, chattels, and debts of the deceased.¹

The Washington family had been connected by marriage with those who had been prominent in the colonization of The widow of Colonel Henry Washington, a Virginia. royalist during the civil war, and uncle of the immigrant John, became the wife of Samuel Sandys, whose cousin, Sir Edwin, was once the head of the Virginia Company of London, and Edwin's brother George was the first treasurer of the colony resident at Jamestown. An aunt of this Samuel Sandys was the wife of Francis Wyatt, an early governor of Virginia. Then Robert Sandys, a nephew of the colonial treasurer, married Alice Washington, the aunt of the immigrant. It is also worthy of note that Sir Henry Moody, the only son of the Lady Deborah, who, with his mother, obtained a patent for the town of Gravesend, Long Island, where they and others could "enjoye the free libertie of conscience according to the custom and manner of Holland," sold his old home at Garsden, Wilts, to Sir Lawrence Washton, Kt., register of the Court of Chancery, and a relative of John.

There is no evidence that John Washington was, before 1658, in Virginia. That year he arrived in the Potomac River in a ship owned by Edward Prescott, a merchant, the master of which was John Greene. On the voyage, Elizabeth Richardson, suspected of being a witch by Captain Greene and his sailors, was hung, and then tossed into the sea. Washington felt it was an outrage, and complained against Prescott, a Maryland trader. Governor Fendall of that province notified Washington in 1659 that the case would be examined at the October Court of that year, and wished him to come over from Virginia, with others who were on the ship and witnessed the execution. The summons received the following reply:

¹ Waters and Conway.

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"Hon'BLE SIR: Yo'rs of this 29th instant, this day I received—I am sorry y't my extraordinary occasions will not permit me to bee at ye next Provincial Court to bee held at Mary Land ye 4th of this next month. Because then, God willing, I intend to gett my young sonne baptized. All ye company and Gossips being already invited. Besides, in this short time witnesses cannot bee gott to come over. But if M^{*} Prescott bee bound to answer at ye next Provincial Court after this I shall doe what lyeth in my power to get them over. So I shall desire you to acquaint mee whether M^{*} Prescott be bound over to ye next Court, and when, ye Court is, that I may have sometime for to provide evidence.

"Yo'r ffriend & Serv't "JOHN WASHINGTON.

" 30 Sept. 1659."

The name of the officiating minister at the baptism of his infant has not been preserved. There were two clergymen at that period, living on the west shore of the Potomac, whose social and educational advantages had been superior to the clergymen of a later period in the colony.

In Sittingbourne parish, not far from the Washington plantation, lived Francis Doughty, a son of an alderman in Bristol, England. He was the brother-in-law of Governor Stone, of Maryland, and was at one time in charge of the lower parish of the Eastern Shore of Virginia. While in Sittingbourne parish complaint was made against him because "he denied the supremacy of the King contrary to the canons of the Church of England."¹

Not many miles from Washington parish lived, in the words of the Court Records, "Mr. David Lyndsay, Minister." He officiated in the parish of Wicomico for several years, and upon his tombstone, the oldest in that portion of Virginia, in a burying-ground on Cherry Point, Wicomico River, Northumberland, is this inscription:²

² "The Lindsays of America." Albany, New York, 1889. Joel Munsell's Sons, publishers.

¹ Neill's "Virginia Carolorum," p. 259.

"Here lyeth interred y[•] body of That Holy and Reverant Devine M^r David Lindsay late Minister of Yeocomico, born in y[•] Kingdom of Scotland, y[•] first and lawful sonne of y[•] Rt Honerable Sir Hierome Lindsay, Kt of y[•] Mount, Lord Lyon—King at Arms, who departed this life in y[•] 64th year of his age, y[•] 8d April, anno Dom. 1667."

The first wife of Washington and her two children were buried in Virginia. After her death, he married Anne, widow of Walter Brodhurst, the eldest son of William of Lilleshall, Shropshire, and the daughter of Nathaniel Pope. Pope and Brodhurst had been among the early settlers of Maryland. The former was a member of the jury as early as 1637, and sat in the Legislature of 1641 and 1642; but in 1647 was in sympathy with those who recognized Captain Edward Hill, of Virginia, as governor.

Soon after this he was identified with Virginia, and in 1650 is mentioned as Nathaniel Pope of "Appomattocks, gent." He obtained in September, 1654, a grant of one thousand acres in Westmoreland County, and Pope's Creek bears his name. In August, 1657, he is called Lieutenant-Colonel Nathaniel Pope. Walter Brodhurst is mentioned as early as 1639, in the Maryland Records, and was accused of saying, in June, 1647, at the house of Surgeon Thomas Gerard, "that there was now no Governor in Maryland, for Capt. Hill was Governor." He removed to Virginia as early as 1650, and was elected in 1653 to represent Northumberland County in the Legislature, which then included what was that year set off as Westmoreland County. At that time he was about thirty-four years of age. He died and left one child, Walter. His will was proved in November, 1658, in the Prerogative Court, Canterbury, England, and among the records of Northumberland County, Virginia, there is reference to a suit brought on September 30, 1659, by Anne Brodhurst, relict and administrator of Walter Brodhurst.¹

¹ After the widow Brodhurst married John Washington, her son, Walter Brodhurst, half-brother of Lawrence Washington, returned to England, and was warden of the Lilleshall Church. On the south side

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It must have been after this that the widower John Washington married the widow Anne Pope Brodhurst.

In the will of John Washington, of Washington parish, Westmoreland County, Virginia, made on the 21st of September, 1675 (O. S.), he alludes to his sister Martha, to whom he had advanced moneys for transporting herself to America, and directs his brother-in-law Thomas Pope to attend to the bringing up of his son John, and his wife to care for his daughter Anne, until the oldest son Lawrence is of age. To his daughter he gives the "diamond ring and her mother's rings." He provided for the preaching of a funeral sermon, and wished to be procured from England for the lower church of Washington parish a tablet with the "Ten Commandments," and also the "King's Arms."

Lawrence, the eldest son of John Washington, married Mildred, the daughter of Augustine Warner, who in 1652 represented York County in the Virginia Assembly. He died in 1699, leaving his wife and three children, John, Augustine, and Mildred. In his will he provided for a funeral sermon at the church, and to the upper and lower church, of Washington parish, Westmoreland, he gave a pulpit cloth and cushion.

The widow Mildred went to England and married George Gale, of White Haven, Cumberland. She lived but a short period after her second marriage, and was buried on the 30th of January, 1700-01, at White Haven.

Augustine, the son of Lawrence and Mildred Warner, born in 1694, when only twenty-one years old married Jane,

of the church, adjoining the church wall, may be seen two partly-broken slabs, that were placed over the remains of his children :

HERE LYET*	HERE LYE * *	
THE BODEY **	THE BODEY * *	
MA** BROD	IANE BRO * * *	
HVRST DAVGH	RST DAVGH *	
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* AY 1672.		

daughter of Caleb Butler, of Westmoreland County, and took her to his home on the Potomac River, between Pope's and Bridge's Creeks. The house was plain, one story high, with a spacious attic under a "hip roof," and a brick chimney outside at each end, the style of most of the houses of the period. He was a quiet, just, honest, and thrifty planter.

John Fothergill, an English physician and Quaker preacher, in 1721, after visiting Miles Cary, of Warwick, who was a member of the "Society of Friends," came up to "Mattocks," and in his journal mentions that he was received at "Justice Washington's, a friendly man."

The first wife of Augustine Washington died November 24, 1728, and was buried in the family vault at Bridge's Creek, and on the 6th of March, 1730-31, he married Mary, the daughter of Colonel Joseph Ball, who lived in Lancaster County, on the left bank of the Rappahannock River. Her first Virginia ancestor, William Ball, was a merchant who came about the same time as John Washington. The tradition that he had been a colonel in the army of King Charles, and was entitled to a coat of arms, is without foundation.¹

In the family Bible of Mary Washington, still preserved, is written "George Washington, son to Augustine & Mary his wife, was Born y[•] 11th Day of February 1731-2, about 10 in the morning & was Baptised the 5th of April following. M^r Beverly Whiting & Cap^t Christopher Burks Godfathers, and Mⁿ Mildred Gregory Godmother."

¹ Colonel Peyton, of Virginia, wrote more than a century ago of spurious pedigrees, "It really seems to me, as much as I have heard in Virginia upon the subject of old families, that of all vanity it is the most extravagant. . . . To such an extent is this upstart feeling carried in Jamaica, that the favourite study is heraldry and genealogy. Many who had risen to wealth by cultivating coffee, and distilling rum . . . have employed themselves in manufacturing a pedigree. The oldest members of the College of Heraldry in London, have been uniformly unable to send these forth, except with wanting links, bars sinisters, and great gaps, rents, and fissures."—"Adventures of My Grandfather." J. R. Peyton, London, 1867.

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In 1734 the farm-house near Pope's Creek was burned, and Augustine moved to a plantation nearly opposite to Fredericksburg, on the Rappahannock. It was here that George Washington received some education. There were no good schools in the counties. In the preamble to the statutes of the College of William and Mary is this declaration: "Some few, and very few indeed, of the richer sort sent their children to England to be educated. It was no wonder if this occasioned a great defect of understanding, and that it was followed with a new generation of men far short of their forefathers, which if they had the good fortune, though at a very indifferent rate, to read and write, had no further commerce with the muses or learned sciences."

Mary Ball¹ wrote to a relative before her marriage, "We have not had a school-master in our neighborhood until now, in nearly four years."

Through the influence of George Washington's father,² the Rev. Charles Green, an educated Irish gentleman, took charge of Truro parish, within which were the Mason, Fairfax, and Lawrence Washington plantations. While the community contained a few intelligent planters, most of the people were ignorant, and it became necessary, in 1744, by an act of legislation to turn out the vestry of the church because they could neither read nor write.³

Washington's school-master was a transported convict.

¹ The mother of Washington always showed a deficiency in education. The following letter, written late in life, and addressed to her son, is given by Conway:

"Dear Johnne, I am glad to hear you and all the family is well, and should be glad if I could write you the same. I am a going fast, and it the time is hard. I am borrowing a little Cornn, no Cornn in the Cornn house. I never lived soe poore in my life. Was it not for M^r French and your sister Lewis I should be almost starved, but I am like an old almanack quite out of date. Give my love to M^{re} Washington all the family. I am dear Johnne your loving and affectionate Mother.

"P.S.—I should be glad to see you as I dont expect to hold out long."

² Long Island Hist. Soc. Col., Vol. IV.

⁸ Hening's Statutes.

Boucher, a scholarly clergyman of the Church of England, who lived in Virginia for several years, and acted as tutor to General Washington's step-son, wrote, "M^{*} Washington was the second of five sons, of parents distinguished neither for their rank nor fortune. Lawrence, their eldest son, became a soldier, and went on the expedition to Carthagena, where, getting into some scrape with a brother officer, it was said he did not acquit himself quite so well as he ought, and sold out.

"George, who like most people thereabout, at that time, had no other education than reading, writing, and accounts, which he was taught by a convict servant whom his father brought for a school-master."

Whatever may have been the moral character of his teacher, he was a good instructor of penmanship and in keeping accounts. We know little of the boyhood of Lawrence, the half-brother of George, and the eldest son of Augustine's first wife. In 1740, when he was about twentyone years old, he was a captain of one of the Virginia companies in the campaign against Carthagena under Admiral Vernon.

Augustine Washington died April 11, 1748, and his will was presented on the 6th of next May, by his son Lawrence, for probate. He owned a great deal of land, but had very little money, and left to Lawrence the Hunting Creek property, which the son called Mount Vernon, after the naval officer under whom he had served. To George he gave certain lots in Fredericksburg. His executors were wellknown planters,—Robert Jackson, Anthony Strother, James Thompson, Daniel McCarty, and Nathaniel Chapman.¹

Fontanes, under a misconception, in an oration before Napoleon and the military authorities of Paris, spoke of George Washington as "born in opulence."

In sight of Mount Vernon, and four miles below, was the plantation of William Fairfax, one of the best and most

¹ Nathaniel Chapman is supposed to have been a relative of the late Nathaniel Chapman, M.D., Professor in the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania.

prominent men of the colony. By his integrity, from early youth, he had won respect in various positions of public trust. His father, Henry Fairfax, had been sheriff of Yorkshire, but was extravagant, and left very little for the support of his widow and children. William, born in 1691, when he was twenty years old gained a position in the British navy under Sir John Jennings. In 1712 he was in London and obliged to borrow money of his mother, but by perseverance he was steadily advanced, and in 1724 he was president of the court at Nassau, New Providence Island, where he married Sarah Walker. In 1725 he was collector of customs at Salem, Massachusetts. Here, on the 18th of January, 1731, his wife died, and then he married his wife's friend, Deborah Clark, a native of Salem, and lived in what was known as the "Touzell House." His cousin Thomas, the sixth Lord Fairfax, invited him, in 1734, to become the superintendent of his possessions in Northern Virginia, and that summer he left New England and made a home and land-office at Belvoir, below Mount Vernon.

It was not good for Lawrence Washington to live alone, and in 1743 he married Anne Fairfax, born in New England, who made a pleasant home at Mount Vernon, and George, the half-brother of her husband, about twelve years old at the time of her marriage, was a welcome visitor, and here he formed a life-long friendship with her brother, George William Fairfax,¹ who had been sent to school in England, and was a companion whose influence was in many ways improving.

There was sorrow at Belvoir and Mount Vernon in 1746, caused by the death of Thomas, the second son of William Fairfax, about a year younger than George, and born before

¹ Colonel Gale, Judge of the Admiralty in North Carolina, and a relative of George Gale, of White House, Cumberland, England, who had married the widow Mildred Washington, whose son, Augustine, was the father of Lawrence and George, in 1731 made a visit to Salem, Massachusetts, at the request of William Fairfax, and took his son George, then seven years old, with him to England, to go to school. the wife of Lawrence Washington. He had entered the British navy, and on the 26th of June, 1746, on board the ship "Harwich," Captain Carteret, in the twenty-first year of his age, was killed in an engagement with some French ships-of-war on the Indian coast. He was beloved by his commander and brother officers for his bravery, urbanity, and professional skill.

George Washington lived with his mother for some time after she became a widow, and was a dutiful son. In 1746 Thomas, Lord Fairfax, came to Virginia to be a permanent resident. He lived for a period at Belvoir, and then established a "lodge in the wilderness," thirteen miles southeast of Winchester. Colonel William Fairfax, the lord's agent, with a party of surveyors and assistants, on his way to the Shenandoah Valley, in September, 1746, stopped at Fredericksburg. In a letter to his son-in-law, Lawrence Washington, he wrote on the 10th of the month, "I have not yet seen Mrs. Washington. George has been with us, and says he will be steady, and thankfully follow your advice as his best friend. . . . I have spoken to D^r Spencer, who, I find, is often at the widow's, and has some influence to persuade her to think better of your advice in putting him to sea, with good recommendation." Lawrence wished him to be a common sailor, and there is no foundation for the tradition that he procured him a midshipman's commission in the British navy.

On the 18th of September, Robert Jackson, a family friend, and one of the executors of his father's will, wrote to Lawrence, "I am afraid M^n Washington will not keep up to her first resolution. She seems to intimate a dislike of George's going to sea, and says several persons have told her it's a very bad scheme." The anxious mother may have written to her brother, Joseph Ball, who had become a lawyer in London, on the subject, and under date of May 19, 1747, he wrote as follows: "I understand that you are advised, and have some thoughts of putting your son George to sea. I think he had better be put apprentice to a tinker; for a common sailor before the mast has by no

means the common liberty of the subject, for, they will press him. from a ship where he has fifty shillings a month, and make him take twenty three, and cut and slash, and use him like a negro, or rather like a dog. . . . And if he should get to be master of a Virginia ship (which it is very difficult to do), a planter that has three or four hundred acres of land, and three or four slaves, if he be industrious, may live more comfortably, and leave his family in better bread, than such a master of a ship can. . . . He must not be too hasty to be rich, but go on gently, and with patience, as things will naturally go. This method, without aiming at being a fine gentleman before his time, will carry a man more surely, and comfortably, through the world, than going to sea."

After this letter was received, all thought of a "life on the ocean wave" was dismissed from the mind of her son, and he gave his attention to surveying. Early in 1748, under his friend George Fairfax, he went on a surveying expedition. They passed through Ashby's Gap to the lodge of Lord Fairfax, and from thence through Winchester to the south branch of the Potomac, as far as the house of Cresap, an Indian trader. For his services in this tour, he writes in his note-book, "A doubloon is my constant gain every day that the weather will permit of my going out; sometimes six pistoles."

On the 12th of April, 1748, he wrote, "Mr. Fairfax got safe home, and I to my brother's house, which concludes my journal."

Both Fairfax and Washington, during the lonely hours of camp life in the forest, thought of the pleasant girls they had left behind them. A few months after this tour, George Fairfax, in December, 1748, took for his wedded wife Sarah, the daughter of Colonel Wilson Miles Cary, of Ceeley's,¹ Warwick County, near Hampton, the collector of the lower district of James River for thirty-four years. At

¹ The Ceeley plantation probably took its name from Thomas Ceeley, who in 1629 represented Warwick in the House of Burgesses.

the marriage there is reason to suppose was his friend Washington, and many lowland beauties.

After this marriage, Washington was for a time living in the same house with the bride. He wrote to a friend, "I might, was my heart disengaged, pass my time very pleasantly, as there's a very agreeable young lady lives in the same house, Colonel George Fairfax's wife's sister; but as that's only adding fuel to fire, it makes me more uneasy, for by often, and unavoidably being in company with her, revives my passion for your Lowland Beauty."

Conway, in "George Washington and Mount Vernon," gives the following as written about this time:¹ "Dear Sally. This comes to Fredericksburg fair in hopes of meeting with a speedy Passage to you if you'r not there, which hope you'l get shortly, altho' I am most discouraged from writing to you, as this is my fourth to you since I received any from yourself. I hope you'l not make the Old Proverb good, out of sight out of mind, as its one of the greatest Pleasures I can yet foresee of hearing in Fairfax, in often hearing from you, hope you'l not deny me.

"I pass the time much more agreeable than what I imagined I should, as there's a very agreeable young Lady lives in the said house where I reside (Colo. George Fairfax's wife's sister), which in a great measure chears my sorrow and dejectedness, tho' not so as to draw my thoughts altogether from your Parts. I would wish to be with you down there with all my heart but as it is a thing almost Impractikable shall rest myself where I am with hopes of shortly hearing some Minutes of your transactions in your Parts, which will be very welcomly received."

When seventeen years of age, Washington showed the maturity of manhood, and in the records of Culpeper County Court, under date of 20th of July, 1749 (O.S.), is this account of assuming a public trust. "George Washington, Gentleman, produced a commission from the President and Masters of William and Mary College, appointing

> ¹ Long Island Hist. Soc. Col., Vol. IV., 1889. Vol. xvi.—18

him to be Surveyor of the County, which was read, and thereupon, he took the usual oath to his Majesty's person and government, and then took and subscribed the abjuration oath and test, and then took the oath of Surveyor, all to hand."

William Fairfax, the half-brother of George, the son of the second wife of William Fairfax, when a boy went to John Clarke's school, at Wakefield in Yorkshire. His father went to England in 1750, and visited his son. Under the date of 28th of September, he wrote, "I have had the pleasure to find Col. Beverley, his family, and my son William Henry in good health. On discoursing with Mr. Clark, the worthy schoolmaster, I find that several of the books under Wm. Appleyard's care will be useful to my son."

Colonel Beverley, of Rappahannock, at this time was living with his wife and son in a house on West Gate Street. In 1751 three Virginia boys were in the same class at Clarke's school,—Wm. Henry Fairfax, Robert Beverley, and Robert Munford. Richard Henry Lee, who moved in the Continental Congress that the colonies ought to be free and independent States, the next year came to the school, and Theodoric Bland was here for five years.

The next year the health of Lawrence Washington required a change of climate. Accompanied by his brother. George, he sailed for Barbadoes, an island where his wife's uncle occupied a prominent position in the British service.¹ During the visit, George was attacked by small-pox, traces of which remained through life. Under date of December 12, 1751, he wrote, "Went to town, and called on Major Clarke's family, who had kindly visited me in my illness, and contributed all they could, in sending me the necessaries the disorder required."

At Barbadoes there had lived a playmate and relative of the father of Lawrence Washington's wife. Henry Fairfax, the father of Colonel William of Belvoir, and a Henry Washington, whose father has not been ascertained, mar-

¹ Gedney Clarke, brother of Deborah Clarke Fairfax, born in 1711.

ried the sisters Harrison, of South Cave, Yorkshire; Henry Washington¹ died at Cookham, Berkshire, in 1718, and his son Richard, first cousin of William of Belvoir, went to the Barbadoes, and in 1747 died, leaving a widow, who went back to London, and was perhaps the mother of the Richard who was the correspondent of George Washington.

George Washington returned home before his brother, and resumed his duties as an adjutant-general of Virginia militia, with the rank of major, to which he had been appointed before he made the voyage. As he received the annual salary of one hundred and fifty pounds, he was able to dress as became his rank, and by his thrift to save money.

His thoughts now went out to an old sweetheart in the valley of the James River, and in a letter to her father, William Fauntleroy, dated May 20, 1752, he plainly wrote,—

"Sir, I should have been down long before this, but my business in Frederick detained me somewhat longer than I expected; and immediately upon my return from thence I was taken with a violent pleurisie which has reduced me very low, but purpose, as soon as I recover my strength to wait on Miss Betsy, in hopes of a revocation of the former cruel sentence, and see if I can meet with any alteration in

¹ May not he have been the Washington to whom an aged gentleman, Mr. George Field, alluded when he told Harvey the American artist, and also wrote to Judge Bushrod Washington, in 1821, that when he was a boy, "about the year 1787, an uncle of mine pointed out to me a house at Cookham, in Berkshire, a pretty little country retreat, which he informed me was the last residence of the parents of General Washington"?

The tradition is erroneous, but it may have been the last home of Henry Washington. The widow Eleanora and her son Richard were obliged to mortgage some of their property. Richard married as early as 1720, and soon went to Barbadoes.

Mr. Field obtained a portrait from Cookham, said to be that of a Mrs. Washington, and in 1854 he died and bequeathed the painting to the artist Harvey. In 1871 the picture was in possession of Samuel F. B. Morse, LL.D., of New York City, and represents a young woman. Richard Washington, when this family left Cookham, must have been twentyfive years of age, and his wife Elizabeth probably younger. Perhaps the portrait found at Cookham by Field was her representation.

my favor. I have inclosed a letter to her which should be much obliged to you for the delivery of."

Elizabeth did not revoke her "former cruel sentence," and in time became the wife of a planter in the James River valley by the name of Adams. While disappointed in his love for woman, he steadily grew in the favor of men. Dinwiddie wrote to the Governor of Maryland, on the 24th of November, 1753, "I received a letter from the Earl of Holderness w'ch caused my sending a person of distinction to the Comander of the French Forces on the Ohio River." This person of distinction was young Major Washington, and at the time the letter was written he was on his way to the French commander. He reached his post on Buffalo River, not far from Erie, Pennsylvania, and found Legardeur Saint-Pierre in command, whose ancestors had been identified with Canada for several generations. The Canadian was an experienced officer, and had been in charge of a stockade on the shores of Lake Pepin, in what is now Minnesota, and afterwards was sent towards the Rocky Mountains, west of Lake Winnipeg, to find a path to the Pacific Ocean. He had only been on duty at Fort Le Bœuf a few days, when young Washington appeared with a letter from Governor Dinwiddie, to which was returned a courteous but evasive reply. Washington came back to Williamsburg in January, 1754, and reported that the French fort "mounted eight pieces of cannon, six pounders, and was garrisoned with 150 men; and they have already engaged the Chippeways, Ottoways, and Ouendacks [Hurons] to take up the hatchet against the English."

A glimpse of the military operations of Virginia troops during 1754, from a little different stand-point than the histories of Irving and Washington, will not be inappropriate. Captain Trent, a brother-in-law of George Croghan, with a company of armed men was sent to the Forks of the Monongahela, and in April Washington was ordered to his assistance, but when advancing with a detachment, intelligence was received that the post had been surrendered to the French under Contrecœur, and he then determined to push on to Red Stone Creek, and wait for reinforcements. Rumors of the advance of the French caused him to make a stand at the Great Meadows. A party under Jumonville, with a lieutenant and about thirty men, was attacked, and the commander killed. When the French heard of this disaster they sent out another and larger party for retaliation. The "Meadows" was low ground between two hills, and here the English built a log stockade, surrounded by a ditch. Governor Sharpe, of Maryland, wrote, "Here on the 3d of July, about noon, the French attacked him, and having killed about thirty men, obliged him toward evening to accept terms, which indeed were not very honorable. That he did not stand longer, on the defensive, he attributes to the great danger there was of holding out against such a superiority of numbers, when he had not any expectation of seeing the other troops come to his assistance, and also being in want of both ammunition and provisions. That he was prevailed to sign a dishonorable capitulation is owing, he declares, and concurrent circumstances support his assertions, was not to these difficulties but to the infidelity of one or two officers now a hostage to the enemy, on whom he depended to interpret to him the terms and conditions proposed to him by the enemy, which were written in the French language. Thus at once were frustrated all the hopes that had been conceived from the Virginia armament."

In another letter Sharpe wrote, "I believe Washington and the officers under his command when they received the intelligence of the enemy's approach, before the battle, would have taken very different measures, had there been no pique, nor disagreement, concerning rank between the Virginia officers and those of the Independent company commanded by Capt. Mackey. On being informed of the enemy's approach they retired to a little useless kind of intrenchment in a valley, between two eminences and where the Independent Company posted themselves in the ditch. The French took possession of the eminences where every soldier found a large tree for his shelter and thirty English fell. Capt. Villiers ordered a parley."

In December, 1754, Cecil Calvert wrote from London, "The defeat of Major Washington by his unmilitary skill is the subject here." The disaster roused the British ministry to action, and Edward Braddock was placed in command of the forces in North America, and ordered to sail with two regiments. In "Secret Instructions" prepared in November, he was directed to send in advance of the troops his quartermaster-general to erect a general hospital at Hampton, Virginia, and barracks at Wills Creek, Maryland.

Braddock reached Williamsburg five weeks after the arrival of St. Clair, during the last week of February. It was then a "tumble-down" looking place.¹ The population, including negroes, was about eight hundred. With the exception of ten or twelve families, the people were illiterate, and lived in rude dwellings. Except during court week, or when the Legislature was in session, the cows could pasture in the streets, with none to make them afraid. The presence of General Braddock and staff created a stir which had never before been known, according to the memory of old inhabitants, and a crowd of loungers, black and white, stood around the governor's residence, quite a small mansion, which some called "palace," during the general's visit.

A few days after his arrival, St. Clair invited some prominent men of the colony to dine with Braddock, and among the guests was Colonel John L. Peyton and young Washington. Peyton the next day wrote to a relative prophetic words which have not been known to American historians, and are worthy of preservation. "Is M^r Washington among your acquaintances? If not, I must recommend you to embrace the first opportunity to form his friendship. He

¹ In 1716, Fontaine described the place with a church, court-house, and three or four brick houses. Smyth, in his travels, about 1776, "Dined at the Raleigh Tavern About the middle of the town, a little retired from the street on the north side between capitol and college was the Governor's house which had been burned down—The sand in the street was deep and some of the houses were painted white." Dinwiddie described the governor's house as containing only three rooms besides the garrets. is about twenty-three years of age, with a countenance both mild and pleasant, promising both wit and judgment. He is of a comely and dignified demeanor, and at the same time displays much self-reliance and decision. He strikes me as being a young man of an extraordinary and exalted character and is destined, I am of opinion, to make no inconsiderable figure in our country. M^r Washington was of the opinion that my position as magistrate of the County, and one of the chief landed proprietors would have not a little weight in securing co-operation, and inquired, whether if prepared to undertake the appointment to proceed to Winchester to secure horses supplies, etc. I would accompany Sir John St. Clair at once. I pleaded that my age was ill suited to such a journey. . . . M^r Washington persisted that I consider the matter."

Washington, a few days later, received the following :

"WILLIAMSBURG, 2 March, 1755.

"SIR: The General having been informed that you expressed some desire to make the campaign, but that you declined it upon some disagreeableness that you thought might arise from the regulations of command has ordered me to acquaint you that he will be very glad of your company in his family, by which all inconveniences of that kind will be obviated.

"I shall think myself very happy to form an acquaintance with a person so universally esteemed, and shall use every opportunity of assuring you how much I am Sir, your most obedient servant.

"ROBERT ORME, Aide-de-camp."

The invitation was accepted, with the understanding that he could have a little time to arrange his private affairs.

By the last of March General Braddock reached Alexandria, and in the house of John Carlyle, merchant, and son-in-law of Colonel William Fairfax, which is still standing, he conferred with several colonial governors and arranged a plan of operations. On the 23d of April, Wash-

ington left Mount Vernon to join Braddock, and on the 6th of May wrote from Winchester to his brother John,¹ "I have met with much complaisance in the family, especially from the General whom I hope to please without ceremonious attentions . . . for I may add it cannot be done with them as he requires, and uses less ceremony than you can conceive. Compliments to the worthy family at Belvoir, who I hope are in good health." On the 9th of May, with Braddock and staff, he was at Thomas Swearingen's ferry on the Potomac; the next day, at Fort Cumberland, he was announced in general orders as an aide of the general. Four days after this he again wrote to his brother John, "As wearing boots is quite the mode, I must beg you to procure me a pair that are good and neat. The General has appointed me one of his aids-de-camp in which character I shall serve agreeably enough, as I am thereby freed from all commands but his, and give his orders which must be implicitly obeyed. . . . I have written to my two female correspondents one of which I have endorsed to you and beg your deliverance of it."

One of these letters was addressed to Sarah, wife of George W. Fairfax, of Belvoir, a part of which is given: "Dear Madam, I have at last, with great pains and difficulty discovered the reason why Mrs Wardrope is a greater favorite with General Braddock than Mrs Fairfax, and met with more respect at the late review in Alexandria.

"The cause I shall communicate, after rallying you for neglecting the means which produced the effect; and what do you think they were? Why, nothing less, I assure you than a present of delicious cake and potted woodcocks! which so affected the palate as to leave a deep impression on the hearts of all who tasted of them. How then could the General do otherwise than admire not only the charms, but the politeness of this lady."

A few days after this was written he was sent to Williamsburg for money, made a short visit at Belvoir, and by the

¹ Ford's "Washington."

25th had reached Winchester on his return, when he wrote to his brother at Mount Vernon, "I should be glad to hear that you live in perfect harmony and good fellowship with the family at Belvoir, as it is in their power to be very serviceable upon many occasions, to young beginners. I would advise your visiting there often as one step towards it; the rest, if any more is necessary your own good sense will sufficiently dictate, for to that family I am under many obligations, particularly to the old gentleman.

"P.S.—As I understand that County Fairfax is to be divided, and that $M^r * * *$ intends to decline serving it, I should be glad if you could find Colo. Fairfax's intentions, and let me know whether he proposes to offer himself as a candidate. If he does not, I should be glad to take a poll if I thought my chance tolerably good.

"M^r Carlyle mentioned it to me in Williamsburg in a bantering way, and asked how I would like it. . . . The Rev Mr Green and Capt McCarty's interest in the matter would be of consequence, and I should be glad if you could sound their pulse."

Soon after his return to Fort Cumberland, he wrote to a Miss Cary, the sister of Mrs. George W. Fairfax at Belvoir, under date of 7th of June, "When I had the pleasure to see you last you expressed a wish to be informed of my safe arrival at camp, with the charge¹ that was intrusted to me, but at the same time requested that it might be communicated in a letter to some friend of yours.

"Am I to consider the proposed mode of communication is a polite intimation of your wishes to withdraw your correspondence. For I have not been honored with a line from you since I parted at Belvoir. If this was your object in what manner shall I apologize for my present disobedience. But on the contrary, if it was the effect of your delicacy how easy is it to remove my suspicions, enliven dull hours, and make me happier than I am able to express by honoring me with the correspondence you had given me the hope of."

¹ The money from Williamsburg.

Braddock's march from Fort Cumberland was very slow, owing to the long wagon-train. The general at the Little Meadows conferred with Washington, and in a letter to his brother the latter wrote, "I urged him in the warmest terms I was able to push forward, if he did it, with a small but chosen band, with such artillery and light stores as were necessary."

Braddock accepted the suggestion, and Colonel Dunbar and Major Chapman were left behind with the heavy artillery, baggage, and women. Washington halted at Dunbar's camp very sick, but Braddock promised in the most solemn manner that he should be sent for before he reached Fort Duquesne. From the Great Crossing of the Youghiogheny, on the 30th of June, he wrote to his fellow aide-de-camp, Orme, that he was better, and that he would not miss being with them, before reaching Duquesne, "for five hundred pounds." It was not until the 8th of July, in a covered wagon, and very weak, that he again joined Braddock's staff, and the next morning reported for duty on horseback. Contrecœur, the French commandant, on the morning of the 9th learned that the English were advancing in three columns, and Lieutenant Tarieux la Perade made a reconnoissance.

A detachment of one hundred French soldiers and one hundred Canadians, under Captains Beaujeu, Dumas, and De Lignery, with four lieutenants, six ensigns, and twenty cadets, with six hundred Indians under Ensign Langlade, a person of Canadian and Indian parentage from Green Bay, on the western shore of Lake Michigan, marched to repel the English advance, and about noon came in sight of troops ascending a hill. Under Langlade's advice,¹ a position was taken in the woods of the higher hills, and behind trees or hid by ravines they began to fire. The artillery of Braddock was brought into action as soon as possible, the roar of which at first staggered the Indians, and Beaujeu was killed by a cannon-ball. The Indians were then ordered to extend their wings, while De Lignery attacked in

¹ See Burgoyne and Anbury.

front. The regular troops soon discovered that European tactics were of no avail, and St. Clair said that the soldiers wished to be allowed to break ranks and take to the trees, but the general refused the request, called them cowards, and even went so far as to strike with his sword some who were moving to the woods.

The battle lasted for three hours, and after the English troops fied the Indians did not pursue, but danced the war dance, leaped with joy, and feasted on the herd of cattle which had been abandoned.

A Virginian,¹ in a letter to a son at school at Wakefield, England, a month after the battle, wrote, "You seem very desirous to know how it is with us as to the French and their Indians. I assure you 'tis very bad. General Braddock was entirely defeated and killed the 9th of last month. . . . So much for English General's skill in bush fighting; tho' I must say Braddock was a brave man, and really a great loss, and is supposed to have been killed by his own men. . . . As he lay on the ground he would cry out, ' My dear Blues (which was the color the Virginians wore), give 'em fire; you fight like men, and will die like soldiers.' He lived from Wednesday to the Sunday after, and during that time he could not bear the sight of a red coat. Whenever one came in his view he raved immoderately, but when one of the Blues, he said he hoped to live to reward them. The English soldiers would have suffered the brave man to be scalped by the Indians, had not the Virginians carried him off. I make not the least doubt but that the General would have beaten them, had the enemy been three times his numbers, if they had been in an open field. Notwithstanding so many of our men were killed, there were not thirty of the enemy seen by our men, they being concealed, like foxes, in the woods and bushes, and the General kept his men in regular order, as many as would stay with him, who were constantly falling by the enemy's shot."

Governor Sharpe,² of Maryland, declared that "the impa-

¹ Bolling.

² Sharpe Correspondence.

tience of the young people about him, hurried on the General too fast."

Lord George Germaine, some years after, in alluding to this campaign said,¹ "Mr. Braddock first suffered by his army keeping together. Another discipline was then established, and all our light troops in America were taught to separate, and secure themselves by trees, walls, or hedges and became formidable to both the Indians and Canadians."

Before the month closed, Washington reached Mount Vernon, to obtain much-needed rest, but in August he was appointed by the Virginia Assembly in command of all the forces to be raised, which gratified his friends.

His early friend and companion, Colonel George W. Fairfax, wrote on the 4th of September to Governor Dinwiddie, "This instant Mr. Dennis McCarty came here and gave me the agreeable news of Col. Dunbar being ordered back, and that my friend Col. Washington is to have command of the forces to be raised by this colony, which undoubtedly is a great trust, but I dare say he will discharge it with honour. ... I can't help expressing my intention, and great desire of serving my Country at this juncture, if you should be at a loss for officers, not sembling in the least to serve under my valuable friend. ... Wives, good Sir, are not to be consulted on these occasions, but I make no doubt, but mine would consent upon so laudable a call."²

The autumn was passed by Washington at Winchester in protecting the frontier inhabitants from French and Indian incursions, but he left on the 20th of October, and went to Fort Cumberland, where he remained the rest of the year.

Dumas, the French commander at Fort Duquesne, on the 28d of March, 1756, sent Ensign Douville with fifty savages to harass the English in the vicinity of Fort Cumberland. In his orders were these sentences: "The Sieur Douville will

² Neill's "Fairfaxes of England and America." Albany, New York, Joel Munsell, 1868. Pp. 80-83.

¹ Parl. Hist. Com. Report, Vol. IX. App., p. 83.

employ all his talents, and all his credit, to prevent the savages from committing any cruelties upon those, who may fall into their hands. Honor and humanity ought, in this respect, to serve as our guide." The next month, on the Cacapon, a tributary of the Potomac, he met a party of the English and was killed. Around his neck was tied a bag which contained his instructions. He was scalped by white men, and Washington wrote concerning the scalp, "Although it is not an Indian's, I hope they will meet an adequate reward. The whole party claim the reward, no person pretending solely to assume the merit."

The same month, Captain John Mercer, in charge of a stockade about twenty miles from Winchester, was attacked by French and Indians, and he and several of his men killed.

The friends of Washington, this spring, urged that he might be made the second in command of the contemplated expedition to the Ohio. Governor Sharpe, of Maryland, urged the appointment, and was not disposed to foil him, as Lodge asserts. Dinwiddie wrote, "General Braddock had so high an esteem for his merits that he made him one of his Aid-de-camps, and if he had survived I believe he would have provided handsomely for him in the Regulars. He is a person much beloved here, and has gone through many hardships in the service, and I really think he has great merit, and believe he can raise more men here, than any one, that I know." General Shirley wrote from Albany, New York, to Governor Sharpe, on the 16th of May, "Acquaint Col. Washington that the appointment of him to the Second in command, in the proposed expedition up the Ohio will give me great satisfaction and pleasure; that I know no prominent officer upon this continent, to whom I should so readily give it, as to himself, and that I shall do it, if there is nothing in the King's orders."

But the next month Shirley was retired, and the Earl of Loudoun took command, and Washington remained a provincial officer.

To confer with General Shirley on a question of military

rank, he went to Boston, and his memorandum-book shows that he followed the usages of gentlemen of that day, in playing cards for money, and during the week he was there lost £5 15s., and £95 7s. 3d. was his tailor's bill.

The story which has crept into some histories that during this visit he fell in love with a Miss Philips, of Yonkers, New York, appears to be without foundation. He was but a few days in New York City, and then much engaged, as his memorandum-book shows.

Early in September, 1757, Washington went to Belvoir to attend the funeral of the Hon. William Fairfax, who had always manifested a fatherly interest in him. Hannah,¹ a daughter of the deceased, wrote to her aunt Cabot in Massachusetts, "My D^r Papa died suddenly after an illness of six days. His Physicians apprehended no danger till a few hours before his death; he left his children the greatest of all consolations, the knowledge of his having endeavored to live as a Christian ought."

During the summer of 1757, Washington was a candidate for a seat in the House of Burgesses from Frederick County, and showed but little political strength. Two burgesses were to be elected, and there were three candidates. The poll was as follows: Hugh West, votes, 271; Thomas Swearingen, 270; George Washington, 40.

On October 4 the records of the County Court show the following: "On motion of George Washington, Esq., ordered that his taxables be set on the list."

In a few weeks he returned to Mount Vernon with impaired health. The Rev. Charles Green had been minister of Truro parish for twenty years, and he was also a respected

¹ Hannah Fairfax married Warner Washington, a cousin of the general. In 1789 she had been married twenty-five years, and was living about twenty miles from Alexandria. Bryan, brother of Hannah, visited his mother's relatives in Barbadoes, in 1752, and was there when his sister, the widow of Lawrence Washington, married George Lee. In 1754 he returned to Virginia. In time he married one of the daughters of Colonel Cary, of Hampton, as his half-brother George W. had done. He became the eighth Lord Fairfax; but, entering the ministry, faithfully served a Virginia parish. physician. To him, on November 13, the following note was sent: "Reverend Sir; Necessity, and that I hope will apologize for the trouble I must give you, obliges me to ask the favour of a visit, that I may have an opportunity of consulting you on a disorder, which I have lingered under for three Months past. It is painful for me to write, M^r Carlyle will say the rest."

While Washington had not recovered his health, the months of January and February, 1758, were pleasantly spent, chiefly at Mount Vernon, where it was easy to pass hours of leisure at the neighboring plantation of Belvoir, where Mrs. George W. Fairfax, in the absence of her husband in England, was frequently visited by her sisters, Mary, Ann, and Elizabeth Cary, the daughters of Colonel Cary, of Hampton. In February he thought he was strong enough to visit the president of the Council, acting Governor John Blair, at Williamsburg, and on the eve of his departure wrote to Mrs. Fairfax, "Dear Madam; Letters which I have just received from the President, and others from Winchester render it necessary for me to set out for Williamsburg to-morrow. If you or any of the young ladies have letters to send, or other commands that I can execute I should be glad to be honored with them, and you may depend upon my punctuality."

When the time came to leave there was such an increase of fever and pain that the journey was postponed. Under date of 4th of March he wrote to Colonel Stanwix, "I have never been able to return to my command, since I wrote to you last, my disorder at times returning obstinately upon me, in spite of the efforts of all the sons of Æsculapius. At certain periods I have been reduced to great extremity, and have now too much reason to apprehend an approaching decay, being visited with several symptoms of such a disease. I am at this time under a strict regimen, and shall set out to-morrow for Williamsburg to receive the advice of the best physicians there." This note was penned in an hour of despondency, for not long after he had ordered a ring from Philadelphia, and engaged Miss Dent, a daughter of a gentleman engaged in the land-office at Belvoir, to make some shirts.

Steps were taken in April to raise two Virginia regiments to assist in an expedition projected by General Forbes, now in command of all the English troops in North America. Washington, as colonel of one of the regiments, retired to Fort Loudoun, Winchester. Sir John St. Clair, Braddock's quartermaster-general, and severely wounded in the conflict near Fort Duquesne, was for a long time incapacitated, and it was a great pleasure for Washington to receive a visit from him, restored to health, and quartermaster under General Forbes. St. Clair had been for some time in Philadelphia, and on his way to Winchester visited Governor Sharpe at Annapolis. Under date of May 21, 1758, he wrote to him, "I am just drinking your health with Col. Washington, and the officers of the Virginia Brigade."

In Washington's memorandum-book, under date of 4th of May, are these entries :

"By ring from Phil'a	2.16.0
By Doct'r Craik my suscription for the	
Papers	40.
By cash sent M ⁿ Fairfax to pay Miss	
Dent for making some shirts for	
me	£3.12.0"

. £3.12.0"

It is probable that the ring was brought from Philadelphia by his friend St. Clair. By the order of that officer he left Winchester for Williamsburg on the 25th of May. That night he rested at Martin Harden's, whose wife and daughter were "merry" people. The next day he reached Todd's ordinary, and on the 28th was at Williamsburg. He returned with less haste. On the 29th he was at Colonel Burwell Bassett's, whose first wife was a daughter of Mr. Chamberlain, who lived at the Williams Ferry on the Pamunkey River, and his second wife was a sister of the widow Custis,¹ He remained in this vicinity for a few

¹ Three daughters of John Dandridge lived near each other,-Anne, wife of Burwell Bassett; Elizabeth, wife of P. W. Claiborne; and Martha, widow of Daniel Parke Custis.

days, and in his expense-book, under date of 5th of June, is this entry: "By Mrs. Custer's servants 14.6." The next day he was at Todd's ordinary, on his way to Winchester, and on the 9th of June he was at Fort Loudoun. His interest in the widow Custis here began.

Early in July, with his regiment, he reported to Colonel Bouquet at Fort Cumberland, and about the same time he again offered himself as a burgess. Lord Fairfax wrote on the 5th of July to George W. Fairfax at Belvoir, now returned from England, "Our writs did not get to the Sheriff's hands, till this day, by which means our election will be on Monday the twenty fourth of this month, and Hampshire will for the same reason be some days after it. I fear Col. Washington will be very hard pushed."

The other candidates were Thomas Bryan Martin, a nephew of the lord, and who had succeeded George W. Fairfax as his land agent; Hugh West, an early settler in the county; and Thomas Swearingen, who had kept a ferry over the Potomac River. Washington received 271, Martin 270, West 199, and Swearingen 45 votes. While the year before he received the fewest votes and lost his election, he now appears at the head of the poll. He did not attend the election, but remained in camp. The next month an unpleasant controversy arose as to the road which should be taken on the proposed expedition to the Ohio. Washington and the Virginians urged that the Braddock route should be followed, while General Forbes and the Pennsylvanians were in favor of cutting a new road by Ray's Town, a place in Pennsylvania, named after a minister of that name, who lived in the vicinity. Colonel Bouquet was not pleased with his urgency, and wrote to General Forbes that he had " consulted Col. Washington who has no idea of the difference between a party, and an army."

Forbes, on the 3d of August, replied, "that he had discovered by an unguarded letter from Washington the scheme of the Virginians against the new road," and the next month told Bouquet to "consult Washington, but not to follow his advice, as his conduct about the road was not

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that of a soldier." The new road was begun and cut to Loyalhanna, within thirty-five miles of Fort Duquesne. Major Grant was in command of the troops in the advance. Notwithstanding the unpleasant controversy with his superior officer as to cutting a new road, Washington, under date of July 20, wrote the following to the widow Custis: "We have begun our march for the Ohio. A courier is starting for Williamsburg, and I embrace the opportunity to send to one whose life is now inseparable from mine. Since that happy hour when we made our pledges to each other my thoughts have been continually going to you as another self."

The following letter was addressed to Miss Cary, of Hampton, then at Belvoir, visiting her sister, Mrs. George W. Fairfax:

> "CAMP AT FORT CUMBERLAND, 12th September, 1758.

"DEAR MADAM,—Yesterday I was honored with your short but very agreeable favor of the first inst.—how joyfully I catch at the happy occasion of renewing a correspondence which I feared was disrelished on your part, I leave to time that never failing expositor of all things—and to a monitor equally faithful in my own breast to testify. In silence I now express my joy. Silence, which, in some cases—I wish the present—speaks more intelligently than the sweetest eloquence.

"If you allow that any honour can be derived from my opposition to our present system of management you destroy the merit of it entirely in me by attributing my anxiety to the animating prospect of possessing Mrs. Custis—when —I need not name it—guess yourself—Should not my own Honor and country's welfare be the excitement? 'Tis true, I profess myself a votary of Love—I acknowledge that a lady is in the case—and further I confess that the lady is known to you.—Yes, madam, as well as she is to one who is too sensible of her charms to deny the Power whose Influence he feels and must ever submit to. I feel the force of her amiable beauties in the recollection of a thousand tender passages that I could wish to obliterate, till I am bid to revive them,—but experience, alas! sadly reminds me how impossible this is,—and evinces an opinion which I have long entertained, that there is a Destiny, which has the sovereign control of our actions—not to be resisted by the strongest efforts of Human Nature.

"You have drawn me, dear madam, or rather I have drawn myself, into an honest confession of a simple Fact —misconstrue not my meaning—doubt it not, nor expose it—The world has no business to know the object of my Love —declared in this manner to—you—when I want to conceal it. One thing above all things in this world I wish to know, and only one person of your acquaintance can solve me that or guess my meaning—but adieu to this till happier times, if I ever shall see them. The hours at present are melancholy dull, neither the rugged toils of war, nor the gentler conflict of A— A—'s is my choice. I dare believe, you are as happy as you say. I wish I was happy also. Mirth, good humor, ease of mind and—what else? Cannot fail to render you so and consummate your wishes.

"If one agreeable lady could almost wish herself a fine gentleman for the sake of another; I apprehend, that many fine gentlemen will wish themselves finer e'er Mrs. Spotswood is possest. She has already become a reigning toast in this camp; and many there are in it, who intend (fortune favoring) to make honourable scars speak the fullness of their merit and be a messenger of their Love to Her.

"I cannot easily forgive the unseasonable haste of my last express, if he deprived me thereby of a single word you intended to add,—the time of the present messenger is, as the last might have been, entirely at your disposal. I can't expect to hear from my friends more than this once before the fate of the expedition will some how or other be determined. I therefore beg to know when you set out for Hampton and when you expect to return to Belvoir again—and I should be glad also to hear of your speedy departure, as I shall thereby hope for your return before I get down; the disappointment of seeing your family would give me much con-

cern.—From anything I can yet see 'tis hardly possible to say when we shall finish. I don't think there is a probability of it till the middle of November. Your letter to Capt'n Gist I forwarded by a safe hand the moment it came to me. His answer shall be carefully transmitted.

"Colonel Mercer, to whom I delivered your message and compliments, joins me very heartily in wishing you and the ladies of Belvoir the perfect enjoyment of every happiness this world affords. be assured that I am, Dr madam, with the most unfeigned regard, yr most obedient and most oblig'd H'ble serv't,

"G. WASHINGTON.

"N.B.—Many accidents happening (to use a vulgar saying) between the cup and the lip, I choose to make the exchange of carpets myself, since I find you will not do me the honour to accept mine."

While Miss Cary knew that he was engaged to Mrs. Custis, yet she had loved him, and answered this letter. To which he replied with great warmth of frieudship.

"CAMP AT RAY'S TOWN 25th Sep'r 1758.

"DEAR MADAM: Do we still misunderstand the true meaning of each other's letters? I think it must appear so, tho' I would feign hope the contrary as I cannot speak plainer without —— but I'll say no more and leave you to guess the rest. I am now furnished with News of a very interesting nature, I know it will affect you, but as you must hear it from others, I will state it myself.

"The 12th past then, Major Grant with a chosen Detachment of 800 men march'd from our advanced post at Loyal Hanna against Fort Duquesne. On the night of the 13th he arrived at that place, or rather upon a hill near to it; from whence went a party and viewed the Works, made what observations they could and burnt a Log'd house not far from the Walls. Egg'd on rather than satisfied by this success, Major Grant must needs insult the Enemy next morning by beating the Reveille in different places, in view, this

caus'd a great body of men to Sallie from the Fort, and an obstinate engagement to ensue, which was maintained on our Side with the utmost efforts that bravery could yield, till being overpower'd and quite surrounded they were obliged to Retreat with the loss of 22 officers killed, and 278 men besides wounded. This is a heavy blow to our affairs here, and a sad stroke upon my Regiment that has lost out of 8 officers, and 168 that was in the Action, 6 out of the former Killed, and a 7th wounded. Among the Slain was our dear Major Lewis; this Gentleman, as the other officers also did, bravely fought while they had life, tho' wounded in different places. Your old acquaintance Captain Bullet, who is the only officer of mine that came of untouched has acquired immortal honour in this engagement, by his gallant behaviour and long continuance in the field of Action. It might be thought vanity in me to praise the behaviour of my own People, were I to deviate from the report of common Fame, but when you consider the loss they have sustained, and learn that every mouth resounds their praises, you will believe me Impartial. What was the great end proposed by this attempt, or what will be the event of its failure, I can't take upon me to determine; it appears however (from the best Acct's) that the Enemy lost more men than we did in the engagement. Thus it is the Lives of the brave are often disposed of, but who is there that does not rather Envy than regret a Death that gives birth to Honour and Glorious memory.

"I am extremely glad to find that M^r Fairfax¹ has escap'd the Dangers of the Siege at Louisbourg. . . . We shall give the expedition over as perhaps impracticable this season, and retire to the inhabitants condemn'd by the World and derided by our Friends.

"I should think our time more agreeable spent, believe

¹ William Henry Fairfax upon his return from school, at Wakefield, Yorkshire, was appointed by Governor Dinwiddie ensign in a Virginia regiment. He was then transferred to the 28th British Regulars, and was fatally wounded in 1759 at Quebec.—Neill's "Fairfaxes of England and America." Joel Munsell, Albany, 1868, p. 106.

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me, in playing a part in Cato, with the company you mention, and myself doubly happy in being the Juba to such a Marcia as you must make.¹

"Your agreeable Letter contain'd these words: 'My Sisters and Nancy Gist who neither of them expect to be here soon after our return from Town, desire you to accept their best compliments.' Pray are these Ladies upon a Matrimonial Scheme. Is Miss Fairfax² to be transformed into that charming Domestic, a Martin, and Miss Cary to a Fa-re. What does Miss Gist turn to A. Cocke, that can't be we have him here. One thing more and then have done. You ask if I am not tired nor never can be while the Lines are one Inch assunder to bring you in haste to the end of the Paper. Adieu, dear Madame, you will possibly hear something of me or from me, before we shall meet I must beg the favour of you to make my compliments to Col. Cary³ and the ladies with you and believe me that I am most unalterably."

On the 6th of January (O. S.), 1759, in the presence of the Rev. David Mossom, of St. Peter's Church, New Kent County, Martha Custis became the wife of George Washington, and

¹ The reference is to Addison's tragedy of Cato.

If the tradition is true that Colonel Cary was not willing that one of his daughters should marry Washington, how apposite these words in the play !---

"Juba. Thou virtuous maid: I'll hasten to my troops.

	And in the shock of charging hosts, remember
	What glowing deeds should grace the man who hopes
	For Marcia's love.
Marcia.	Juba to all the bravery of a hero
	Adds softest love, and more than female sweetness;
	Juba might make the proudest of our sex,
	Any of womankind, but Marcia, happy.
Lucia.	And why not Marcia?
Marcia.	While Cato lives, his daughter has no right
	To love or hate, but as his choice directs."
TT	$\mathbf{T} = \{ \mathbf{C} \in [1, 1], \dots, \mathbf{C} \}$

^a Hannah Fairfax did not marry Thomas B. Martin, but Warner Washington. Miss Cary married Bryan, the eighth Lord Fairfax. Captain Cocke was an officer of the expedition.

⁸ His correspondent was now at her father's in Hampton, Virginia.

for several years he lived at Mount Vernon attending to his plantations, and in the discharge of the social duties of a country gentleman. To a London correspondent, Richard Washington, under date of September 20, 1759, he wrote: "I am now I believe fixed, at this seat, with an agreeable consort for life, and hope to find more happiness in return than I ever expected amidst a wide and bustling world. I thank you heartily for your affectionate wishes. Why wont you give me an occasion of congratulating you in the same manner?"

His diary for 1760 gives a fair account of his daily life. On the 2d of January Mrs. Washington is sick, and on the 4th the physician, Rev. Charles Green, is sent for. On the 5th, Mrs. Geo. W. Fairfax is at dinner, and on the 6th, Sunday, with Mrs. Bassett, his wife's sister, he attends church On the 20th he visits Belvoir with Dr. at Alexandria. Craik. In February, on Sunday, the 3d, he goes to church at Alexandria; on the 5th, Colonel and Mrs. Fairfax, and Doctor Laurie, dine at Mount Vernon; on the 7th he attends Mr. Craig's funeral sermon at Alexandria, and on the 15th is at a ball in the same place; on the 25th he has dinner company, at which were present Lord Fairfax, Colonel George Fairfax and wife, Mr. Brian Fairfax, Colonel Carlyle, and the clergyman Charles Green and wife. On the 9th of April Doctor Laurie came drunk, and the next day Mrs. Washington was blooded by Doctor Laurie, and stayed all night; on the 15th called at Rev. Charles Green's, and left Mrs. Washington, and on the 11th of May went with his wife to church. His home-life was quiet and orderly, and all in his employ were encouraged to industry.

While particular in dress, he was not extravagant. He wrote to Richard Washington, of London, on October 20, 1761: "On the other side is an inventory of clothes which I beg the favor of you to purchase for me. . . As they are designed for wearing apparel for myself, I have committed the choice of them to your fancy, having the best opinion of your taste. I want neither lace nor embroidery. Plain clothes, with a gold or silver button (if worn in genteel

dress) are all I desire. I have hitherto had my clothes made by one Charles Lawrence in Old Fish Street. But whether it be the fault of the tailor or the measure sent I cant say, but, certain it is my clothes have never fitted me well. I therefore leave the choice of the workmen to your care likewise. I enclose a measure, and for a further insight I dont think it amiss to add that my stature is six feet, otherwise rather slender, than corpulent."

In 1768 his step-son, John Parke Custis, was about fourteen years of age, "untainted in his morals and of innocent manners," and Jonathan Boucher, the clergyman then settled in Caroline, Virginia, was requested to receive him as a pupil, and attend to the "cultivation of his moral and intellectual powers," and not teach him in any way different from other good scholars.

In 1770 Boucher was rector of the church at Annapolis, Maryland, and young Custis continued with him. Under date of 16th of December, 1770, Washington wrote: "According to appointment Jacky Custis now returns to Annapolis. His mind [is] a good deal released from Study and more than ever turned to Dogs, Horses, and Guns; indeed upon Dress and equipage which till of late, he has discovered little inclination of giving into.

"I must beg the favour of you therefore to keep him close to those useful branches of Learning which he ought now to be acquainted with, and as much as possible under your own eye. . . The time of Life he is now advancing into requires the most friendly aid and Council (especially in such a place as Annapolis); otherwise the warmth of his own Passions, assisted by the bad example of other Youth, may prompt him to actions derogatory of Virtue & that Innocence of Manners which one could wish to preserve him in; For w'ch reason I would beg leave to request, that he may not be suffered to sleep from under your own Roof, unless it be at such places as you are sure he can have no bad examples set him; nor allow him to be rambling about of Nights, in Company with those who do not care how debauched and vicious his Conduct may be." An admirable paternal letter, but Boucher, two days after its receipt, wrote that Jacky was too much under the influence of a "sensible, wild, volatile, idle & goodnatured" son of Mr. Sam. Galloway. "You cannot conceive with w⁴ delight Custis w'd listen to his droll Tales & Acct's of his Pranks at School in England."

About the same time the stage-players were in town, young Galloway had a sister "young and pretty." Boucher added, "Jack has a propensity to the Sex, which I am at a loss how to judge of, much more how to describe. I observ'd somewhat of a particular attention, exceeding bare civility to this Young Lady."

The step-children were a source of anxiety for several years. Martha, known as Patsy, was very delicate, and in June, 1773, died of convulsions.

George W. Fairfax, with his wife, in 1773 went to England and never returned. Washington, as his agent, offered Belvoir for rent.

In an account sent to George W. Fairfax, in 1774, are these charges:

"June 29	To cash sent to the Annapolis printer	
	advertising Belvoir, and sale of	
	goods there	£2. 8.0.
$\mathbf{Aug^{t}}$ 15	To Ditto, p'd Wm. Copan putting	
	your cypher (3 letters) on y ^r Pew	
	in Pohick church at 5s a letter	15.
October	To Penns'a Gazette advert'g Belvoir	
	to be let	6. 5.
Nov'r 30	To an express to L'd Fairfax concern-	
	ing his renting Belvoir	6. 0."

The new Pohick church was built in 1773, from plans drawn by Washington. In February of that year he bought a pew for G. W. Fairfax. In August, 1774, the initials G. W. F. were printed thereon, and were visible before the civil war.

The quiet pursuits of a country gentleman at Mount

Vernon are about to end. In July, 1774, Washington presided at a public meeting in Alexandria to remonstrate against the Boston Port Bill. In August he was appointed one of the Virginia delegates to the Congress expected in September to assemble in Philadelphia. Boucher, in his reminiscences, writes, "I happened to be going across the Potomac with my wife, and some other of our friends, exactly at the time that General Washington was crossing it on his way to the northward. . . . Some patriots in our boat huzzaed, and gave three cheers to the General as he passed us, while Mr. Addison and myself contented ourselves with pulling off our hats. The General-then only Colonel Washington-beckoned us to stop, as we did, just to shake us by the hand he said. His behavior to me was now as it had always been, polite and respectful. . . . I foresaw and apprized him of much that since happened, in particular that there would certainly then be a civil war, and that the Americans would soon declare for independency. With more earnestness than was usual, he scouted my apprehensions, adding, and I believe with perfect sincerity, that if ever I heard of his joining in such measures I had his leave to set him down for every thing wicked."

As late as October, 1775, Washington wrote of the colonies, "It is not the wish separately or collectively to set up for independence."

The second Congress, in May, 1775, assembled in Philadelphia. The only delegate in the body in military uniform was Washington. There was a general opinion that to make him commander-in-chief of their forces would be to place "the right man in the right place."

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OWEN BIDDLE.

BY HENRY D. BIDDLE.

Owen Biddle was born in 1737, his brother Clement being three years his junior. Much has been written in regard to Clement Biddle; but of the life of his elder brother Owen no complete account has ever, so far as we are aware, been published. Allusions to and notices of him are to be found scattered through various publications, and it will be our effort to collect and arrange into one compact and connected whole such notices as have come under our observation, as well as briefly to record such facts as we are in possession of; so that it may be, in a measure, possible to form some estimate of the man, and of the character of the services he rendered to his country at a most important period.

He was a great-grandson of William and Sarah (Kempe) Biddle. William Biddle was one of the proprietors of West New Jersey. Much has also been written about him; suffice it here to say that the first deed granted by William Penn, Gawen Lawrie, Nicholas Lucas, and Edward Byllinge, for land in New Jersey to any purchaser, so far as yet ascertained, was that given for one-nineteenth part of West Jersey to William Biddle and Daniel Wills. It is dated January 23, 1676.¹

Owen Biddle possessed a birthright membership in the Society of Friends. His early inclination appears to have been to the study of law. We have in our possession his copy of Blackstone's Commentaries, the first edition published in this country.² Whether he had any serious inten-

² This edition is in four volumes, with an additional volume as an Appendix, making five volumes in all. "Printed for the Subscribers by

¹ This deed is now (1892) in the possession of Edward C. Biddle, Esq., of Philadelphia.

tion of taking up the law as a profession we know not. If so, the intention was soon abandoned. His predilections were for scientific pursuits. He married, September 29, 1760, at twenty-three years of age, Sarah Parke, of Chester County, Pennsylvania, and for a short time carried on the clock- and watch-making business; but a few years before the breaking out of the Revolution he had engaged in the shipping and importing business. Their marriage was solemnized in St. Michael's and Zion Lutheran Church, and was by license. As they were both members, in good standing, of the Society of Friends, the reason of their being married in a Lutheran church is not known; but it does not appear that they thereby lost their right of membership in the Society.

He was one of the signers, together with his brother Clement, of the Non-Importation Resolutions of the year 1765.

His scientific and mathematical attainments were of a high order. His youngest daughter, born in 1780, in a brief sketch of the family which she prepared at the request of some of his descendants, writes of him as follows:

"My dear father was a man of quick feelings and nervous temperament; . . . of good natural abilities, improved by an acquaintance with the standard authors of that time; but his chief attention was directed in early life to mechanics and scientific subjects connected therewith, which led him by degrees to astronomical studies; and in these he continued to feel much interest. I remember the first Orrery which at that early day I had ever seen, was a simple one he constructed to give us some idea of the motion of the planets around the sun. In these, and some other pursuits, he was occasionally associated with Rittenhouse and other men of learning and science in the Philosophical Society, of which he continued a member through life; though the latter part of it was almost exclusively devoted to other subjects, . . . and led him

Robert Bell, at the late Union Library in Third Street, Philadelphia, MDCCLXXI." In each volume Owen Biddle has inscribed his name, 1771; then follows that of his son, John Biddle, Jr., 1781; then that of his grandson, James C. Biddle, 1833; then that of his great-grandson, Henry D. Biddle, 1871; thus covering a period of one hundred years, and including four generations in lineal descent.

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to turn his attention to the improvement of the youth in our religious society."¹

He had joined in early life a society called the Junto, which was a continuation of Franklin's Junto; and in 1763 he, together with Isaac Paschall, was appointed "to revise the laws and make a few alterations in them." Nonresident members were admitted after the 30th of May, 1766, when it lost its character as a club, and adopted the name of "The American Society for promoting and propagating Useful Knowledge." Among the names of members we find those of Edmund Physick, Clement Biddle, Isaac and Moses Bartram, Nicholas Waln, and David Rittenhouse.

As the aims of the Society were similar to those of the Philosophical Society, it was proposed to unite the two Societies into one; and after considerable discussion, and some delays, the union took place in 1768, and thereafter was known as the American Philosophical Society, and the American Society ceased to exist.

The year after the union of the societies, the transit of Venus over the sun's disc occurred, June 3, 1769; and the Society made preparations for its observation at three different places,—in the State-House yard, at Norriton, and at Cape Henlopen; Mr. Biddle being assigned to the latter station; and Rev. Dr. William Smith, provost of the College of Philadelphia, David Rittenhouse, and John Lukens, surveyor-general of the Province, at Norriton.

The Rev. Dr. Smith writes,-

"Our great discouragement at our first appointment, was the want of proper apparatus, especially good telescopes with micrometers. The generosity of our Provincial Assembly, soon removed a great part of this discouragement, not only by their vote to purchase one of the best reflecting telescopes with a Dollond's micrometer; but likewise by their subsequent donation of one hundred pounds (this was in sterling money \$444); for erecting observatories, and defraying other incidental expenses. . . An excellent reflecting telescope (though without a micrometer); the property of the Library Company of Philadelphia, and to which institution it was a donation from the Hon. T. Penn,—the same

¹ Manuscript of Mrs. Anne Tatum, 1842.

that had been used by Messrs. Mason and Dixon, when employed in settling the boundary lines of Pennsylvania and Maryland, was necessarily appropriated to the use of Mr. Owen Biddle, who was appointed by the Society to conduct the Observation of the Transit, near Cape Henlopen."¹

The observations of all the parties were successful, and are published with full details in the first volume of the Society's Transactions.

The Rev. Dr. Smith in his communication to the Philosophical Society on the 20th of July, 1770, added the following extract of a letter from the Rev. Nevil Maskelyne, Astronomer Royal of England.²

"GREENWICH, December 11th, 1769.

"Mr. Maskelyne presents his compliments to Dr. Franklin, and shall be obliged to him when he writes to Philadelphia for enquiring of Mr. Owen Biddle what is the bearing, and what the absolute distance of Lewistown from the stone on Fenwick's Isle in English miles; or else what is the difference of latitude and departure in English miles? He may also, if he pleases, acquaint Mr. Biddle, that the latitude of the Middle Point between Fenwick's Isle and Chesapeake Bay, as found by Messrs. Mason and Dixon is 38°, 27′, 34′′; and the length of a degree of latitude, as measured by them, is 68.886 statute miles.

"Mr. Maskelyne would also recommend it to Dr. Smith, and the Norriton observers, to settle the bearing and distance in English miles between Norriton and the southernmost part of the city of Philadelphia, or else the State House square; as this will still further confirm the situation of the Norriton Observatory, by connecting it with Messrs. Mason and Dixon's meridian line.

"Mr. Maskelyne hopes the Pennsylvania observers will be so kind as to send us their observations of the transit of Mercury, which happened November 9th, if they were fortunate enough to see it; and any other observations they have made, which have not yet been sent here, tending to establish the difference of longitude."

And writing to Dr. Smith on December 26, 1769, he further says,-

"I could wish the difference of meridian of Norriton and Philadelphia could be determined by some measures and bearings, within one-

¹ Barton's "Life of David Rittenhouse," pp. 167, 169.

² "Life of Rev. William Smith, D.D.," by Horace Wemyss Smith, Vol. I. pp. 447-451.

fiftieth, or one-hundredth part of the whole; in order to connect your observations with those made at Philadelphia and the Capes of Delaware, as also to connect your observations of the longitude of Norriton with those made by Messrs. Mason and Dixon, in the course of measuring a degree of latitude. I hope to be favored with an account of your observations of the late transit of Mercury if you made any, and of the late eclipse of the moon. I shall be obliged to you for the continuance of your correspondence, and am Sir, yours, &c.,

"To Rev. Dr. Smith."

"NEVIL MASKELYNE.

On the 24th of June, 1778, just one week after the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British army, David Rittenhouse, Rev. Dr. Smith, John Lukens, and Owen Biddle were busied in making observations on an eclipse of the sun.¹

There were in Philadelphia at that time several educated and scientific foreigners, who also engaged in astronomical observations; an extract of a letter from one follows, who, however, was not skilled in the use of the English language.

"Dr. Sir

"PHILADA., June 80, 1779.

"For to accomplish my purpose, I take the Honour in sending you, to your Insight, a calculation of the late celebrated Eclipse of the Moon, passed May the 29th. In case it should gain your applause, and finding it to be of any utility, you may communicate it to other respectable Members of the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia; which after perusal, you will please to deliver to Mr. David Deshler, and so likewise the calculation of the Eclipse of the Sun last year past, which I left to your Hands when there. . . .

"Pray dear Sir! excuse me if my Performances should be found too much in a High German Dialect, which is particularly to attribute the want of English Mathematical Authors, for so to express myself acceptably in that very term in Custom by this Nation...

"I am, Sir

"Your most obed't and humble Serv't,

"DANIEL FREEHART.

"Owen Biddle, Esquire."

It appears to have been a difficult task at that time to print a volume such as was the first of the Society's Trans-

¹ Barton's "Life of David Rittenhouse," p. 261.

actions. In August, 1769, a committee was appointed to attend to the matter, and a whole year elapsed before the astronomical papers were finished. The Society presented each member of the Assembly with a copy, together with an address, in which they state that

"it will give satisfaction to the members of the honorable House to find that the Province which they represent can boast of the first Society, and the first publication of a volume of Transactions for the advancement of useful knowledge on this side of the Atlantic; a volume which is wholly American, in composition, printing and paper; and which, we flatter ourselves, may not be thought altogether unworthy of the attention of men of letters in the most improved parts of the world."

A number of the members of the Society, in the year 1770, formed a "Society for encouraging the culture of silk in Pennsylvania." It was a favorite project of Benjamin Franklin, and although it proved a failure, some notice of it may be here given on account of Mr. Biddle's connection with it. It was the first effort of the kind made in the northern portion of this country, although in the South it appears to have been attended with considerable success.

Dr. Franklin, who was then in England, had written to Dr. Cadwalader Evans,

"that if some provision were made by the Assembly for promoting the growth of mulberry trees in all parts of the province, the culture of silk might afterwards follow easily. . . It is the happiest of all inventions for *cloathing*. Wool uses a good deal of land to produce it, which if employed in raising corn, would afford much more subsistence for man than mutton amounts to. . . Mulberry trees may be planted in hedge rows, in walks or avenues, near a house, where nothing else is wanted to grow."

A petition dated the 2d of February, 1770, was sent to the Assembly, "Signed in behalf, and by unanimous desire of the Society at their meeting, by Thomas Bond, V.P., and Samuel Rhoads, V.P.," begging their aid in establishing a filature at Philadelphia; and a company was organized with the following managers and treasurer: Dr. Cadwalader Evans, Israel Pemberton, Benjamin Morgan, Moses Bartram, Dr. Francis Alison, Dr. William Smith, John Rhea, Samuel

Rhoads, Thomas Fisher, Owen Biddle, Henry Drinker, Robert Strettell Jones, Managers; Edward Penington, Treasurer.

It appears to have been made a stock concern; subscriptions were made in aid of the Society by a majority of the most respectable inhabitants of Philadelphia, headed by Hon. John Penn, who subscribed £20, and William Allen and James Hamilton each £15. The total subscriptions amounted to about £900; and the Assembly afterwards voted £1000 towards the object.

Premiums were given to those persons who raised the greatest quantity of cocoons; and a prize of £10 was given in 1771 to Joanna Ettwein, of Bethlehem, and another was awarded to Mrs. Susannah Wright, of Columbia, Pennsylvania, and from the silk woven from her cocoons a court dress was made for the Queen of England, which was presented by Dr. Franklin, and samples of the same were deposited in the Philadelphia Library.

On the 5th of January, 1770, Mr. Biddle was elected one of the curators of the Philosophical Society; and on the 18th of May of the same year, the Society appointed him, together with Mr. Joel Bailey and Richard Thomas, to take the courses and distances from New Castle Court-house to the State House Observatory, in the most careful and accurate manner, that the latitude and longitude of each might be determined; and at a meeting of the Society, held 28d of July, 1770, Mr. Biddle, in his account to the Society of the measurements he had made, read the following letter received by him from the Rev. Dr. Smith:

"PHILADA., 23d July, 1770.

"DEAR SIE: Since you finished your measurement from New Castle Court-house to the Philadelphia Observatory in the State-house Square, the 58th vol. of the [Royal English] Philosophical Transactions has come to hand, containing the whole work of Messrs. Mason and Dixon; and it is with great pleasure I find, that the longitude of the middle point of the peninsula (and consequently of your Observatory at Lewes) in respect to Philadelphia, will come out almost entirely the same from their work as yours, altho' obtained by different routes."

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The great interest which the Philosophical Society had manifested in the transit of Venus of 1769, and the success of the observations of the different committees appointed to view it, were of great value to the Society in bringing it to the notice of European savants, and had the effect of resurrecting it from its comparatively languid and nearly moribund condition, and of infusing new life and vigor into it.

On the 1st of January, 1773, Mr. Biddle was elected one of the secretaries of the Society; and on the 4th of January, 1782, one of the councillors. On the 2d of March, 1781, he delivered the annual oration before the Society; it being one of a series,—the others having been delivered by the Rev. Dr. Smith, Dr. B. Rush, David Rittenhouse, Timothy Matlack, and Dr. P. Bond.

The work of the Society was mostly suspended during the Revolution. On the 5th of June, 1781, there was a special meeting to hear Mr. Biddle's report of the situation of the Silk Society. He reported it to be a failure, and recommended that an Act of Assembly be sought for the transfer of the unexpended funds. A committee was thereupon appointed to draft the petition; and on the 15th of April, 1782, an Act of Assembly was passed "transferring the monies and properties to the Philosophical Society, who are to be accountable and re-deliver the same, whenever a majority of the subscribers to the Silk Society shall request it, to revive their institution."

We have thus grouped together, and recorded in a brief manner, the leading facts in regard to his connection with the Philosophical Society, and will now return to the year 1775.

On January 23 of that year he was appointed a delegate to the Provincial Conference, held in Philadelphia, and in which the resolve of non-importing was confirmed, and the encouragement of domestic manufactures was urged, especially that of saltpetre and gunpowder, "inasmuch as there existed a great necessity for them, particularly in the Indian trade."

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Congress reassembled on the 10th of May, and General Washington was appointed commander of the army. The battle of Lexington had been fought on the 19th of April, and on the 17th of June that of Bunker Hill occurred.

These stirring and eventful times inflamed the ardor and aroused the zeal of the brothers Biddle. Although educated in the peaceable tenets of the Society of Friends, they both entered heart and soul into the impending contest. Owen remained at home engaged in public duties of a patriotic character, while Clement entered the army.

A committee was appointed June 30, 1775, termed a Committee of Safety for the province; "for raising Troops when they judged proper and necessity should require; . . . for paying and supplying them with necessaries while in actual service," etc., and they were authorized to draw orders on the treasurer for the above purposes. Owen Biddle was appointed a member, and was very active and efficient in his discharge of the duties connected therewith. On July 6 he was one of the committee for the construction of boats and machines for the defence of the river; on July 14 he was ordered to procure four tons of grape-shot; on August 15 he produced an order from the City Committee for lead and flints they had in their possession; on August 31 he was directed to procure for the use of the Board a "Seal about the size of a Dollar, with a Cap of Liberty, and a motto, This is my right and I will defend it, inscribed with Pennsylvania, Committee of Safety, 1775;" and on the 7th of September he is desired to procure a rifle that will carry a half-pound ball, with a telescope sight. On June 1, 1776, he is requested to procure, properly assorted, three hundred tons of cannon-shot; and on the 8th of June, James and Owen Biddle are authorized to agree for a sufficient number of storehouses in Germantown, to contain the salt, saltpetre, and other articles belonging to the Province, that may be thought necessary to send there for their better security; and finally, on August 7 he is desired to procure the necessary clothing for Col. Atlee's battalion.¹

¹ For reference to the above, see Colonial Records (First Series), Vol. X.

A conference of the delegates from all the County Committees was held at Philadelphia on the 18th of June, 1776, at Carpenters' Hall, to decide upon the mode of electing delegates to a Provincial Convention for the purpose of framing a new Constitution for Pennsylvania. Congress having recommended the formation of new State governments, this method of effecting the change, which was pursued in other States by a revolutionary convention, was determined upon, "for the express purpose of forming a new government for this Province, on the authority of the people only."

The convention was composed of eight members from the city of Philadelphia and from each county, all elected by the people; the delegates from Philadelphia being Benjamin Franklin, Frederick Kuhl, Owen Biddle, George Clymer, Timothy Matlack, James Cannon, George Schlosser, and David Rittenhouse.

They assembled on the 15th of July, 1776, and continued in session until the 28th of September, when the new Constitution was promulgated.

Owen Biddle's name is not attached to the Constitution. Neither is that of George Clymer. It is known that Mr. Biddle sat, on the day of signing, in the Committee of Safety, and was busy all day in paying off the members of the Convention. Whether in the hurry of business he neglected signing, or was opposed to some of its provisions, cannot now be ascertained from any accessible document.

On July 6, 1776, at a meeting of the Committee of Safety, George Clymer, Chairman :

"The President of the Congress this day sent the following Resolve of Congress, which is directed to be entered on the Minutes of this Board.

"In Congress 5th July, 1776.

"Resolved, That copies of the Declaration be sent to the several Assemblies, Conventions, and Councils of Safety, and to the several Commanding Officers of the Continental Troops, that it be proclaimed in each of the United States, and at the head of the Army.

"By order of Congress,

(Signed) JOHN HANCOCK, Presd't."

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"In consequence of the above Resolve, Letters were wrote to the Counties of Bucks, Chester, Northampton, Lancaster, and Berks, Inclosing a Copy of the said Declaration, requesting the same to be publish'd on Monday next, at the places where the Election for Delegates are to be held."

The following document appears, a bill for expenses incurred in compliance with the instructions of Congress to transmit a copy of the Declaration of Independence to each of the places named; a photographic fac-simile of which we give:

"The Committee of Safety

"To Michael Kuhn, Dr.

"Tog	o as an	Express	to Chester County 4 days at	15	;.		£3. 0.0
" To 🗌	do	do	Lancaster County 4 days	•	•	•	8. 0.0
" То	do	do	Potts Grove &c., 81 days				
" To	do	do	Bucks County 4 days, .	•	•	•	8. 0.0
						-	£11.12.6

"Pay the above account being for services done by order of the Committee of Safety, as per the above account.

> "Owen Biddle,¹ "10th July, 1776.

"To JOHN NIXON, Esq. & others the Committee of Acco'ts."

The following is a letter from Major (afterwards General) Thomas Mifflin to Owen Biddle.²

"DEAR MR. BIDDLE

"CAMBRIDGE CAMP, 28th July, 1775.

"You cannot oblige me more than by a Repetition of your last Favor, and may depend upon my Exertions to gratify you whenever a proper opportunity offers.

"Ever since we came into this Camp we have been employed in securing our Posts around the Enemy. Our works are near completed,—

¹ This document is in the possession of Edward C. Biddle, Esq.

³ For this letter, and those which follow, we are indebted to the courtesy of Mrs. Neilson J. Ritter, of Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, a daughter of the late John Biddle, Esq., and a great-granddaughter of Owen Biddle. They are selected from her large and important collection of family papers.

indeed they are already very formidable, and in my opinion impregnable to the Regulars in their present weak state.

"If you look into Aitken's Map of Boston Environs, you may be able to form an imperfect Idea of the two Camps. The Enemy are strongly posted on Bunker's Hill-a Cockpit or Redoubt on the Crown-two in the Centre, and a strong Line at the foot of the Hill. Their out Centries are posted about two hundred and fifty yds. from the Bottom of the Hill. Our advanced Post is near the same place. The Centries not more than 50 yds. from each other. Our works extend from Mystic River on the East, to Cambridge River, Roxbury & Dorchester Neck on the West. We have Winter Hill & Prospect Hill well secured with Redoubts, &c. -many works in the Intervals and on each River. By Deserters just come over to us we are informed that the Enemy have erected a Bomb Battery against our works on Prospect Hill & propose to open the Ball this Day, and that they have prepared a large Float to enter Cambridge River, & intend to burn this Town. These things are merely Gasconade, and if attempted to be put in execution cannot hurt us. They have already hardened our people by Bombarding Roxbury in vain; and plainly prove the want of strength to attempt our Lines by an approach.

"The Post is just setting off which obliges me to close my Letter without giving you the Actions of this day, which may be a busy one. Your Letter has not been in my possession more than 15 minutes. Had I read it sooner you should have had a Letter instead of this bare acknowledgement of its answer. Make my best Respects to Clemmy and your Family, & believe me to be

"Your very sincere & att⁴ Frd. "T. MIFFLIN.

"Bunker's Hill is One mile and a few perches from Prospect Hill. Within Cannon shot. A mile & a half to Winter's Hill—The same."

On the 4th of March, 1777, the Supreme Executive Council and the Assembly under the new Constitution met) and on the 13th of March they established a Board of War, and a Navy Board; the former consisting of nine persons, of whom Mr. Biddle was one. He was appointed President of the Board on the 13th of March, and acted as such for several months. The Committee of Safety was then dispensed with.

On the 5th of May, Clement, who was with the army, writes to his brother as follows:

"DEAR OWEN

"HEAD QUARTEES, MORRIS TOWN, May 5, 1777.

"I should complain of your silence did I not know how much you are engaged. . . .

"The affair at Danbury cost the enemy pretty dear. I think their loss must be 300 killed & wounded. We had destroyed ab^t 1800 bbls. salt provisions, 2000 bus. grain, 6 or 8 Hhds. of Rum & Wine, 2 or 3 of Sugar, & 1600 Tents. The arrival of three Vessels to the Eastward much more than compensates our Loss in every article. . . .

"Our Army begins to be very respectable, and in a few days our strength will be equal to the Enemy in the field. Our men are hearty, well clothed and provisioned, and in fine spirits—most have Tents and the whole will in a few days. . . .

"My presence here is necessary. I never will quit in dishonor, and am ready to render any service which my Country may require of me; but unless I am established on some footing better than at present, I cannot support it... I never wish to withdraw myself from Danger while all around calls for the exertion of each individual...

"With love to Sally & the children,

"I am, D^r Owen,

"Y' afft. Bro., "CLEMENT BIDDLE."

By an Act of Assembly of the 13th of October, 1777 (the city then being occupied by the British), a body was created termed the Council of Safety, consisting of the Supreme Executive Council and nine other persons. Mr. Biddle was also a member of this body. This Council was dissolved December 6, 1777, by proclamation of the Supreme Executive Council.

In June, 1777, he was appointed Deputy Commissioner of Forage. His brother Clement was then acting as Commissary-General of Forage, and he became his deputy. The following document, stating the terms on which he was employed, appears; of which we give a photographic copy.

[&]quot;Terms proposed for Owen Biddle, Esqr. A.C.G. Forage at Philadelphia for conducting the Business of the Department there.

[&]quot;1st. That he be allowed one Quarter per cent by the States on all

monies drawn by him, and expended in the district South West of the Delaware.

"2d. That the same allowance be paid him by the Comy. Genl. of Forage to make up his Commissions, one half per cent.

"8d. The usual commissions to be paid him for purchases in his district of the City and County of Philadelphia.

"4th. Necessary Assistants and Clerks to be allowed him.

"5th. Office Rent to be paid by the States.

"N.B.—The whole accounts of the Department to be transmitted to Philadelphia for Settlement at the Office there, by him or a deputy in the Office.

"The Forage business being in great distress for want of a suitable Person to conduct it at Philadelphia; and not being able to procure a proper one for the purpose short of the above conditions. I am under the necessity of engaging Mr. Biddle, fearing the want of his Services should bring distress upon the Army, and confusion creep into the Department.

"Middle Brook, 1st April, 1779.

"I confirm the within on my part.

"CLEMENT BIDDLE, C.G.F.

"NATH. GREENE, Q.M.G.

"To Owen Biddle, Esq.

"A. C. G. F. "Philadelphia."

Which document is endorsed on the back: "The terms on which Major General Greene and C. Biddle employed me in the Forage department."

His cousin, Charles Biddle, who was then at sea, writes him as follows:

"Mole, Feb'y 1, 1777.

"DEAR SIR

"I was in hopes to have seen you by this time, but one accident or another has prevented me. I expect soon to see the Brig here. I long to have a Cruize in her. I cannot express the uneasiness I feel at being here at this time, but hope soon to be with you, tho' I could make out exceeding well by staying here. Capt. Pickering in a Brig belonging to the State of Maryland, that fitted out at this place, cut out of the N, side of Jamaica a large ship and several small vessels.

"I have sent you by Mr. Hunter to the amount of fifty dollars in small articles that must neat a great Profit, and will bring or send the remainder by the next good opportunity. As I write to none of the



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Family but you, please to give my affectionate love to them all, and believe me,

"(Memo. by Owen Biddle.) "Dr. Sir, Captain Biddle has remitted to me, "Your most afft kinsman, 10 ps. Canvass, cost "& humble Serv', £51.18.2 1" Linen "CHAS. BIDDLE." 6. 2.9 Twine . . 1.17.6 Pins & Needles, by Alex'r. Hunter, 18.15.-£78. 8.5 "26 May, 1777. "Owen Biddle."

Mr. Biddle also joined with eighty other merchants in becoming personally responsible for about two hundred and sixty thousand pounds for supplies for the army, without which assistance it could not have been retained in the field.

The two following letters are in reference to the forage business:

From Owen Biddle to Clement Biddle.

"DEAR BROTHER

"SIR

" PHILADA. 80th Nov' 1779.

". . . Continental money goes on depreciating at a rapid rate. Hickory fire wood is at £90 per cord; Flour £75 per hundred, and in many places in this State, Rye is at £12, Corn £10, Barley £8, Oats £5, Buckwheat £6, per bushel. I see no prospect of the price reducing under the present situation of our funds. . . .

"I am, your affectionate Brother

"Owen Biddle."

From Owen Biddle to Colonel Charles Pettit.

"PHILADA Decr 81" 1779.

"Agreeable to your Requisition I have endeavored to make out an Account of forage purchased in one year, which I have subjoined. It is chiefly taken from actual returns; and where returns have not been made, the quantity is rated rather under than to exceed what I believe to have been purchased.

"It is not in my power to give you that satisfaction I could wish respecting the proportions used in different seasons of the year; as many returns made into the office specify only the annual amount without distinguishing the monthly purchases; but there is evidently more by near one third used during the winter than during the summer. The following account will differ from that which I rendered you the 21st. Inst., as

that was done hastily, which occasioned several returns to be overlooked, and some districts not taken into the account, but it will appear that I had not exaggerated the quantity in that estimate.

"In the Eastern States the quantity of grain consumed is small compared with the quantity of Hay, occasioned by the use of oxen, which is an advantage worthy of note.

"An Account of Forage purchased and consumed in one year.

Bu	s. Grain.	Tons Hay.							
Purchased by Col. Finnie in Virginia	88,085	327							
Purchased by Col. Hut, part in Virginia, and part									
in Pennsylvania	52,494	606							
In Western shore of Maryland	84,858	897							
"Eastern do 14	56,323	859							
" Delaware 1	17,395	700							
" Pennsylvania, viz.,									
Philada. City and County	41,235	2,705							
Chester County	26,689	578							
Berks County	37,615	214							
Lancaster County	67,213	1,469							
Cumberland, York, and Bedford Cos	43,413	752							
Northumberland County 1	10,075	815							
Northampton, and Bucks Cos. (supposed to be,									
not having returns)	60,000	600							
In New York State (supposed to be, not having re-									
•	00,000	1,000							
" Jersey State (supposed to be, not having returns) 12	20,000	1,500							
" Connecticut	28,081	4,237							
"Rhode Island	3,923	1,808							
"Massachusetts	8,743	1,457							
"New Hampshire (supposed)	500	50							
" Albany district, not included in the estimate for									
New York	7,315	833							
Total amount	03,957	19,407							

"Out of this quantity of 1,003,957 Bushels of Corn and Grain, about fifty thousand should be deducted which is sent from Virginia and the Western shore of Maryland, to the head of Elk; and which is included in the quantity specified as purchased in Virginia and the Western shore of Maryland; also on the Eastern shore, which occasions it to be taken into the account.

"I am with respect

"Sir, y' obed' & hble serv'

"OWEN BIDDLE

"Ass' C. Gen¹ Forage.

"COL. CHARLES PETTIT "A.Q.M. General."

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The celebrated Thomas Paine, author of "Common Sense," etc., when compelled to resign his commission as secretary to the Congressional Committee of Foreign Affairs, January 8, 1779, for publishing in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of January 2 and 5 of the same year two letters in regard to the supplies which Silas Deane and Beaumarchais professed to have purchased, which were really a present from the Court of France, became a clerk to Owen Biddle, and whilst in this position he still prosecuted his controversy with Deane. The next year (1780) he was appointed clerk to the Assembly of Pennsylvania.

Those members of the Society of Friends who had taken an active part in the Revolution were, after the war was over, denied their usual rights and privileges, and the Friends proceeded to disown them. On the 20th of February, 1781, the following persons met at the house of Samuel. Wetherill: Isaac Howell, James Sloane, Robert Parrish, White Matlack, Samuel Wetherill, Owen Biddle, Moses Bartram, and Benjamin Say, and they organized a society of their own, which they entitled "The Monthly Meeting of Friends, called by some Free Quakers, distinguishing us from those of our brethren who have disowned us."

The number of members was said to have been about one hundred, among whom were Christopher Marshall, Timothy Matlack, Joseph Stiles, Peter Thomson, John Claypoole, and John Eldridge. They started a subscription for the erection of a meeting-house, and with the fund thus raised purchased a lot of ground at the southwest corner of Arch and Fifth Streets, and erected the building still standing there, with the inscription in its gable end testifying to its having been "Erected A.D. 1783. Of the Empire 8."

They also petitioned the Legislature for a lot of ground for burial purposes, and on the 26th of August, 1786, an act was passed vesting in the Free Quakers a lot on the west side of Fifth Street, between Prune and Spruce Streets.

There had been a contest in 1774 between the governor

of Virginia and the authorities of Pennsylvania in regard to the boundary-line between the two States. The fort at Pittsburgh had been seized by orders of Lord Dunmore, he claiming it was within the Virginia boundary; and troubles also arose with the Indians. On February 11, 1782, Owen Biddle was appointed to run the boundary-line between the two States, a work which he doubtless performed, though we have no record of it.

His residence was Peel Hall, which occupied the site of the present Girard College, and which was burned during the British occupation of the city, and it has usually been supposed was destroyed in retaliation for his activity in the American service. But upon investigation this proves to be erroneous. The Peel Hall property, containing forty-five acres of land, was purchased June 7, 1742, by Oswald Peel, who doubtless erected the mansion-house, and from whom it derived its name. In 1765 Oswald Peel died, and his executors conveyed the same to Turbutt Francis, who the same year conveyed it to William Dowell. He died in 1768, and on the 17th of April, 1771, his widow conveyed the same to Andrew Doz, who, on the 1st of April, 1775, conveyed it to Richard Penn.

It was during the ownership of Richard Penn that the building was burned (in November, 1777), the excuse being that it served as a protection for the rebels in firing upon the British.

On the 15th of February, 1779, Richard Penn, by his attorney, Tench Francis, conveyed the said forty-five acres, with the ruins of the mansion-house, to Owen Biddle, the deed reciting that

"the capital Messuage called Peel Hall, with the outhouses, improvements and gardens, being now torn down, burnt, and almost destroyed; and the tract or piece of land belonging thereunto being laid waste and opened to commons; the Fences which enclosed the same being taken away and destroyed; and the said Tench Francis, attorney for the said Richard Penn being mindful of the Trust in him reposed, thinking it most advantageous to the estate, and for the benefit of the said Richard Penn, to sell and dispose of the same; accordingly has contracted with

and sold the same to Owen Biddle for the consideration of Nine thousand three hundred and Eighty Seven pounds lawful money of Pennsylvania."¹

The following letter is from George Lux, Esq. He had married Catharine, daughter of Edward Biddle, of Reading, Pa., and resided in Baltimore. Edward Biddle was a member of the Congresses of 1774 and 1775, but was unable to attend the latter Congress on account of ill health. He died September 5, 1779.

"BALTIMORE 25 December, 1779.

"I did myself the pleasure of writing you by General Thompson a few days ago. In the letter I mentioned several letters being forwarded to Mrs. Biddle, and I did not think at the time of writing it, that I should have so good an opportunity of sending it directly to Mrs. Biddle without troubling you. I must now beg the favour of you to forward to Reading the letter for Mrs. Biddle accompanying this.

" DEAR SIR

¹ Among those Philadelphia property-holders who suffered loss by the British occupation, according to an appraisement made in 1782, were: "Richard Penn and Sarah Master's estate, Northern Liberties, West, £4890," which doubtless included this property. Richard Penn had married Mary, daughter of William and Mary Lawrence Masters, May 21, 1772.

As it may be of interest to continue the title to this property to its occupancy by Girard College, we add the following:

Owen Biddle's assignces, on the 9th of December, 1784, conveyed to James Starr the mansion-house and nineteen acres, being the easternmost part of the tract; and on the 1st of May, 1785, they conveyed the westernmost part (twenty-five and one-quarter acres) to Henry Chapman. On the 3d of November, 1792, Henry Chapman conveyed to John Mayo; and on the 1st of October, 1794, James Starr, and on the 22d of November, 1794, John Mayo conveyed the same unto Jeremiah and Richard Parker. The said Richard Parker died intestate and without issue February 26, 1818, leaving two brothers, Jeremiah and William Parker, and four sisters, Lydia, Sarah, Eleanor (Parker) Foulke, and Rebecca (Parker) Hallowell. Lydia Parker died December 5, 1828, unmarried and intestate; Jeremiah Parker died October 27, 1827, having devised all his real estate to his brother William; and on the 6th of June, 1831, William Parker, Eleanor Foulke (widow), and John and Rebecca Hallowell conveyed the said messuage and forty-five acres of land to Stephen Girard for the consideration of thirty-five thousand dollars.

"This is forwarded by M^r Luther Martin, Attorney General for this State. I must request the favour of you, My dear Sir, to get both the plans of St. Peter's & Christ churches, and send [them] down by him: let them be particularly specified, so as to be obvious to the meanest capacity, for we must have a good Church in this town, if possible. Any expence arising from employing a Draughtsman &c., I will readily pay you on demand, & knowing the sum by Mr Martin; he is requested to call on you for the plans.¹... Believe me to be

" Dear Sir

" Your Friend & Serv^{*} " Geo Lux.

"Owen Biddle Esq"

We select from an extensive correspondence a few letters to and from Owen Biddle, chiefly relating to the perplexities and troubles which he encountered in conducting the business of the Forage Department.

"PHILADA Octobr 14th 1779.

"DEAR CLEMMY

"... We had hopes that our Money would appreciate in consequence of the measures adopted by Congress, and a general wish prevailed for that purpose, and that ye prices of Forage would become more moderate and stationary.... Before I received your last letter I was convinced to ye contrary, & had made a formal application in writing for 1,200,000 Dollars as necessary for the Immediate supply of the Army & Cattle, agreeable to the requisition of Mess^m Chaloner & White, besides what might be wanted for forming magazines. Since then our necessities have increased beyond credibility, and for want of money we are obliged to decline the purchase of large quantities of Forage which has been offered for ready money, altho' I am certain some disaster must happen for want of it... This you may depend on—that I cannot furnish forage for the army agreeable to your expectation or the wants

¹ In a memorandum-book of Owen Biddle, we find the following under date of January 18, 1780: "John Folwell has had at different times the following sums of money for a model of Christ Church; viz. 185, 50, 60 and 200 dollars."

This, of course, is in Continental currency.

In the same book, under date of May 31, 1780, he quotes the price of vegetables as follows:

"Peas at market this day			•	•	•	30	dols.	a ł	alf peck.	
Asparagu	8	•	•	•		•	5	"	\mathbf{pr}	bunch.
Cabbage	plants	•	•	•	from	15 to				hundred.
Butter	•		•	•	from	8 to	12	**	"	pound.
Radishes	•	•	•	•	•	•	1	"	"	bunch."

Orven Biddle.

of the army unless I am kept in cash to support the expences of the department. . . . For heaven's sake represent our situation, and obtain speedy and effectual advances of cash with which I will be answerable that you shall have a sufficiency of Forage, if it is to be had; but without I shall consider myself entirely freed from any obligation to provide for you. I would not have you consider this Letter as a matter of form, but substantially true, and to avert the distresses that must ensue, I do entreat your interposition. I am out of Forage (Grain, I mean), out of money, and I apply to you as my *dernier resort*, after other official applications have failed.

> "I am D^r Brother "Y^r very affect"

"Owen Biddle, A.C.G.F.

"To Col. CLEMENT BIDDLE "Commiss" Gen¹ Forage "New Windsor."

Owen Biddle to Colonel Archibald Steel, A.C.G.F., Martinsburg.

"PHILAD⁴ 3^d March 1780.

"SIR

"... The very necessitous situation of the Public, for want of ways and means to provide suitably for the support of the several departments of the Army, makes me very unhappy, & I have no doubt but all those Gentlemen in power who have the management of our finances are equally distressed and much embarrassed; at the same time that I feel for our own distressed situation, & have the greatest compassion for them, upon whom all our complaints for want of Money must center; and like Atlas, they have a world of difficulties to support.

"After premising thus much you will readily imagine that the subsequent part of the Letter contains only an apology for not sending you the money you desire; as in truth, such has been my situation for several months past, that I have been obliged to borrow all the money I had credit for, to add to the little I received from the public, to pay the running expences of the office, and to answer some special Orders from my superiors in office.

"I suppose you have been informed that General Schuyler, Gen¹ Mifflin & Col. Pickering are appointed by Congress to make a general new arrangement of the staff departments; to inquire into the conduct of all staff officers &c. &c. From this appointment Congress have great expectations of some useful reform, and that they will adopt such plans of œconomy, that the future supplies will be more adequate to the public expences. I long for these Gentlemen to enter upon business, in hopes I shall be delivered in some way from my present embarrassments, which are almost insupportable; but we cannot shrink from the burden

at this time with reputation to ourselves, nor without great inconvenience to the cause in which we are engaged.

"I flatter myself these considerations will have the same influence upon us all; which will at least secure to us the approbation of our country; that will be some compensation for the sacrifice we are daily making, both of our peace of mind & fortunes.

"Iam,

"Your Obed' humble serv' "Owen Biddle Ass' C.G.F."

From Major-General Arnold to Colonel Clement Biddle.

"PHILAD⁴ March 11. 1780.

"I have applied frequently of late to the Forrage Master for Hay & Oats for my Horses, and can obtain neither, and they are now starving. I must request that you will give orders that I may be supplied with Both. If there is no Oats in the Magazines, I will order some bought, provided you will pay for them, which will oblige

"Sir,

"Your most Hble serv" "B. ARNOLD MG¹.

"COLONEL BIDDLE."

His brother Clement had for some time found that the duties connected with his office as Commissary-General of Forage were, principally from not being supplied with the requisite funds for making the necessary purchases, very harassing and laborious, and he was now desirous of retiring from this vexatious post in order that he might devote some attention to his private affairs, which had suffered from neglect. He writes to Owen as follows:

"MOBRISTOWN 18 March 1780.

"DEAR OWEN

"I wish to retire from the perplexities & embarrassments in which my Office is involved, but we must act with caution to obtain as large supplies as possible towards discharging our Debts; and the Love I have for the Army & my country, prevents my taking any hasty measures to quit the service when I see my presence is both useful & necessary.

"I must watch for the favorable moment to retreat, which I am more anxious to do on account of my numerous public Accounts which remain unsettled.

"Without your continuance for some time I shall be involved in still

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"D" SIR

greater difficulties—therefore am much obliged by your determination not to quit me hastily. . . . I know that Gen. Greene thinks our services cannot be dispensed with, if he is obliged to continue.

> "Yr afft. Bro. "C. Biddle."

From Owen Biddle to Colonel Philip Marsteller, Lebanon, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

"PHILADELPHIA 18 July, 1780.

"DEAR SIR

"I have spared no reasonable pains to obtain money for you, but without success. . . .

"Your situation is deplorable but not singular; we all groan under public poverty, and wish devoutly to be relieved, but as yet cannot have our desires in any way; they will neither do without us, nor enable us to do for them. I have wrote as spirited a representation of our case to be laid before General Greene as I was capable, & insisted upon something decisive being done. If we are necessary to the Public, we ought to be supported; if useless we ought to be discharged. One of those alternatives I have insisted upon. . . .

"This morning Doctor Cochran came from General Washington's Quarters; he informs us that Admiral Greaves, with six ships of the line & six frigates are arrived at New York, & that People who had come from N. York to Head Quarters say there has been another engagement between the combined fleets & the British in the West Indies, & that the latter has suffered considerably. This wants confirmation. We have no certain information of what is doing to the southward; only that most of the inhabitants of South Carolina had taken protection from the enemy; the simple sheep have foolishly leagued with the ravenous wolf; in consequence of which the militia in that State are ordered to turn out to defend themselves against the Rebels. This will probably be an active, bloody, and expensive campaign; but I do not conceive it will terminate the war, as the pulse of all the combatants beats high with expectation of Victory; and no disposition to submit to degrading terms which some of them must come to before there can be peace.

> "I am with regard "Your obed' Serv' "Owen Biddle.

"COL. PHILIP MARSTELLER

" D. C. G. F.

"Lebanon, Lancaster County."

The two following letters are from his brother Clement. Vol. xvi.-21

"MOBBIS TOWN May 16, 1780.

"DEAR OWEN

"... The calls of the Treasury Board on the subject of Accounts finally decided me on resigning, that I might attend at Philada. by the 1st of June.

"Accordingly I sent my resignation to Gen. Greene, & he sees the justice of my reasons, & approves of my retiring. I have wrote, & shall this day send my Letter to his Excellency, Gen¹ Washington, informing of the reasons which obliged me to take this step. Although I think he wishes me not to leave him, I think he cannot object to it, & I expect to be with you before the end of the month. My next Letter will probably inform you with some certainty when I shall leave this.

"I really quit the Army with reluctance, as I wish to serve my country; and I prefer the Army to the City,—but I can now be of little service by remaining; my feelings are hurt on several accounts; and the extensive & diffused state of my private Accounts alarms me when I think of my Family, in case any accident should prevent my personal attention to settling them...,

> "Yr afft Bro. "C. Biddle."

"MORRIS TOWN May 18, 1780.

"DEAR OWEN

"I have this morning received a very affectionate and friendly letter from Gen¹ Washington, which decides my leaving the Army, & shall set off in ten days, or perhaps sooner, for Philadelphia.

"If you can engage a house that you think will suit me, you may now do so with certainty.

> "I am, D' Owen, "Yrs C. Biddle."

From Colonel Charles Pettit to Owen Biddle.

"SIB.

"I have just now rec^d a letter from the Board of Treasury, of which the following is an extract. This Letter seems to be in answer to one I wrote them yesterday, in which I mentioned the application I made on your behalf the 20th July for 140,560 dollars, and the general estimate of Col. C. Biddle, presented the 16th June. But what I here give you is all they say upon the subject. "I am Sir.

"Your most humble Serv'.

"CHAS. PETTIT. "3. Augt. 1780.

"Owen Biddle Esqe."

"TREASURY OFFICE, 2nd August 1780.

"Sir

"Your application dated the 31st. ultimo for Eight hundred and sixty thousand, two hundred and fifty-eight Dollars for the use of Col. A. Steel, William Cook, and J. Bennet, Deputies in the Forage Department, has been considered by the Board. It is not in the power of the Treasury to supply you at present, which renders it expedient to defer the requisite report in your favor."

In the month of July, 1780, General Nathaniel Greene resigned his position as quartermaster-general; and Colonel Timothy Pickering was appointed, on the 5th of August, to succeed him. There was considerable delay in his arriving at head-quarters, which did not happen until the 30th of September; and numerous letters passed between the brothers on the subject. Clement writes on the 15th of September as follows:

" DEAR OWEN

"CAMP, Sept. 15, 1780.

"I wrote by an Express which went yesterday, since which I have not much to add.

"As Col. Pickering was not arrived, and this day was the last on which our certificates had any validity by the Resolve of Congress of 28⁴ ulto., Genl. Greene & myself waited on Gen¹ Washington, & represented the case, which occasions much difficulty. An Express is gone off to hasten Col. Pickering to Camp, and the General is to give me a special power to give such certificates as are required for ten Days, or until Col. Pickering arrives. Nothing but the good of the Army and Service could induce me to act under such circumstances,—but from my attachment to them I must from my feelings and sentiments do all in my power till my successor arrives; and I earnestly pray it may be soon.

"With Becky's & my Love to you all,

"I remain,

"Yr affect Bro.

"C. BIDDLE."

"CAMP TAPPAN, Septem. 21, 1780.

" DEAR OWEN

"I wrote you a few days ago that Gen¹ Washington had gone to Danbury to an interview with the Count de Rochambeau, and the Army is commanded by Gen¹ Greene.

"Yesterday we removed from Kinderhook, about 8 miles back, to our old Camp at this place.

"The Troops have been frequently without beef, and I am sorry to see their supplies so short and uncertain.... We are without news yet of Col. Pickering, but surely the General's letter of the 16th must bring him up before this week is out. I am really anxious to get to Philadelphia with my Family.

"I am D' Owen, with Becky's & my love to the Family,

"Your affect Bro.

"C. BIDDLE."

It was this time, during the absence of Washington from the army, while on a visit to Count Rochambeau, at Hartford, which General Arnold selected to meet Major André, near Stony Point, for the purpose of making arrangements with him for delivering up West Point to the British.

The following letters from his brother Clement and Geo. Lux follow:

"DEAR OWEN

"CAMP TAPPAN Sept. 26, 1780.

"General Arnold went off from West Point on board one of the Enemy's ships which lay below Stony Point; on Major André, the British D. Adjt. Genl. being taken up by a party of militia, & a number of papers found on him, at Tarrytown; which discovered a plot for delivering up the Fort on this day; but the change of wind prevented their Ships coming up, and Major André being secured, brought the affair to light, just as Genl. Washington arrived at the Fort on his return from Hartford —but I have no further particulars yet.

"The 1st Pennsylvania Brigade marched last night for West Point, & the whole Army are under arms; this probably was the destination of the eight Regiments, supposed for Virginia, which I mentioned in the enclosed letter for you to communicate to Thos. Richardson.

"I shall set off on Thursday, unless Gen¹ Washington should not arrive here to-morrow.

"I hope to see you by the middle or latter end of next week, & am,

"Dr Owen, Y' affect. Bro.

"C. BIDDLE."

"BALTIMOBE 17 Oct., 1780. (Wednesday)

" DEAR SIR

".... Most people here were extremely shocked at General Arnold's treachery, but I must confess I was not; for I have uniformly thought him capable of every villainy, ever since the year 1776. Poor Major Scull gave me such instances of his mal-practices as fixed him a Rascal in my opinion, which no subsequent action of gallantry on his part could ever eradicate. The poor Major constantly concluded every

letter from Canada with expressing his fears that Arnold's treachery or rashness would be the ruin of our affairs in that quarter.

" I am glad to hear of the spirit of vigor exercised by your Council in banishing old Franks and Billy Hamilton. I am no advocate for persecution, but it is certainly time to throw aside that lenity to the disaffected, which has been so constantly abused; our State is too much so, but they have never had the enemy among them to arouse their feelings, nor discovered any active treason in a man of note. . . .

"We are told that Genl. Gates will be speedily in Philada. in order to have a Court of Enquiry upon him for his behavior at the Battle of Camden. Ill-natured people freely express their suspicions of his being bribed,—but it is a very ungenerous thing. He is neither insatiably avaricious nor profusely extravagant (both of which Arnold was),—and therefore has not the proper foundation of corruption. I pity him extremely, for he has lately lost his only son Bob, who died last week of a consumption; poor Mrs. Gates is almost out of her senses, for she persuaded her Husband to take command of the Southern army, which he at first intended to decline; so that she incessantly exclaims against herself for being the cause of his misfortune. It is said here Genl. Greene is to take command of the Southern army, which I hope will be the case; for Genl. Smallwood, though sensible and clever, has not alertness and activity enough in his composition for so important and complicated a command. . . .

"Please to remember Kitty and me particularly and affectionately to Cousin Sally, Johnny, and the rest of your Family,—to Uncle John, your brother Clem. and his Lady, Gen¹ & Mrs. Wilkinson, Dr. and Mrs. Hutchinson. Kitty is very well considering her situation.

" I am, Dear Sir,

"Yours affectionately,

"Owen Biddle, Esqr."

"GEO. LUX.

From Owen Biddle to Colonel Robert L. Hooper, Easton, Pennsylvania.

"PHILADA., Dec'r. 81, 1781.

"DEAR SIR

"... I have sent by the return of the waggon one Barrel of Madeira Wine cont^g 25 Gallons. Col. Marshall chose the Pipe for General Washington, Col. Pettit, Col. Biddle, and yourself, and I hope it will prove to your satisfaction. I am with great Esteem

"Your friend and humble Serv

"Owen Biddle.

"To COL. ROBT. L. HOOPER, JR. "D.Q.M.G., Easton."

In 1782 the war was practically over, and during its continuance Mr. Biddle had suffered much thereby in estate. Three of his vessels had been captured and destroyed by the enemy, and his losses otherwise appear to have been large.¹ He had a family consisting of a wife and seven children; the eldest, a daughter, being then twenty-two years of age. These were not the days of large pensions. He was compelled to make an assignment for the benefit of his creditors, which he did, January 8, 1783, to James Bringhurst, Richard Wells, and John Field.² His property proved more than sufficient to satisfy his creditors, and after distribution had been made a small surplus remained.

About this time he became melancholy and despondent.³ He viewed his past conduct—that of taking such an active part in the Revolution—not merely as blameworthy but as culpable; and he was so much affected as to offer a paper of "acknowledgment" on the 30th of May, 1783, to the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia. The minute made by the clerk for the occasion was: "A paper offered by Owen Biddle

¹ From his memorandum book :

"April 4, 1782. Capt. McNachton brought Jos. Hill's protest of the loss of the Ship Minerva, Capt. Earle.

"May 2nd, 1782. This morning we received intelligence that a large fleet of outward bound vessels were mostly captured by a number of British frigates which are cruising off our capes; and that six inward bound had shared the same fate. Likewise by a person from New York, that a packet had arrived the 28th of last month, and that the current talk in New York was that she had brought an account that Great Britain had consented to acknowledge the independence of America.

"June 2nd, 1782. First day. Yesterday we received an account of further losses by sea, which leaves but little behind. We are brought nearly to that situation which is blessed, for having nothing to expect, we shall not be disappointed.

"The proceeds of the schooner Little Tom, and an adventure on board the brig Joanna, are both arrived in New York."

² James Bringhurst and Richard Wells subsequently reassigned to John Biddle, Jr., and Thomas Stewardson.

⁸ His daughter, Mrs. Anne Tatum, says, "I have understood he was for a season unfit, from depression of spirits, to attend to the common concerns of life. . . . His indifference to the accumulation of wealth remained a striking feature of his character through life."

being read, a degree of solemnity prevailed, in which the sympathy and satisfaction of the meeting were evident."

In this paper he says,-

"I have been made sensible of my past deviations. . . I was led into taking an active part in the late war, and joining in the measures which led thereto. I became instrumental, in some measure, to a series of public calamities and private distresses, the unavoidable consequences of war, which, through mercy, I have been favored to see, is contrary to the nature and precepts of the Gospel of our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ. A conduct so unguarded, and contrary to the peaceable principles of Christianity has brought remorse and sorrow. . . . To be restored again to membership with you is the sincere and fervent desire of your friend,

"OWEN BIDDLE."

This acknowledgment, offered at a time when he had, in the estimation of the major part of the community where he resided, rendered valuable and important services in the accomplishment of the independence of his country, and was therefore undoubtedly held in high esteem and honor, showed, we think, as much moral courage as was required of him when he threw off the Quaker yoke and entered so heartily into the war of the Revolution. It was an illustration, and a conspicuous one, that in so doing he was actuated by lofty principle, and was determined to follow his conscientious convictions of what he deemed to be right and proper, however humiliating they might be, and regardless of the views and opinions of others. He was willing to relinquish all the honor to which by his services he was entitled, and to make public avowal that, on calm reflection, he was convinced he had erred and transgressed. We must respect and esteem a man who makes so open and candid a confession, even though we may think his judgment to have been mistaken.

In a manuscript which he left (though there is no date to it), he says,—

"In the course of my commercial affairs it has been my concern to promote things honest in the sight of men, and desirous to appear approved in my own mind. . . . Towards the latter period of the time

which I continued in business, I was engaged in publick concerns greatly to my injury; and while in this station my affairs were unattended to in such a degree, that I could not wind up with that satisfaction which I could wish; but believe that all things work together for good to those who love the Lord. I am encouraged to hope that these events will prove essentially beneficial to me and my posterity in the end."

Thereafter, for the remainder of his life, he was in close unanimity with Friends. It is believed by his descendants that he then destroyed what papers he may have possessed regarding the Revolutionary War, as few of any importance have been discovered among his effects; and what documents they do possess, relating to him, have been principally derived from other sources.

In the year 1790 he published a tract ' on the propriety of establishing a boarding-school, which had the effect of drawing the attention of Friends to the subject; and in the Yearly Meeting for the year 1794, a large committee was appointed to take the subject into consideration, which finally resulted in the purchase of the farm of James Gibbons, in Westtown Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania (about six hundred acres), for £6083 6s 8d, equal to \$16,222.22. He was on the first committee appointed (Oct. 8, 1794) to take charge of the school, and so remained until his death. The school was opened for the reception of scholars in May, 1799 (the year of his decease), and has continued from that period to the present, educating numerous children of both sexes; the number of boarders having been, up to the year 1882, according to a statement published in a history of the school for that year, by Watson W. De-

¹ The full title of this tract is as follows: "Plan for a School, on an establishment similar to that of Ackworth, in Yorkshire, Great Britain; varied to suit the circumstances of the Youth within the limits of the Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania and New Jersey: Introduced with the Sense of Friends in New England on the subject of Education, and an Account of some Schools in Great Britain; to which is added Observations and Remarks, intended for the consideration of Friends.

"Philadelphia,

"Printed by Joseph Crukshank, 1790, 8vo."

wees, four thousand nine hundred and thirty-one boys, and six thousand and seventy-five girls.

In addition to the loss of property, he was on the 28th of September, 1793, bereaved of a daughter, who died of the yellow fever, aged thirty-two years; and in the next year, on the 16th of August, 1794, his wife expired at Downingtown, her native place, and was there interred. His own death occurred on Sunday, March 10, 1799, in the sixtysecond year of his age.

Notwithstanding the evening of his days was clouded, and his spirits depressed by affliction and trials, and with a large family to support and a scanty purse, he has nevertheless left to his descendants a legacy more precious than gold,—the example of a chivalrous, conscientious, and untarnished life.

GENEALOGICAL GLEANINGS, CONTRIBUTORY TO A HISTORY OF THE FAMILY OF PENN.

BY J. HENRY LEA, FAIR HAVEN, MASSACHUSETTS.

(Continued from Vol. XIV. p. 296.)

DEAN AND CHAPTER OF WESTMINSTER. 1504 to 1750.

1517—Will of Anthony Legh of psh. of St. Margarets, Westminster; Dated 1 october mvxvij, ix Hen. viij, Pro. 6 ffeb. 1517; bequeathes (*inter alia*) to godson Antony penne xl s.—Reg. Wyks fo. 129.

1538—Robert Pen; Will dated xxvj Sept. xxx Hen. viij; sons John and Anthony Exrs.; dau. Cecylly my Covent Seall of Abbey of Westminster & xx nobles & a ryng with a dyamond wch was hyr mothers & my best bedd & cou^{*}lett; dau. Elizabeth xx^{*} & h^{*} dau. Anne a Ryall; son William the bedd he lyeth on; sons John & Anthony Res. Legs.; owes to m^{*} ffysher iiij s. but he saith that it is vj s. but I confesse but iiij s. & that is all the dettes I owe in the worlde; m^{*} Subdean of the kyngs Chapell with all my fellows haue eu^{*}y man a penny; Wit. m^{*} byrd, m^{*} barker, m^{*} Radys, m^{*} bury, m^{*} Colman, m^{*} Raffe of the vestry; Pro. xvj Oct. mvxxxviij by Exrs.—Reg. Bracy 66.

1685—Probate on Will of Johanna Pen, late of parish of St. Margarets, Westminster, widow, granted 18 February 1685 to Mary Wise, dau & sole Executrix named in the will. (*Will filed but not Reg.*)—Act Book, fo. 78.

1698—Probate on Will of John Penn late of St. Margarets in the city of Westminster, granted 11 May 1698 to Robert Hater, the Executor named in the Will. (*Will filed but not Reg.*)—Act Book, fo. 87.

Genealogical Gleanings.

Other Names in Calendar of which no Notes were taken.										
1715—Ralph Penn	Jan.	\mathbf{Filed}	Act Book	fo.	63					
1720—Elizabeth Penn	2 Mar .	"	"	"	106					
1739—William Penn	May	"	"	"	95					
1740—John Penn	May	"	"	"	99					
Admons.										
1614-William Penn	Fe	eb.	Act Book,	fo.	23					
1648—Joanna Penn	T. A	ug.	"	"	13					
1673—Gulielmus Pen	n Ja	n.	"	"	83					
1678—Peter Penn "Reno." (So entered in index.)										
1722—George Penn	Ju	ıly	Act Book,	fo.	115					

"Ad° et Ren°" in Index Inv 84.

ARCHDEACONRY OF WILTS.

1630-1-Chri'ri' Tucke ats Pen de Charleton. Compos Georgii Pen Sup.¹ Admon. bonor. Bundle 29, no. 63.

ARCHDEACONRY COURT OF LONDON. 1564 to 1719.³

1588—Richard Penn. 22 July Commissued for Admon. of goods of Richard Pen late of St. Andrew Wardropp, to Isabelle Pen his.relict. Inv. Ex. sm. 58^a.—Act Book, fo. 9.

¹ An exhaustive search both by others and myself having failed to bring to light the documents referred to in the entry before given from this court (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XIV. p. 294) as "1628—George Penn of Brinkworth, Will," it seems probable that this was an error, and the George above referred to is the one intended. No doubt identical with the George of Brinkworth, whose Admon. in 1632 has been already given.—P. C. C., Act Book, fo. 138b.

³ The earlier indices of this important court, which date from 1368 (with some chasms), were not examined.

1593—Thomas Penn. 26 Nov. 1593 Commission issued for Admon. of goods of Thomas (*Humphrey first written & interlined*) Penn late of St. Botolph without Aldersgate, to Rose Penn his relict. Inv. Ex. summ iiij[∞] vj^µ ij^{*} x⁴.—Act Book, fo. 135.

1639—Christian Penn of St. Andrew in Holborne, co. Middx., Widdowe, in good health; Will dated 6 Nov. 1628, 4 Chas.; To kinswoman Sara Orchard £100 in 12 mos. yf shee bee then livinge, & all househ. stuffe & wearinge apparell &c.; kinsman Thomas Orchard, bro. of said Sara £5; goddau. Christian Kinge £10; Mrs. Susan Linsey wife of my Exr. a ring of gold of £3; Mr. William Linsey Res. Leg. & Exr.; Wit. Anthony flish, William Studwy, Thomas flitzhushe & John Comberford. Pro. 6 Nov. 1639 by Exr. (See pro. Act infra.)—Reg. Book 8, fo. 310.

6 Nov. 1639 Probate on will of Christiana Penn, widow, of St. James Clerkenwell, co. Middx., granted to William Linsey, the Exr. named in the will. Inv. Ex. 24^u 14^s 11^d.— Act Book, fo. 45.

1665—Robert Penn. 7 October 1665 Probate on Will of Robert Penn of St. Trinity, London, granted to Grace Certaine, the Executrix named in the will. (*Will filed but* not Reg.)—Act Book, fo. 136.

1687—Samuel Penn. 4 Nov. Commission issued to Mary Penn, relict of Samuel Penn, late of St. Leonards Shoreditch, London, deceased intestate, to admr. &c.—Act Book, n. f.

1707—Elizabeth Penn ats Edis Ad^o Jan. (No notes taken.)—Act Book, n. f.

DEAN AND CHAPTER OF ST. PAUL'S. 1585 to 1725.

1591—Agnes Penne, wyfe to Thomas Penne of Graies Jnne Lane & parishe of St. Andrewes, in Holborne, co. Middx., Late wief & Extrx. of Thos. Ensar of same parish

& Co., Late Citizen & Butcher of London, dec'd.; Languishinge Weake & sicke in bodye; makes will with consent of husband Thomas Penne; Dated last Sept. 1691 33 Eliz.; To be buried in Ch. or Chyd. of St. Andrews; sonne Thomas Ensar a peyer of best flaxen sheets, a flaxen tablecloth, Doz. best Napkyns, all my childbedd lynen & 2 golde Ringes whereof thone ys a Hooped or weddinge ringe & one other Ringe sett wth a stone called a Cornelion, at age of xxj yeares; forgyve to George Ralfe half the debt he oweth to my husbande; Husband Thomas Penne Res. Leg. & sole Exr.; Wit. John nashe scr., margarett Hoddys wydowe, william walker. John Evans his marke, Confirmed by mee Thomas Penne; Pro. 2 Dec. 1591 by Exr. named in will.—Book B, fo. 361.

1686—John Penn. 29 Dec. Commission issued for Admon. of estate of John Penn, late of St. Giles, Cripplegate, but dec'd. intestate, to his widow, Bridgitt Penn, &c.—Adm. Act Book, fo. 98.

1718—John Penn. 3 Feb. 1717–8, Commission issued to Mary Penn, relict of John penn of precinct of purpool in parish of St. Andrews Holborn, co. Middx., to administer &c.—Act Book fo. 101.

1722—Thomas Penn. 11 Apr. Commission issued to Elizabeth Penn relict of Thomas Penn of St. Giles, Cripplegate, to administer &c.—Act Book, fo. 147.

SUNDRY GLEANINGS.

1516—Will of William Scott of Busshey, co. Herts.; Dated 17 Mar 1516, pro.—June 1516; son Richard Prin. Leg. & Exr. with John Hodell Anne Pen one heifer; daus of Jordan; dau Marion; wife; son John; Archdeaconry of St. Albans—Reg. Walingford fo. 162.

1681—William Penn. Nov. 15 Commission issued to Ellinora Penne, Widow of William Penne, late of parish of

Genealogical Gleanings.

St. Sepulchre, London, decd intestate, to admr. &c. Commissary of London.—Act Book 24, fo. 2.

1706—Will of Bernard Lee of psh of Arberfild, co. Berks., yeoman, in reasonable health but well stricken in years; Dated 24 July 1701 13 Wm. 3, pro. 13 Apr 1706; wife Christian; daus. Ann, Mary, Elizabeth & Christian; sons Bernard & James; Wit. Edw: Penn, Susanna Standen, Margarett penn, John May, Phebe Knight. Adm. to son James & dau Christian (no Exr. being named), with bond of John Sale of Arborfeild, Clerk, & Henry Dame of Soning, yeoman in £1000. Dean of Sarum Filed Will.

1721—Richard Penn. 22 May Commission issued to Richard penn father of Richard Penn, Junr., late of parish of St. Mary Rotherhith in co. Surrey, but in the merchant ship Le Cadogan at Newfoundland, deceased intestate, to admr. &c. Commisary Court Surrey.¹—Act Book, fo. 92.

FRIENDS' RECORDS AT DEVONSHIRE HOUSE, LONDON, E. C. BRISTOL QUARTERLY MEETING.

Births.²

1701/2-1 mo. 9-Thomas Penn born at dwelling house of Thomas Callowhill son of William & Hannah Penn.

1703—5 mo. 80—Hannah Margerita Penn born at Thomas Callowhills in James Parish, daughter of William and Hannah Penn.

1704-9 mo. 7-Margaret Penn born at Thomas Callowhills in James parish daughter of same.

1705—11 mo. 17—Richard Penn born at Thomas Callowhills son of same.

¹ This court, which was searched from its commencement in 1662 to 1726, contains no other entries of the name of Penn than the above.

³ Marriages and burials of this Quarterly were not examined, and no doubt contain other entries.

FRIENDS' RECORDS AT DEVONSHIRE HOUSE, LONDON, E. C. BUCKS QUARTERLY MEETING.

Births.

1672-11 mo. 23-Gulielma Maria Penn, daughter of William & Gulielma Maria Penn, born at Rickmansworth, Herts. Upperside Mo. M.

1673—12 mo. 28—William & Mary Penn, twins, children of William & Gulielma Maria Penn, born at Rickmansworth. Upperside M. M.

1675—11 mo. 25—Springett Penn son of William & Gulielma Maria Penn born at Walthamstow, Essex, parish of Rickmansworth.

Marriages.

1672—2 mo. 4—William Penn of Walthamstow, Essex, & Gulielma Maria Springett of Penn, married at Kings Charitywood, Herts. Upperside Mo. M.

1688—5 mo. 80—Richard Dell of Chesham & Mary Penn, spinster, of Coleshill, Amersham parish, Herts., daughter of Thomas & Martha Penn of Adderbury, Oxon., married at Amersham, Upperside Mo. M.

Burials.

1672—1 mo. 17—Gulielma Maria Penn daughter of William and Gulielma Maria Penn of Rickmansworth, buried at Jordans, Upperside Mo. M.

1674-3 mo. 15-William Penn son of the same buried at Jordans, Giles Chalfont parish.

1674—12 mo. 24—Margaret Penn daughter of the same buried at same place.

1689-9 mo. 20-Gulielma Maria Penn of Worminghurst, Sussex, but died at Hammersmith in Middx., daughter of same, buried at Jordans.

Genealogical Gleanings.

1693—12 mo. 23—Gulielma Maria Penn of Worminghurst, Sussex, but died at Hoddesden, Herts., wife of William Penn, buried at Jordans.

1696—2 mo. 10—Springett Penn of Worminghurst, Sussex, but died at Lewes, Sussex, son of William and Gulielma Penn, buried at Jordans.

1708—11 mo. 24—Hannah Penn died at Kensington, Middx., daughter of Wm. & Hannah Penn, buried at Tring, Upperside Mo. M.

1718-5 mo. 30-(*died*) William Penn buried at Jordans 6 mo. 5th. 1718.

1726-6 mo. 20-Hannah Penn wife of William Penn buried at Jordans, Upperside Mo. M.

MARRIAGE ALLEGATIONS, 1615 TO 1675, AT DIOCESAN REGISTRY, SARUM, WILTS.

1628—last of October—Appared personally Robert walker of Sherret in parish of Pewsey, co. Wilts., husbandman, aged xxxiiij yeers & humbly craved License to marry with Elinor Penn of the same place spinster, aged xxx^{iv} yeers.

1635—12 May—Appeared personally Edward keene of Blackeboreton, co. Oxon., yeoman, aged xxvij years, & humbly craved License to mary wth Elinor Penn of Brinckworth, co. Wilts., spinster, aged xxiiij years, & hath express consent of parents.

TRANSCRIPTS OF WEST KINGTON, CO. WILTS., AT DIO-CESAN REGISTRY, SARUM.

1754-Nov. 27-Ann Penn buried.

TRANSCRIPTS OF CASTLE CARY, CO. SOMERSET, AT DIO-CESAN REGISTRY, WELLS.

1607—Julie xxjth. was marye Pen the wife of Walter Pen Buryed.

1621-Julie-The xvjth. daye was Walter Pen buried.

REGISTER OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN, TAUNTON, SOMER-SET.¹

Christenings.

1589-Nov.-Johane the daughter of Richard Penn 8 daie.

1592-Jan.--Katherine Daughter of Richard Penn 28 daie.

Buriynges.

1615-ffeb.-Robert Peen 7.

REGISTER OF FROME, SOMERSET.³

1629-Nov. 30-Steeven Peene sepultus.

REGISTER OF MELKSHAM, WILTS.⁴

Baptisms.

1666—Sarah ye daughter of Thomas Pen baptized Dec. 22.

1669—Hester the daughter of Thomas Penn Baptized Octob: 9th.

1672-(no.)--35--John the sonn of Thomas Pen baptized Jan. 24th.

1675-(no.)-26-Joan the daughter of Thomas Penn february 12.

Marriages.

1692—Richard Joanes & Sarah penn botht of this parish May the 7.

Burials.

1678-Jone Penn widow Buried October 27.

1692—Thomas Penn December 27.

- ¹ Searched from 1558 to 1656 inclusive.
- ² Searched from 1558 to 1653.
- ^a Examined from commencement, 1568, to 1750 inclusive. Vol. XVI.-22

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BEGISTER OF ST. DUNSTAN-IN-EAST, STEPNEY, LONDON.¹

Baptisms.

1615—July 30—James sonn of william Pen of wapinge wale of ix daies ould.

1619—July 11—William sonne of William Penne of Wappynwall smyth & Martha his wife ten days old.

-Sept. 15-Abigall daughter of Roger Penne of Wappingwall smyth & anne his wife, 4 days old.

1624—July 18—Henry sonn of Roger Penne of Shadwell smith & Agnes his wife.

1627—Apr. 18—William sonn of Roger Penne of Whitehorse streete smith & Anne his wife at 8 days.

1629-May 13-Sara daughter of Roger Penne of Whitehorse street smith and Agnes ux. at 7 days.

1632—Apr. 20—George sonn of Roger Penn of Whitehorse street smith & Anne ux. at 4 days.

1633-Jan. 31-Edward sonn of George Penne of Prusons Iland shipwright & Marg⁴ 4 days.

1636—June 8—John sonn of George Penne of Prusons Iland shipwright & Margaret ux. 8 days.

REGISTER OF ST. THOMAS, SARUM, WILTS.³ 1610—Sept.—Tamson Pen 15. (Buried.)

¹ The very voluminous registers of this large and important parish were examined for baptisms and marriages, from their beginning, in 1568, to 1609, and for baptisms alone to 1638, the above names being all the Penns found in this portion of the registers.

² Vol. I. of register, from 1571 to 1653, examined,—the above being the only entry of the name of Penn found.

REGISTER OF ST. MARTIN'S, SARUM, WILTS.¹

Baptisms.

1602-May 23-William Pen filig Nicholas Pen.

-ffeb. 11-Thomas Pen filig Richard Pen. (Chasm 1604-1630.)

Marriages.

1580-Nov. 13-william Pen dux' Elizabeth Rowland vge.

1582-May 12-John Pen duxit Alis michell vid.

1598—May 24—Nicholas Pen duxit Alis Cholles. (Chasm 1607–1630.)

Burials.

1579-Sept. 20-Annis Pen vxor John Pen.

-Oct. 2-John Pen maritg Agnis Pen.

1581-may 16-Elinor Penne filia John penne.

-Sept. 29-Annys Penn vxor william Pen.

1588-may 29-Jone Pen filia John Pen.

1602-Maye 26-william Pen filig Nicholas Pen.

1604—Aug. 7.—Annis Pen filia Nicholas Pen. (Chasm 1604–1680.)

REGISTER OF ST. EDMUNDS, SARUM, WILTS."

Baptisms.

1580-Nov. 5-Katherine daughter to wyllim penne.

1591—June 6—John sonn to wyllm Penne.

¹ Vol. I. of registers, from 1559 to 1653. Vol. II. searched from 1658 to 1681, but no further Penn entries found.

³ Vol. I. of registers contains baptisms and marriages from 1560, and burials from 1559 to 1653 inclusive.

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1593-Dec. 19-wyllyams D: to wyllym Penne.

1596-Aug. 27-wyllym Penne ye son of wyillym Penne.

1618-Jan. 31-willm S: to Stephen penne shoemaker.

Weddings.

1567—July 21—John Darbye & margaret Penne.

1571-Jan. 23-Davye Johnsson & margaret Penne.

1580-Nov. 27-John Penne & Agnis maleye.

1582-Jan. 22-Thomas penne & Tomson okeford.

1584—July 14—wyllym Oallyver & mercy Penn.

1589-Nov. 3-Anthonye penne & Jone Abbyat.

1602-Sept. 9-John Browne & Tompson penne.

Buryals.

1580-Sept. 13-Jane Penne.

-Sept. 24-Henry Penne.

1595-marche 24-wyllyam Penne.

1596-March 31-Jone Penn.

1604-May 29-willmas Penne d: to willm Penne.

-June 8-William Penne the Son of John Penne.

BEGISTER OF ST. THOMAS, BRISTOL.

1621—Aprill 23—Willm Pen sonn of gilles penn. (Baptized.¹)

¹ This most important entry of the baptism of Admiral Penn, father of the founder, I owe to the courtesy of my esteemed friend and correspondent, Rev. Charles H. Pope, of Kennebunkport, Me., who found it while engaged in a research on his own family. He adds, "It seems to me there were other Penn entries at St. Thomas, though I cannot affirm

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BRISTOL DEEDS IN POSSESSION OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

1661—Indenture made 26 June, 1661, 13 Chas. II, between Thomas Callowhill of Bristoll, Button Maker sonn & heir of John Callowhill, late of said City, Gent., deceased, of the first part, and Dennis Hollister of the same, Grocer, Thomas Speed of the same, Merchant, Walter Clement of Alveston, co. Glouc., Gent., & Thomas Goldney of the same City, Grocer :—Witnesseth, that in consideration that a marriage had been had between the said Thomas Callowhill & Hanna his wife, one of the daughters of the said Dennis Hollister, & for a provision of livelyhood for the said Hanna in case she survive the said Thomas & for preferment of such children as it shall please God to send said Thomas & Hanna &c, said Thomas Callowhill is to deed certain properties to the parties of the second part in trust &c &c.

1682—Indenture made 25 Jan. 1682, 30 Chas. II (sic), between Simon Clement of the City of Bristoll, Merchant, & Mary his wife, of the first part, and Thomas Callowhill, Linendraper, & Thomas Jordan, Grocer, both of the same City, of the second part—In consideration of 5s. paid to said Simon Clement he sells to said Thos Callowhill & Thos Jordan all that one third part of the corner house in St. Mary Port street adjoyning to High street in said Bristoll, now in tenure of said Thomas Jordan for terme of one whole year, to only intent that said Thomas Callowhill & Thomas Jordan may accept & take a tenant &c.

1711—Indenture made 27 Nov. 10 Anne, between Thomas Callowhill of City of Bristol, Linnen Draper, & Hanna his wife of the one part, & Charles Harford of same City, merchant, & Richard Champion of said City, merchant, of the other part—whereas, by an Indent. quinque ptite made between the said Thomas Callowhill & Hanna his wife of the first part, Thomas Jordan of same, Grocer, & Lydia his wife

it." The registers of this parish date from 1552 for baptisms, 1558 for burials, and 1558 for marriages, and seem well worthy a careful examination.

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of the second part, Simon Clement of same, Merchant, & Mary his wife of the third part, Phebe Hollister of same, Spinster, of the fourth part (which said Hanna, Lydia, Mary & Phebe were daughters & coheirs of Dennis Hollister, late of said city, Grocer, dec'd.), & Walter Clement of Alveston, co. Glouc., Gent., & Nathaniel Haggatt of Bristoll afsd., Esq., of the fifth part &c &c.¹

¹ These valuable deeds give us the first clue, as far as the writer is aware, to the name and parentage of the mother of Hannah Callowhill, the second wife of the founder, and likewise supply us with the name of her paternal grandfather, John Callowhill, also unknown hitherto. The writer's examination of these interesting volumes was very hasty, as his time was limited. No doubt some Philadelphia antiquary, with leisure to scan thoroughly every document, may find much more to repay his search.

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CHRISTOPHER LUDWIG, BAKER-GENERAL IN THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES DURING THE REV-OLUTIONARY WAR.

Christopher Ludwig (sometimes spelled Ludwick) was born of Lutheran parents, October 17, 1720, at Giessen, Hesse-Darmstadt, Germany. His father was a baker, in which business the son was instructed, after having received a limited education at the parish school. At the age of seventeen years he enlisted as a private soldier, and participated in the war carried on by Austria and Turkey between 1737 and 1740. After the war he returned to Vienna, and from thence went to Prague, where he endured all the distresses of a seventeen weeks' siege, and after the surrender of the city to the French, in November of 1741, he enlisted in the army of the King of Prussia.

Upon the return of peace he travelled to London, where he entered himself as baker on board the "Duke of Cumberland," East Indiaman, commanded by Admiral Boscawen. In 1745 he returned to London, and set out for Germany to visit his father, who he found had died during his absence in India. He returned to England, and between the years 1745 and 1752 made voyages to Holland, Ireland, and the West Indies as a common sailor. In 1753 he embarked for Philadelphia, and after a brief sojourn returned to London, where he devoted nine months in learning the confectioner's business and the making of gingerbread. Procuring a stock of gingerbread prints, he returned to Philadelphia in 1754 and set up the business of a family and gingerbread baker in Letitia Court, which, by industry and strict attention, prospered.

In the year 1774 he felt, with a great majority of the people of America, the impulse of that spirit of liberty which led them to oppose, first by petitions and afterwards by arms,

the attempt of Great Britain to subjugate her American colonies. He was possessed at that time of nine houses in the city, a farm near Germantown, and three thousand five hundred pounds at interest, all of which he was willing to stake, with his life, in defence of the rights of his adopted country.

He was elected one of the Provincial Deputies, July 15, 1774; a delegate to the Provincial Convention of January 23-28, 1775, and to the Provincial Conference of June 18, 1776, which met in Carpenters' Hall. In one of these conventions it was proposed by General Mifflin to open a private subscription for the purchase of fire-arms. Considerable opposition was made to the proposition, whereupon Mr. Ludwig addressed the chair in the following laconic speech, which he delivered in broken English: "Mr. President, I am but a poor gingerbread baker, but put my name down for two hundred pounds."

In the summer of 1776 he entered the army as a volunteer, and was sent to the Flying Camp, where he animated his associates with the love of liberty by his example and conversation.

With the consent of his commanding officer, he visited the camp of the Hessian contingent on Staten Island, in the character of a deserter, and was instrumental in inducing some of the soldiers to desert by his captivating descriptions of the affluence and independence of their former countrymen in the German counties of Pennsylvania. He escaped from the camp without detection or suspicion.

In the spring of 1777 he was appointed by Congress Baker-General of the army:

In Congress, May 3d, 1777.

"Resolved, That Christopher Ludwick be, and is hereby appointed Superintendent of Bakers and Director of Baking in the army of the United States; and that he shall have power to engage, and by permission of the Commander-in-Chief, or officer commanding at any principal post, all persons to be employed in his business, and to regulate their pay, making proper report of his proceedings, and using his best endeavors to rectify all abuses in the article of bread:

"That no person be permitted to exercise the trade of baker in the said army without such license; and that he receive for his services herein, an allowance of 75 dollars a month and two rations a day."

When he was notified of his appointment by the committee of Congress, they proposed that for every pound of flour he should furnish the army with a pound of bread. "No, gentlemen," said he, "I will not accept of your commission upon any such terms. I do not wish to grow rich by the war: I have money enough. I will furnish one hundred and thirty-five pounds of bread for every hundred pounds of flour you put into my hands." The committee were ignorant of the increase of weight which flour acquires by the addition of water and leaven.

Finding some difficulty in obtaining a number of journeymen bakers, owing to most of them being engaged in the militia service, on June 23, 1777, Congress ordered—

"That Mr. Ludwig apply to the Supreme Executive Council of the State of Pennsylvania, and that it be recommended to the said Council to furnish him with such a number of journeymen bakers out of the Militia employed in the service of the Continent as he may want."

From the date of his appointment all complaints of the bad quality of bread in the army ceased, nor was any movement delayed from the want of that necessary article of food. After the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis, he baked six thousand pounds of bread for his army, by order of General Washington.

In his intercourse with the officers of the army he was blunt, but never offensive in his manners. His eccentric turns of thought and expression, his pleasant anecdotes, and, above all, a general conviction of the ardor and sincerity of his patriotism, always made him a welcome visitor. A handsome china punch-bowl, which he brought from Canton in 1745, was well known for the toast he always gave when he drank out of it:

> "Health and long life To Christopher Ludwick and his wife."

At the close of the war he returned and settled on his farm near Germantown, which had been plundered by the British army on their march to Philadelphia. The following certificate, which he had framed and hung in his parlor, to a large degree reconciled him to his losses:

"I have known Christopher Ludwick from an early period in the war, and have every reason to believe, as well as from observation as information, that he has been a true and faithful servant to the public; that he has detected and exposed many impositions, which were attempted to be practised by others in his department; that he had been the cause of much saving in many respects; and that his deportment in public life, has afforded unquestionable proofs of his integrity and worth.

"With respect to his personal losses, I have no personal knowledge, but have heard that he has suffered from his zeal in the cause of his country.

"GEO. WASHINGTON.

"April 25, 1785."

During the yellow-fever epidemic in 1798, Mr. Ludwig volunteered his services in the bake-house of Frederick Fraley, to assist in making bread for distribution among the poor.

Christopher Ludwig died in Philadelphia, June 17, 1801, and with his wife, Catharine England, a widow, whom he married in 1755, is buried in the Lutheran graveyard, Germantown. The following epitaph is inscribed on their tombstone:

> In Memory of CHRISTOPHER LUDWICK, and of his wife CATHARINE. She died at Germantown the 21st September, 1796 Aged eighty years and five months; He died at Philadelphia the 17th June, 1801, Aged eighty years and nine months.

He was born at Giessen in Hesse D'Armstadt, in Germany, And learned the Baker's trade and business; In his early life he was a Soldier and Sailor, and visited the East and West Indies; In the year 1775, he came and settled at Philadelphia,

And by his industry at his trade and business, Acquired a handsome competency, part of which he devoted To the service of his adopted country in the contest For the Independence of America; Was appointed Baker General to the Army, And for faithful services received a written testimony From the Commander in Chief General Washington. On every occasion his zeal for the relief of the oppressed Was manifest; and by his last will, Education of the children of the poor of all denominations, gratis. He lived and died Respected for his integrity and public spirit, By all who knew him. Reader, such was Ludwick. Art thou poor, Venerate his character. Art thou rich, Imitate his example.

Possessed of a comfortable estate, he dispensed his charities with discrimination and delicacy, and the same just and charitable disposition which governed his actions in life manifested itself in an eminent degree in his will. After bequeathing various family legacies, he gives five hundred pounds in equal shares to the German Reformed Church, in Philadelphia; the German Society, of which he had been a Director from 1770-1774 and 1776-1781, and Vice-President for the years 1775 and 1782; the University of Pennsylvania; and the Lutheran church at Beggarstown, to be employed in educating poor children. To the Pennsylvania Hospital he gives one hundred pounds for the relief of poor patients, and to the Guardians of the Poor two hundred pounds, to be laid out in firewood for the use of the poor of the city. The residue of his estate is then disposed of to establish free schools in the city "for the education of poor children of all denominations without any exception to country, extraction or religious principles of their friends or parents; and as the residue and remainder of my estate will, in my opinion, amount to upwards of £3000. specie, I am willing that the same shall be my mite or contribution towards such institution." . . .

If before the lapse of five years such a school should not be established, he orders the said residue of his estate to be divided among the German Lutheran, German Reformed, Episcopal, First and Second Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, and African Churches, and the University of Pennsylvania, to be employed by them exclusively in educating poor children.

"A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE SWEDISH MISSION FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT UNTIL ITS CESSA-TION."

BY REV. NICHOLAS COLLIN.

[Copied from Book No. 8 of the "Records of the Church at Swedesboro," New Jersey.]

The first Swedish colony in North America arrived in the year 1634, and was followed by three or four reinforcements during the succeeding years until 1654. The Swedes acquired by fair purchase from the natives all the western coast of Delaware from Cape Henlopen to Trenton, and extending due west to a distance of forty miles. Their first principal settlement was at Christina Creek [near Wilmington], and they had a church at Tinicum, where also, the governor resided. The Low Dutch had sometime before the arrival of the Swedes taken possession of North river and founded New Amsterdam, now New York. They had also got a slender footing on the eastern shore of the Delaware and built a fort called Nassau, where Gloucester now stands. This naturally created a jealousy, which produced contests, and finally hostilities, terminating in the conquest of the infant Swedish colony, as it was not supported by Sweden, which at that time, was engaged in war with several of the first powers in Europe.

After the death of the clergymen who accompanied the first colonists from Sweden, the people became very destitute, until their humble address to Charles XI King of Sweden, the mission was instituted which has continued without intermission until this time. This mission was composed of three distinct Rectorships, viz: Wicacoa, with Kingsessing and Upper Merion, in Pennsylvania; Christina, in Delaware; and Racoon with Pennsneck, in West Jersey. The clergy consisted of the three respective Rectors and in later times, a minister extraordinary. One of the ordinary Pastors was also Provost or Commissary, having a degree of superintending authority over the whole mission. The Extraordinary had from Sweden a yearly salary of £33. stg. The Commissary office has had from the time of Mr. Sandin, £50. stg.; the Crown bestowed to every coming missionary £50. stg. to defray the expense of the voyage and an equal sum on returning. While waiting for preferment after their return, they had adequate pensions: the Commissaries one-third more than the others. They also obtained very good employment, several having been rewarded with the best Rectorships in Sweden.

Until the beginning of this century, Racoon and Pennsneck made parts of the congregations over the river: the first at Wicacoa, and the other of Christina. In the year 1704, a church was built where the New Church at Swedesboro now stands, and endowed with the lands yet preserved, to wit: one hundred acres of which Swedesboro makes a part, and the marsh meadows of six acres, four miles from thence down Racoon creek. Their first minister, Tolstadius, was drowned in the Delaware in 1706; the second, Mr. Aureen, died 1713. He was succeeded by Abraham Lidenius, who also became pastor of Pennsneck, where a church was erected 1717, and endowed by Jaquett with eight acres of land. From that date both congregations have been united and both conjoined in the commissions of the Rectors.

By the unwearied solicitude of Mr. Lidenius, the congregations were after eight years consultation prevailed upon to purchase the Glebe in Pilesgrove, which contains two hundred and thirty-five acres, and cost £145. In 1724 Mr. Lidenius went home to Sweden with his wife, Maria Van Neaman and three children.

Peter Tranberg arrived in 1726, with Andrew Windrufer, who as assistant had charge of Pennsneck until 1728, when he died. In 1741 Tranberg was promoted to the Rectorship of Christina, where he died.

The vacancy was in some measure supplied by William

Malander. This person had come to America with Dylander, pastor of Wicacoa, as schoolmaster. Being a student of Divinity he obtained permission to preach and baptize children, and would by a mandate of the Archbishop have received holy orders from Dylander and Tranberg, if he had not departed this life. During the vacancy the Moravians created a chisma and built the meeting-house on Oldman's creek. Pastor Naesman, from Wicacoa, and Tranberg, from Christina, did, however, supply the congregation occasionally.

John Sandin arrived the first of April, 1748, with his wife and a young child, after a tedious and perilous voyage. He died after six months. Professor Kalm, who, at this time by the King of Sweden's order, travelled through North America, resided for the winter at Racoon and preached in the church. He afterwards married Mrs. Sandin and went with her to Sweden, encountering on the passage a tremendous tempest.

Eric Unander, who came in as minister extraordinary, became in 1751, the pastor of the two churches. In 1756 he was promoted to Christina Church, and afterwards went home.

John Abraham Lidenius, son of Abraham Lidenius, succeeded as Rector, after having since 1751, served as assistant in these congregations and those of Pennsylvania. He obtained his recall, but in the meantime died in Pennsylvania.

His successor John Wiesell became Rector in 1762. His active zeal for the spiritual and temporal concerns of the congregations is yet remembered. By his exertions the parsonage house in Swedesboro was erected, the lots leased, the marsh meadow banked and tossacked, and the swamp near Swedesboro cleared out for pasture. He had also the principal credit for the charity schoolhouse in Swedesboro. In the Autumn of 1773, he returned and was promoted to the important Rectorship of Munktorp, in the central part of Sweden, where he is yet living.

Nicholas Collin arrived in 1770, the 12th of May, as

minister extraordinary, and officiated through the Mission, but especially at Racoon and Pennsneck, until the departure of John Wiesell, since which time to July, 1788, he was Rector of these congregations and for seven years Provost of the Mission. By letters to the Archbishop and Consistory of Upsal, dated 8th July 1778, I solicited in pressing terms for my recall. I had then officiated for above eight years within the mission, and was consequently entitled to preferment at home. There was moreover a strong necessity for my departure; the rents of the church lands had by the depreciation of the current money and the dearness of many necessary articles, fell to a tenth part of their usual value. The congregations had suffered great distress from the war, and many of the more able members were, as is common in America, unwilling to contribute for the support of public worship. There was no prospect of peace or civil order for several years, and consequently no hopes of relief. A temporary vacancy, though prejudicial to the congregations was therefore inevitable, at the same time a saving of the little church revenue after my departure would shorten this vacancy by adding to the support of my successor. All this was fully represented in my letter, with an express declaration, that without a speedy alleviation of my sufferings I should not even wait for the recall, but depart next Spring. It must be observed that my want of subsistence would not have been grievous, if I could have drawn my Commissary salary, but this was impracticable as all communication with Sweden was cut off by the dreadful disorders of those times. When the seat of war was removed from the Delaware, I obtained at least more tranquility, and therefore resolved to wait for my recall, repeating my solicitation for it by several letters for two years. My request was at last granted by the King's Resolve of 22d. November 1782. The reason of this delay was, that the Consistory had not sooner presented my petition, because his Majesty had by a previous order signified his pleasure that the American Missionaries should remain in the stations until the event of the war was known. In

May 1783, I received this recall. I should then with pleasure have returned to my dear native country, but personal concerns and anxiety for my ecclesiastical trust determined me still to continue for sometime, especially as the urgent plea of necessity had now ceased with the return of peace. I therefore informed the Consistory of my resolution to remain for a short while, until the congregations could be supplied with a successor; declaring also, that in case the King was pleased to continue the Mission I was willing to take upon me the charge of Wicacoa, Kingsessing and Upper Merion, which churches were becoming vacant by the recall of the Rev. Mathias Huitgren, as a new-comer, however desiring, could not be useful in that station because of the extinction of the Swedish language. I also expressed my readiness to assist my successor in Racoon and Pennsneck by all the influence I derived from long service and personal connection.

On this request his Majesty was pleased by resolve of the 10th of August 1785, to appoint me Rector of those congregations, and also to leave Racoon and Pennsneck vacant, until they should express their option of the King's future regulation for the Swedish Mission. This was "that whereas the congregations in their present mature state must be sufficiently able to support their ministers; and whereas they had nearly lost the language of their ancestors, which was a principal tie of their connection with Sweden: Therefore the congregations could not in future obtain any ministers from Sweden without a formal stipulation to defray the whole expense of the voyage incoming and returning; and to afford them a decent support during their continuance in the ministry." The King was pleased to add, that future ministers who might choose to go upon these terms, should not be entitled to the superior privileges of pensions and preferments heretofore granted to American missionaries.

The congregations at Racoon and Pennsneck yet feeling the distress of a calamitous war, and the first being moreover involved in a most difficult enterprise of erecting the

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new church, could not immediately comply with these conditions. I therefore informed the Archbishop, that for the present a temporary vacancy was elegible, and that I would to the utmost of my power lessen the disadvantages thereof.

It must be remarked, that the Swedish government had already in the year 1773, by the ministry of the mission, proposed to the respective congregations a partial reform of the former plan, to wit. that they should bear the expense of the voyage from London to America, and from here again to that place for their pastors; the Crown, as usual, defraying the remaining part. The intervening war prevented any attention to this proposal. It was laid before the respective vestries on the restoration of peace; those of Wicacoa with its annexes, and of Christina, resolved to comply with the demand, in case they should request the favour of Swedish successors after their present pastors; that of Racoon and Pennsneck promised to contribute according to the ability of their less opulent congregations.

In the meantime the Swedish language decreased continually by decease of the ancient people. The clergy themselves were sensible of the great disadvantages attending the usual change of missionaries every seventh or eighth year, and represented the matter in its true light to the Archbishop and Consistory. The Vestry of Wicacoa, Kingsessing and Upper Merion, received with grateful respect my appointment to their churches, and acknowledged their great obligation to the King and his illustrious predecessors for the long continued care of their spiritual welfare,-but at the same time declined a continuance of this favor, as the great change of circumstances must hereafter make the mission a burden to the Crown of Sweden, without any adequate benefit to the congregations which had totally lost the language of their ancestors-they therefore signified their intention of providing for themselves after my departure. The vestry of Christina Church expressed the same sentiments.

The congregations of Racoon and Pennsneck did not come to an immediate resolution on this affair, but by my advice waited until the debt incurred for the new church was somewhat reduced by the rents falling due after my removal, and in the view of knowing how long the mission might be kept up in the other churches under the Revd. Laurence Pirelius and myself. The daily decay of the Swedish tongue by the death of ancient and respectable members; the probabilities of our speedy return to Sweden; the unpleasant situation of a solitary missionary and the great expense of a probably frequent change of ministers, unsupportable for the small revenue of their churches; finally determined their coincidence in sentiment with their sister congregations.

The Archbishop of Sweden having submitted to his Majesty these sentiments of the congregations, received the King's final resolve, which he communicated in a letter addressed to the vestries of the churches that compose the mission dated Upsal 25th June 1789, of which the following is the principal matter, carefully translated :

"The King approving of the reasons that induced the congregations henceforth to choose their ministers, rather than to be supplied with Swedish missionaries at the expense of the Swedish Crown, has thereunto given his gracious consent, and in consequence thereof permits the remaining Swedish missionaries, the Commissaries Laurence Pirelius and Nicholas Collin to return to their native country, as soon as their circumstances may render it convenient. At the same time the King from the love he bears to the Swedish name, appreciates unto all the members of these congregations, as in great part descendants from Sweden, all manner of felicity spiritual and temporal; and will have them assured of his royal favor.

"It shall also ever be my sincere wish and ardent prayer, that Almighty God may with his Grace and mercies embrace the members of these congregations, jointly and separately, and that the Gospel light which was first kindled in those parts by the tender solicitude of Swedish Kings, and the zeal of Swedish clergymen, may there, while days are num356 "A Brief Account of the Swedish Mission."

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bered, shine with perfect brightness and produce the most salutary fruits.

"The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of the Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with and over you all, are the wishes of a most sincere heart.

"Your Affectionate Servant

"UNO VON TROIL."

During the vacancy I gave the congregations every attention consistent with my distant situation and multiplicity of business. At Swedesboro I performed divine service every third Sunday during the summer and autumn of 1786, and by longer intervals the two following years. I likewise visited some worthy members in their sickness and preached some funeral sermons. Besides I made frequent journeys for settling the business of the new church. Pennsneck could not possibly obtain the same share of service, yet I officiated for a few times at that church, and also preached occasionally at houses on afternoons after finishing the service at Racoon.

Having no doubt but that the Swedish government would take the above final resolution upon the mission, I consulted with the vestry on the means of providing an American successor. We determined to make proposals to the Revd. Christian Streit, pastor of a Lutheran Church in Virginia. He paid a visit to Swedesboro in the Fall of 1788, and expressed great satisfaction in the honor conferred upon him, desiring time for consideration. By letter of the 1st September 1789, he notified me that he must with regret decline the offer, because of a precarious state of health and of the impossibility of procuring a successor for his congregation. This gentleman had been educated by Dr. Wrangel when Rector of Wicacoa Church and afterwards ordained by the German Lutheran Ministry. With knowledge of the German tongue, he has, being country born a perfect expression in the English. After failing in this I intended to try other means for an auspicious settlement of the churches. In the meantime the Vestry of Swedesboro engaged Mr. Croes to give what service he could, and after a few months satisfactory trial called him to the pastoral charge, which I hope and sincerely pray, may promote the glory of God, and the happiness of souls.

In the meantime Mr. Wade, had for a twelvemonth served the congregations by agreement between him and them, without any interposition of mine.

The foregoing narrative sufficiently accounts for the gradual cessation of the Swedish mission first in Racoon and Pennsneck and afterwards in the Christina Church, by the return of Dr. Girelius to Sweden in the month of May last with his wife and four children. Every person of reflection must be sensible that the Swedish mission has in a considerable degree contributed to the moral civilization of this young country. This great blessing claims the more gratitude from all concerned as the kindness of their mother country was perfectly gratuitous, and yet very troublesome. The total expense of the mission for near a century amounts to seven or eight thousand pounds sterling. The missionaries have encountered great hardships, by long and perilous voyages; many years absence from a native land peculiarly dear to Swedes, by the indigent circumstances of a new country, and by the difficulties of a clerical charge, where the interest of religion is not supported either by laws or public opinion.

The pastors of Racoon and Pennsneck have always borne the heaviest burden, from the insalubrity of a low swampy and less improved country; the scattered situation of the people for thirty miles in length, and twelve in breadth; and from the scantiness of support—the revenue of the church lands being small and the ministers never having any regular salaries, but depending on the presents of a few generous members. My sufferings have been severe. During the war the rents of Churchlands were insignificant by the incredible depreciation of the Congress money, which finally passed one hundred and fifty to one specie dollar, and sunk in the hands of the unfortunate holders. The congregations did but little for my relief, because several of the best mem-

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bers were distressed by the barbarous devastations of parties. From these causes and the failure of my supplies from home, I was at times in want of necessaries. Yet, this indigence, however disagreeable to persons accustomed to the conveniences of life and placed in respectable stations, would have been very supportable in a firm state of health, but unfortunately my constitution already in the second year after my arrival much injured by the fever and ague, was every year harrassed by various painful disorders, and finally so reduced, that a change of place or the grave seemed to be the only alternatives; especially as I could not as a Swedish missionary have relinquished the fatiguing charge of Pennsneck.

May divine grace enable the pastors of souls in every nation, to approve themselves in all things as the ministers of God: in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses, in imprisonments, in tumults, in labors, in watching, in fastings, by pureness, by knowledge, by long suffering, by kindness, by love unfeigned, by the word of truth, by the power of God, by the armor of righteousness in the right hand and the left. Then shall they turn many to righteousness and shine as stars for ever and ever. May the incorruptible seed which Swedish missionaries have sown in these congregations, sometimes with joy and sometimes with tears, produce abundant fruit of the spirit, in all goodness, righteousness and truth, and flourish an eternal glorious planting in the land of the living.

NICHOLAS COLLIN,

late Rector of Racoon and Pennsneck, and Provost of the Swedish mission, yet Rector of the Swedish Churches in Pennsylvania.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 10, 1791.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ORDERLY BOOK OF CAPTAIN JOHN NICE, THIRTEENTH PENNSYLVANIA LINE.

CONTRIBUTED BY MISS HENRIETTA COOPER, HADDONFIELD, N.J.

[The following orders are taken from the Orderly-Book of Captain John Nice, Thirteenth Pennsylvania Line, commanded by Colonel Walter Stewart, and have been selected for their local as well as general interest.]

HEAD-QUARTERS, August ye 1st, 1777.1

By Express from His Excellency Gen¹ Washington received a few hours past, ye General is directed to acquaint both officers and soldiers, that they are not to go into the City of Philadelphia without a permit from a General Officer. Any officer that disobeys will be arrested, and any soldier that attempts to go will be severely punished. All ye General Officers are requested not to grant permission to any person, unless it be to execute business of real necessity. Commanding Officers of Regiments are directed to have returns made out immediately, of ye arms out of Repair in the Regt., and ye number wanting to furnish each man fit for duty. The arms in each Regt. that want no repairs to be cleaned and put in the best order for action. None of the guards' Arms are to be loaded, until further orders. All the arms that are loaded, of each Reg^t to be drawn at some proper place under ye Direction of ye Commanding Officer of ye Reg^t or one of ye field Officers. Wanton waste of ammunition cannot be justifiable. The Quarter Masters of each Regiment are directed to see that their men are provided with wood for cooking. Ye Quarter Master General of each Division, will direct the Quarter masters where

¹ This order was issued from the camp near Schuylkill Falls, and is described by Mr. Baker in his article "The Camp by Schuylkill Falls," PENNA. MAG., Vol. XVI. p. 32.

360 Extracts from the Orderly-Book of Captain John Nice.

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to cut Wood. No fences are to be burnt on any account. The Officers of every Rank are requested to protect the Inhabitants from personal insults and their Property being plundered.

HEAD-QUARTERS, GERMANTOWN, August 2nd, 1777.

Major General Greene orders ye troops to be immediately furnished with two Days provisions and hold themselves in Readiness to march in a moments warning. The tents to be carried separate from all other Baggage. No Officer nor Soldier to be absent from Camp on any account. The General expects particular attention will be paid to these orders. The returns called for in yesterdays orders, to be made forthwith. The Commanding Officer of each Regt. to appoint an officer to procure such clothing ye men are in want of without delay.

HEAD-QUARTERS, August 4th, 1777.

In present marching state of the Army, every incumberance proves greatly prejudicial to the Service. The multitude of women in particular . . . are a clog on every movement. The Commander in Chief therefore earnestly commends it to the Officers Commanding Brigades and Corps, to use every reasonable method in their Power to get rid of all such as are not absolutely necessary, and the admission or continuance of any who shall or may have come to the Army since its arrival in Pennsylvania, it is positively forbidden. To which point the Officers will give particular attention. Pay rolls for the month of July are to be made out immediately and lodged with the Paymaster General for examination. The Officers commanding Corps will be answerable for the execution of these orders. A General Court Martial is to sit to-morrow, at 9 o'clock in the morning near Judge ----- Quarters by Schuylkill falls, for the trial of all such persons as shall be brought before it. Col. James Wood is appointed President of the Court. Regimental Surgeons are to send all their sick to the General Hospital in Philadelphia.

Extracts from the Orderly-Book of Captain John Nice. 361

CAMP GERMANTOWN, August 5th, 1777.

B. O. Officers commanding Companies are to have their Muster Rolls ready by tomorrow morning, when the Muster Master is to attend to muster the men. A return of arms and accoutrements wanting to complete each Regt. to be given to the Major of Brigade, as soon as possible. The troops are not allowed to cut down any Wood, in the front of the camp. The Regimental Quartermaster to see that Wood is brought in for the men to cook with.

HEAD-QUARTERS NEAR GERMANTOWN, Aug. 6th, 1777.

A Board of General Officers consisting of all the Majors and Brigade Generals in Camp, are to sit tomorrow at 10 o'clock in the forenoon at General Stephen's Quarters, at Doctor Smith's house near Schuylkill Falls, to make enquiry why the pay abstracts are not regularly made out and lodged with the Paymaster General according to orders. The pay abstracts of every Regt. and Corps in the Army for the month of July and any time preceeding that month, for which they have not been made out, are to be delivered to the Paymaster General by Monday next. The Officers commanding Regts. and Corps will be answerable for the execution of this order and every officer who does not deliver in his abstract punctually by the time assigned may depend upon being arrested and tried for disobedience of orders, unless there are reasons which may render it impracticable for any to make out and deliver their Abstracts by that time and in that case they are to appear tomorrow and lay their reasons before the above-mentioned Board of General Officers. If they do not, it will be taken for granted that no such Reason exists. Joseph Ward Esq. Commissary General of Musters will attend the same Board to assign the reasons why the Regt^{*} and Corps of the Army, have not now been generally mustered. The Regimental Paymasters are immediately to apply for warrants to receive the pay for the several Corps for the month of June as the time is uncertain when the Army will march but may be very soon and sudden. All Officers and Soldiers are to keep

362 Extracts from the Orderly-Book of Captain John Nice.

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near their Quarters and such Officers as had leave to go to Philadelphia are to return, and none permitted to go thither but upon real necessary Business, which being finished, they are immediately to join their respective Corps. Whenever the Army moves it will possibly be necessary that it march with the utmost celerity, the tents therefore, agreeable to former orders, are to be lodged in wagons by themselves, and in such manner that they may without difficulty keep up with the troops. For the same reasons ye Officers will take only a few Articles of Clothing, such as shall be indispensably necessary, leaving the bulk of their Baggage to be brought after them, and in order to facilitate the march ye Quarter Master General is to provide as many wagons as shall be necessary to carry the men's packs. But these packs are not to be suffered that are loads of useless trumpery and from ye size of many, there is good reason to suppose is now the case, and the Officers are to see that they are not, for which purpose the Commander in Chief most earnestly desires and expects that the Officers particularly inspect the packs of their men and select only such Articles as are necessary and useful. Pursuant to a resolve of Congress of ye 16th of July last the Officers commanding Regiments and Corps are directed that in case they have any sergeants, corporals, Drummers, or privates-men incapable of doing field Duty, such men should be examined by the Director General of the Hospital, or some other physician or Surgeon, and if judged fit for garrison duty, they are not to be discharged, but transferred to ye Invalid Corps and sent to Philadelphia as soon Men having only one leg, or one arm each as possible. off, but otherwise capable of doing garrison duty, are to be deemed properly recruits for this Corps.

RECORDS OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA. BAPTISMS, 1709–1760.

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BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

(Continued from page 117.)

1756 Aug. 4 Greenway Joseph s. William and Patience June 4 1756
1760 June 2 William s. William and Prudence April 24 1760
1717 Aug. 28 Gregory Elizabeth d. Robert and Catherine 3 weeks
1721 May 5 Martha
1721 May 5 Ann
1725 Oct. 17 Richard s. John and Mary
1727 Oct. 6 John s. John and Mary 3 weeks
1731 Mch. 2 Benjamin s. John and Mary 17 mo.
1731 Dec. 19 Simon s. Robert and Mary 1 wk.
1742 Dec. 25 Thomas s. John and Mary 12 yrs. 3 mos. 17 days
1758 Aug. 12 John s. Thomas and Rachel Feb. 12 1754
1758 Aug. 12 Margaret d. Thomas and Rachel Sept. 26 1755
1758 Aug. 12 Rebecca d. Thomas and Rachel Aug. 8 1758
1735 Dec. 21 Grew Rebecca d. Theophilus and Elizabeth 3 wks.
1737 Jan. 17 Thomas s. Theophilus and Elizabeth 3 wks.
1740 Feb. 19 John s. Theophilus and Frances 3 weeks
1755 Oct. 4 Hannah d. Theophilus and Rebecca Feb. 25 1754
1755 Oct. 4 Rachel d. Theophilus and Rebecca Aug. 2 1755
1758 Nov. 1 David Collins s. Theophilus and Rebecca Sept. 9 1758
1760 April 12 Grice James s. Francis and Mary Dec. 23 1759
1731 June 12 Grier Robert s. Timothy and Ann 1 day
1742 May 10 Griffin Thomas s. Sillwood and Eliza 2 mos. 3 wks. 4 d.
1756 Nov. 4 Mary d. John Giles and Frances Henrietta Oct. 18 1748
1756 Nov. 4 Elizabeth d. John Giles and Frances Henrietta July 17
1751
1756 Nov. 4 John Poppleton s. John Giles and Frances Henrietta
Nov. 4 1754
1759 Oct. 14 Samuel Brocklesby s. John Giles and Frances Henrietta
June 24 1758
1721 Dec. 3 Griffiths Mary d. Walter and Martha Nov. 18
1721 Mch. 25 Rebecca 21 years
1737 June 5 Joseph s. John and Margaret 2 yrs 4 mos.
1737 June 5 Sarah d. John and Margaret 3 yrs 6 mos.
1743 Oct. 30 Jacob s. Isaac and Sarah 2 yrs. 4 mos. 18 days

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1720 Oct. 19 Grift John s. Richard and Frances -1757 Nov. 10 Grogan Thomas s. James and Hannah Feb. 10 1754 Ann d. James and Hannah July 23 1755 1757 Nov. 10 1757 Nov. 10 James s. James and Hannah July 18, 1757 1754 June 23 Groves John s. John and Mary May 19 1754 1757 Sept. 7 Agnis d. John and Jane Aug. 9 1757 1740 Nov. 12 Groyden Alexander s. Alexander and Sarah 2 months 1742 July 27 Grun Mary d. Thomas and Martha 2 yrs. 4 mos. 6 days 1742 July 27 Martha d. Thomas and Martha 6 mos. 18 days 1748 Mch. 23 Gugion Mary d. Robert and Rebekah May 27 1745 1731 Dec. 21 Guil William s. George and Rachel 2 weeks. 1738 Oct. 9 Guin Anne d. Patrick and Hannah 6 mos. 1747 Mch. 22 William s. William and Abigail Feb. 16 1747 1730 Nov. 1 Guinet Stephen s. Stephen and Sarah 8 days 1715 July 29 Guiskin Isabella d. Cæser and Catherine 9 days 1741 June 10 Gurnal William s. John and Elizabeth 1 mo. 1732 Nov. 16 Guthridge Anne d. John and Anne 2 yrs. 2 mos. 1759 Oct. 14 Gwinnap Rebecca d. Joseph and Mary Aug. 1 1759 1723 June 21 Haddock Sarah d. Benjamin and Mary P. B. 1740 Aug. 23 Hale James s. James and Elinor 3 weeks 3 days 1742 Mch. 10 Samuel s. James and Elinor 5 weeks 1746 Sept. 13 Jane d. Samuel and Sarah June 6 1746 1720 Jan. 1 Hall Robert s. Alexander and Elizabeth -1733 Mch. 25 Alice d. John and Elizabeth 2 weeks 1743 April 17 Samuel s. Samuel and Mary 1 mo. 1744 Feb. 19 Benjamin s. Robert and Rosanna 2 mos. 17 days 1745 Nov. 5 John s. Samuel and — Oct. 13 1745 1746 Feb. 9 Anne d. Samuel and Margaret Jan. 9 1745 1747 June 9 Mary d. John and Anne Dec. 26 1746 1748 Jan. Edward s. Samuel and Mary Dec. 5 1747 3 1748 April 17 John s. John and Margaret Jan. 18 1748 1749 April 14 Mary d. David and Mary Feb. 7 1749 1750 June 14 Susannah d. David and Mary May 11 1750 Deborah d. Joseph and Mary July 29 1751 1751 Aug. 11 1752 Feb. 16 William s. David and Mary Jan. 20 1752 1754 May Mary d. Anthony and Susannah Jan. 3 1754 6 1754 Nov. 17 Deborah d. David and Mary Oct. 20 1754 1755 Nov. 12 Susannah d. Anthony and Susannah Oct. 21 1755 1756 April 28 David s. David and Mary Nov. 4 1755 Mary d. John and Margaret Feb. 9 1759 1759 Aug. 31 1759 Oct. 2 Sarah d. Godfrey and Sarah Sept. 11 1759 1760 Sept. 29 Elizabeth d. John and Mary Sept. 13 1760 1752 May 29 Ham Mary d. Anthony and Anne March 30 1752 Jannet d. James and Joice Aug. 10 1758 1758 Aug. 18 1743 Feb. 25 Hamilton Andrew s. Andrew and Mary 6 weeks 2 days

1748 June 26 Hamilton, William s. William and Honor 6 days William s. Andrew and Mary April 29 1745 1745 June 5 1752 Mch. 24 Charles s. John and Mary Feb. 2 1751 1754 Nov. 7 John s. John and Mary Aug. 26 1754 1757 July 26 Thomas s. Thomas and Mary April 12 1757 1750 May 18 Hamm James s. Anthony and Anne Feb. 14 1749 1748 April 6 Hane Anthony s. Anthony and Anne Jan. 25 1748 1748 June 26 Haney Jane d. Robert and Joan March 24 1748 1750 April 29 James s. Robert and Judith April 15 1750 1758 Jan. 21 Hanis John s. John and Mary Dec. 31 1757 9 Hannis Andrew s. John and Mary Nov. 7 1759 1759 Dec. 1758 Nov. 12 Hanuan Ann d. Darby and Flora Oct. 18 1758 1758 Aug. 9 Hanson Mary d. Jonathan and Thomasin Feb. 11 1758 1737 Nov. 13 Mary Elizabeth d. Malam and Lydia 6 yrs. 1 mo. 1758 Aug. Jonathan s. Jonathan and Thomasin Feb. 11 1758 9 1750 Feb. 4 Harben Joseph s. Paul and Anne Jan. 10 1749 1785 Oct. 26 Harbert Philip s. Thomas and Apslonia 1 mo. 1717 July 26 Harding Miakell d. Miles and Jane 4 days 1725 Sept. 11 Enoch s. Miles and Jane -1746 June 13 Ruben s. John March 10 1745 1736 Sept. 9 Hardy William s. William and Elizabeth 2 years 1711 June 10 Hare Elizabeth d. Francis and Mary 1744 Oct. 26 Joseph s. James and Eloner 2 weeks 1723 Dec. 26 Hargrave John s. Charles and Elizabeth 1728 Nov. 6 Rebecca d. Charles and Elizabeth 2 weeks 1731 May Charles s. Charles and Elizabeth 4 months 26 1747 Nov. 22 John s. Joseph and Mary Oct. 19 1747 1750 Jan. 7 Joseph s. Joseph and Mary Dec. 8 1749 1751 July 7 Mary d. Joseph and Mary May 29 1751 Sarah d. Joseph and Mary March 27 1755 1755 April 19 1743 Jan. 30 Harley John Jacob s. Mathias and Judith 7 days 1749 Aug. 29 Harp William s. Henry and Elizabeth April 9 1749 1712 July 18 Harper John s. John and Deborah 2 wks. 4 days 1715 Feb. 20 Deborah d. John and Deborah 6 wks. 1731 Feb. 14 Sarah d. Ralph and Mary 6 years 1781 Feb. 14 Mary d. Ralph and Sarah 4 years 1743 July 31 Catherine d. Ralph and Mary 25 days 1747 Oct. 21 Gregory s. Ralph and Mary Sept. 12 1747 1731 Feb. 26 Harrel John s. James and Mary 17 mos. 1711 April 2 Harris Jane d. William and Guin -1714 Jan. James s. William and Guin 3 mos. 1 1716 Aug. 21 Evan s. William and Guin 6 mos. 1717 Aug. 21 Evan s. William and Guin 6 mos. 1718 Feb. 28 Hannah d. William and Gaun 5 wks. 1726 Aug. 31 Hester d. John and Hester -

6 Records of Christ Church, Philadelphia.

1728 Sept. 22 Harris John s. John and Esther 11 months 1731 Mch. 81 Michael s. Michael and Mary 2 yrs. 7 mos. 1781 June 17 James s. John and Jane 2 wks 1734 Feb. 8 Elizabeth d. John and Rachel 6 wks. 1711 June Harrison John s. John and Frances 1 mo. 7 1714 Aug. 9 Robert s. John and Frances 9 months 1714 Dec. 26 Margot d. Mark and Margot -Thomas s. Daniel and Judith June 23 1720 Aug. 29 1723 Feb. 27 Mary d. Daniel and Judith 1723 May 29 Mary d. John and Frances 1728 Mch. 22 Daniel s. Daniel and Judith 2 wks. 1730 Feb. 6 Elizabeth d. Daniel and Judith 2 wks. 3 days Daniel s. Daniel and Judith 3 wks. 1734 Aug. 7 Sarah d. John and Rachel 2 months 3 wks. 1739 Mch. 25 1741 May 29 Susannah d. John and Susannah 11 wks. 1742 April 15 Joseph s. John and Susannah 1 mo. 1744 June 15 John s. John and Susannah 8 mos. 4 days 1744 June 20 Elizabeth d. George and Deborah April 23 1744 1746 Jan. 3 Mary d. John and Hannah Nov. 29 1745 1746 April 23 George s. George and Deborah Jan. 14 1745 1746 Sept. 23 Susannah wife John Benjamin s. John and Susannah Aug. 28 1745 1746 Sept. 23 1748 Aug. 18 John s. George and Deborah May 17 1748 1749 Sept. 20 Susannah d. John and Susannah Aug. 4 1747 1749 Sept. 20 Joseph s. John and Susannah Aug. 12 1749 1749 Oct. 20 Estwick s. John and Hannah March 11 1749 Mary d. Henry and Mary May 11 1750 1750 June 6 Henry s. Henry and Martha Oct. 28 1751 1751 Nov. 23 Mary d. John and Susannah Feb. 17 1752 1752 Mch. 21 1753 Sept. 26 Matthias s. Henry and Mary Sept. 1 1753 1755 June 22 William s. John and — April 27 1755 Ann d. Henry and Mary June 6 1755 1755 July 6 Joseph s. Henry and Mary Sept. 7 1755 1755 Oct. 6 6 Matthias s. Henry and Mary March 2 1759 1759 April 1730 Dec. 11 Harry Lydia d. David and Hannah 6 wks. Evan s. William and Mary July 7 1754 1758 Aug. 12 Whilmouth s. William and Mary July 15 1756 1758 Aug. 12 1717 Oct. 14 Hartfield Paul s. Godfrie and Catherine 5 months 1742 Mch. 17 Hartley William s. Charles and Hannah 9 days Charles s. Charles and Hannah 3 mos. 1744 Dec. 8 Bell d. Charles and Hannah March 7 1747 1747 July 16 Hannah d. Charles and Hannah Nov. 26 1747 1748 July 21 1752 Aug. 16 Harvey Robert s. John and Jane April 21 1752 1753 Dec. 25 Harwood Samuel adult

1728 Jan. 26 Hasell Hannah d. Samuel and Anne 1 mo.

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1733 Nov. 1 Hasell Sarah d. Samuel and Anne 1 mo. 1786 Dec. 10 Thomasine d. Samuel and Anne 5 mo. 1754 June 30 Haselton John s. James and Mary May 31 1754 1750 April 21 Hasleton Elizabeth d. James and Mary April 15 1750 9 Hassel Thomas s. Samuel and Anne Nov. 26 1726 1726 Dec. 1729 Jan. 23 Bartholomew s. Reuben and Jane 1 mo. 1730 Oct. 8 Mary d. Samuel and Anne 1 mo. 1731 Nov. 2 Mary d. Samuel and Anne 4 days. 1734 Nov. 14 Samuel s. Samuel and Anne 4 weeks. 1740 Oct. 3 Hatfield George s. George and Mary 4 mo. 2 wks. 1744 Nov. 24 Thomas s. George and Mary 6 days 1746 July 24 Mary d. George and Mary Feb. 27 1745 1721 Dec. 17 Hawkins — d. John and Elizabeth -Mary d. William and Jane 1722 Nov. 9 1728 April 7 Rebecca d. John and Elizabeth 15 mo. 1788 April William s. William and Mary 3 wks. 1741 Jan. 22 Mary d. William and Mary 3 wks. Sarah d. William and Mary 2 wks. 3 days 1748 April 25 1744 Nov. 23 Elizabeth d. William and Phœbe 14 days 1747 Aug. 16 Elizabeth d. Charles and Elizabeth July 27 1747 1753 Dec. 27 Henry s. George and Anne Oct. 14 1753 1759 Feb. 25 Sampson s. Sampson and Elizabeth Dec. 10 1758 1759 Feb. 25 Elizabeth d. Sampson and Elizabeth June 10 1755 Hays Rebecca d. William and Elizabeth 1 mo. 1726 Dec. 25 1729 Jan. 22 John s. William and Elizabeth 1 mo. 1731 April 9 William s. William and Elizabeth 2 mos. 1733 Oct. 15 Isaac s. William and Elizabeth 12 days Martha Yarborrow d. William and Elizabeth 2 mo. 1736 Dec. 6 1738 Nov. 13 Farmer Yarborrow s. William and Elizabeth 3 mo. 1720 May 22 Hazell Elizabeth d. Samuel and Ann May 12 Jane d. Samuel and Ann 5 weeks 1726 Dec. 30 1747 Sept. 6 Hazelton John s. James and Mary Aug. 14 1747 1749 Jan. 22 James s. James and Mary Jan. 1 1749 1720 Nov. 13 Hazleton Mary d. Mary Barbadoes B. B. Jane d. James and Mary July 7 1752 1752 Aug. 5 1757 Sept. 25 Hazlewood Thomas s. John and Mary Aug. 30 1757 1722 April 23 Heap Mary d. John and Ann March 26 1739 July 15 John s. George and Mary 2 wks. 1740 Oct. 19 Frances d. George and Mary 3 wks. William s. George and Mary 6 wks. 1743 Aug. 20 1752 Oct. 31 Thomas s. George and Mary Aug. 17 1752 1732 Mch. 30 Heaslin Richard Redfuren s. James and Appelonia 2 yrs 2 mo. 1732 Nov. 10 Heath William s. Henry and Elizabeth 4 wks.

1736 June 24 Hedge William s. William and Margaret 2 wks.

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1747 Nov. 8 Heep Elizabeth d. George and Mary Sept. 22 1747 1749 Mch. 8 George s. George and Mary Jan. 25 1749 1751 Jan. 25 John s. George and Mary Dec. 5 1750 1759 Mch. 21 Heligas William s. Michael and Henrietta Feb. 9 1759 1754 Mch. 23 Helligas Samuel s. Michael and Henrietta Feb. 17 1754 1748 Sept. 17 Henderson William s. William and Mary July 2 1748 1720 June 22 Hendsley Pleasant d. Charles and Elizabeth -1727 Aug. 10 Hensey Sarah 2 yrs. 10 mos. 1737 Dec. 25 Hensley Elizabeth d. Joshua and Anne 8 weeks 1739 Sept. 30 Henssey Sarah d. Joshua and Anne 5 wks 1743 Dec. 27 Henzey Joseph s. Joshua and Mary 5 wks. 5 days. 1746 Dec. 28 Isaac s. Joshua and Mary Jan. 11 1744 1746 Dec. 28 John s. Joshua and Mary Nov. 2 1746 1731 Sept. 18 Herbert Thomas s. Thomas and Appelonia 5 mos. 1733 Sept. 23 Herbert Apelonia d. Thomas and Apelonia 2 mo. 2 wks. 1750 June 20 Hereat Catherine d. Thomas and Lidia Jan. 7 1749 1760 Jan. 28 Herle William s. Anthony and Ann Jan. 10 1760 1738 Jan. 16 Herman Maria Magdaline d. John and Frances 10 days 1746 Mch. 2 Hetherington William James s. Walter and Martha May 9 1745 1757 Feb. 5 Hetherton Hiram s. Thomas and Sarah Jan. 21 1757 1729 Feb. 14 Hickenbottom William s. Alexander and Elizabeth 1 yr. 2 mos. 1734 Oct. 21 Mary d. Alexander and Catherine 1 day 1742 Jan. 1 Thomas s. Alexander and Catherine 9 yrs. 11 mo. 1742 Jan. 1 Eliza d. Alexander and Catherine 11 yrs. 8 mo. 1725 Sept. 15 Hicks Sarah d. Thomas and Katherine 4 days 1751 Nov. 11 Thomas s. Nicolas and Christian July 29 1749 1751 Nov. 11 Margaret d. Nicolas and Christian Nov. 1 1751 1759 Dec. 15 Elizea Margarita d. William and Francina Nov. 13 1759 1744 Sept. 28 Hift Elizabeth d. Ralph and Elizabeth Jan. 9 1742 1744 Sept. 28 William s. Ralph and Elizabeth 1 week 1758 Jan. 15 Higgins Samuel s. John and Elizabeth Jan. 5 1757 1714 April 16 Highther John s. Richard and Mary 3 mos. 1740 Sept. 14 Hilhouse Robert s. Robert and Sarah 4 weeks 1742 July 3 John s. Robert 3 wks. 1745 Mch. 17 Hill Sarah d. Charles and Sarah 12 days 1753 Dec. 25 Thomas s. Joseph and Mary Aug. 10 1753 1760 Dec. 24 Hillegas Margaret d. Michael and Henrietta Nov. 21 1760 1756 July 21 Hilleglass Michael s. Michael and Henrietta June 30 1756 1747 July 31 Hilton Priscilla adult 1712 Mch. 16 Hinchman Joseph s. Joseph and Sarah 3 mos. 1731 Jan. 22 Hindes Pollard s. Cornelius and Grace 9 days 1749 Nov. 19 Hinds Mary d. Peter and Margaret Sept. 16 1749 Thomas s. Peter and Margaret April 22 1760 1760 Aug. 26

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1755 Oct. 26 Hines Mary d. Peter and Margaret March 28 1755 1755 Oct. 26 Thomas s. Peter and Margaret Oct. 8 1755 1755 Oct. 26 William s. Peter and Margaret Oct. 3 1755 1749 Oct. 15 Hinkins Alice d. Charles and Elizabeth Sept. 26 1749 1711 June 18 Hinshman Ann d. Joseph and Sarah 8 mos. 1729 Jan. 15 Hinton Thomas s. Gabriel and Catherine 1 year 10 mos. 1729 July Catherine d. Gabriel and Catherine 4 mos. 1748 April 10 Catherine d. John and Sarah Jan. - 1748 1751 Jan. William s. John and Sarah Nov. 19 1749 1 1754 Aug. 14 Lydia d. John and Sarah July 27 1752 1754 Aug. 14 Mary d. John and Sarah July 4 1754 1727 Mch. 19 Hix John s. Thomas and Catherine 3 mos. 2 days 1756 April 4 Hobart Mary d. Enoch and Hannah March 8 1756 1757 Aug. 14 Rebecca d. Enoch and Hannah July 20 1757 1759 June 8 Mary d. Enoch and Hannah May 8 1759 1760 Aug. 30 Rebecca d. Enoch and Rebecca Aug. 5 1760 1738 Oct. 4 Hodge John Knight s. Henry and Elizabeth 2 wks. 1737 May 14 Hodnatt Phillip s. John and Lucy 2 weeks 1760 Dec. 11 Hodnett Mary d. Jeffery and Elizabeth 7 wks. 2 days 1720 Feb. 26 Hogsflesh Samuel s. Samuel and Dorothy Jan. 1 1740 Mav 8 Holbourn Thomas s. James and May 2 years 1783 April 5 Holland William s. John and Margaret 3 mos. 1733 Oct. 18 John s. John and Sarah 3 yrs. 6 wks. John s. John and Margaret 3 wks. 1737 Sept. 18 1740 Nov. 30 Alexander s. John and Margaret 6 wks. 1759 Dec. 15 James s. John and Elizabeth Dec. 5 1759 1743 Jan. 5 Hollings Michael s. Lawrance and Diana 2 mos. 3 days 1727 April 3 Holmbs Sarah d. Richard and Elizabeth 1 mo. 9 dys. 1711 Feb. 11 Holmes Elizabeth 10 years 6 mos. William s. Richard and Elizabeth 3 mos. 5 dys. 1728 Oct. 4 1731 Oct. 24 Anne d. Richard and Elizabeth 1 month 1734 Jan. 13 Mary d. Richard and Elizabeth 3 days 1735 Jan. 5 Susannah d. Richard and Elizabeth 1 mo. 1733 Sept. 27 Holt Thomas s. Henry and Dorcas 1 mo. 1746 June 11 Holton Sarah d. Francis and Mary May 25 1745 by Rev. Mr. Currie William s. Francis and Mary Aug. 9 1748 1748 Sept. 8 1759 Oct. 14 Francis s. Francis and Mary Sept. 6 1759 1744 May 6 Home Elizabeth d. Thomas and Ann 10 wks. 5 dys. 1720 Aug. 7 Homes Robert s. Richard and Elizabeth -1721 Nov. 12 Richard s. Richard and Elizabeth Nov. 10 Ann d. Thomas and Mary 6 dys. 1741 Mav 3 1730 Mch. 30 Homles Thomas s. Richard and Elizabeth 2 mo. 18 dys. 2 Honeyman Anne d. William and Anne Dec. 11 1739 1746 May 1746 May 2 James s. William and Anne Dec. 11 1789 Vol. xvi.-24

1746 May 2 Honeyman Samuel s. William and Anne April 15 1743 1746 May 2 William s. William and Anne Sept. 80 1745 1759 June 20 William s. William and Mary June 8 1759 1759 June 20 Mary wife William 1780 June 24 Hood Samuel s. Francis and Mary 1 mo. 1782 Oct. 6 Sarah d. Francis and Mary 8 mos. 1736 June 27 Seamore s. Abraham and Sarah 5 mos. 9 dys. 1729 June 25 Hooper John s. Mathew and Mary 4 wks. 1754 June 20 Elizabeth d. John and Rachel May 8 1754 1733 May 30 Hope Catherine d. Alexander and Elizabeth 2 wks. 1736 Nov. 2 Elizabeth d. Alexander and Elizabeth 2 mo. 1749 Oct. 15 Elinor d. William and Mary Aug. 25 1749 1721 Feb. 22 Hopkins Elinor wife John 34 years. 1728 July 10 Mary d. John and Elinor 4 mos. 1737 Nov. 12 Hopkinson Francis s. Thomas and Mary 7 wks.

(To be continued.)

Obituary.

OBITUARY.

We regret to announce the death of BRINTON COXE, President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, which took place on the morning of September 15, 1892, at Drifton, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania. Mr. Coxe was elected a member of the Society May 14, 1855, and its President in 1884. He was also a trustee of the Publication, the Binding, the Library, the Gilpin, and the Endowment Funds.

At a special meeting of the Council of the Society, held on Friday, September 16, the following minute was adopted and ordered to be entered on the records of the Society:

The Council of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania having heard of the death of their friend, Brinton Coxe, Esq., President of the Society, cannot withhold an expression of their sense of the great loss which the Society has sustained by his death. While they desire to show their grateful appreciation of his labors as President of the Society, they wish to tender to his family their sincere sympathy.

This is not the occasion on which any adequate account can be given of what the Society and historical studies in this community owe to Mr. Coxe's example and encouragement. Elected President in 1884, he gave all the force and energy of his character which his feeble health enabled him to exert to the development of the plans of the Society, and to the enlargement of its usefulness. His heart was always in his work here, and a great cause of regret with him always was that his strength did not permit him to perform the task which he had laid out for himself.

Mr. Coxe had some peculiar qualifications for the office he held. He was a man of broad views, of logical mind, with a taste for economical studies, for history, and for the principles of general jurisprudence. He inherited these traits from

Obituary.

his father, the late Judge Coxe, and from his grandfather, Tench Coxe, one of the most conspicuous political economists in the early history of the nation. These tastes were stimulated by his early studies, and his views were matured, during several years passed in Germany, by the study of history and of general jurisprudence and of the Roman and the canon law. Such studies formed the main pursuit of his life in later years, and they are the basis of an important and voluminous work on the history and jurisprudence of the American Constitution, which, unfortunately, his death leaves unfinished.

While this work was his chief occupation, he did all that lay in his power to encourage the Society to embark upon the large field of historical investigation upon which it has entered, and no one rejoiced more than he at the wonderful development of its resources and the ever-growing influence which it exerts in this community.

We mourn his loss as that of one who was not only a man of wide culture, but of the highest honor and purity of character, a gentleman of unfailing liberality and courtesy, a worthy representative of the Society in upholding the purposes for which it was established, a trusted counsellor, and a faithful friend.

Resolved, That a copy of this minute be entered on the records of the Society and sent to his family.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

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LETTER OF HENRY DRINKER.

"NEW YORK, 12th 10th mo. 1789.

My dear Wife

"This I expect may reach thee tomorrow in the forenoon. We dined early at Bristol on the 9th, & proceeded from thence to Stony Brook, where we met with a cheerful reception & comfortable accommodations at the House of Rob' White; rising early next morning we breakfasted & set forward by Sun-rise. I took Wm. Savery's Horse, & push'd on to forward by Sun-rise. I took Wm. Savery's Horse, & push'd on to Quibble-Town, but was disappointed in my expectations of meeting with Joseph Moore, who had left that place abo' $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour before I reached it on his way homewards. Abo' $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour was spent in in-specting the Improvements making at this Mill & Estate,—reaching Joseph Shotwell's at Rahway in good Dinnertime; my ride on Horse-back this morning, about 35 miles, left me a good deal shaken & bruised. Our Company from the City with the addition of John Hoskins left Elizabeth-Town Point about Sumset and after an easy agreesble pasage Our Company from the City with the addition of John Hoskins left Elizabeth-Town Point about Sunset, and after an easy, agreeable passage arrived at New York abo's o'clock; found H. Haydock's Family,—ex-cept one of the children, all coughing; very few families in this City being free from what is call'd here an Epidemic cold. "Yesterday besides the two usual Meetings, one was appointed in the

Evening to which numbers came not of our religious profession, & in which N. Waln and W. Savery had eminent Service. The cause & Tes-timony of the blessed Truth, I trust was exalted, & the minds of many solidly impress'd with the important Truths delivered with weight and

authority. "Tomorrow at 2 o'clock, by appointment of the President, we are to wait upon him with our Address,' a copy of which was delivered to him on 7th day Evening after our arrival. It looks probable we may leave this place on 4th day morning. "Be pleased to inform Sally Waln that Nicholas & her son are

hearty,-S. Emlen that Samuel is well,-& S. Savery that William is bravely.

"My dear Love is to you all. I hope to hear from you at farthest tomorrow morning.

"Thine affectionately "HENRY DRINKER."

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PRINCIPIO FURNACE.—Mr. Moncure D. Conway writes: "It may interest those who have read Mr. Whitely's valuable paper ("The Prin-cipio Company," PENNA. MAG., Vol. XI.) to know that the farm near Accokeek, where the iron was made, was still, within my memory, named

¹ This was the address of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for Pennsylvania, etc.. to President Washington, "signed in and on behalf of our said meeting, held in Phila-delphia, by adjournments, from the 22th of the 9th mo. to the 3d of the 10th mo. inclu-sive, 1789," which address, with his reply thereto, may be found in the PENNA. MAG., Vol. X111. pp. 245-247.

'The Furnace,' and cinders, etc., were traceable there. Near by was a place called 'The Wood-cutting,' from which, no doubt, the fuel was supplied. The farms belonged to my uncle, John Moncure, and his descendants still speak of the farms under the above names."

ORIGINAL SIGNATURES OF FAMILIES IN BURLINGTON AND CAM-DEN COUNTIES, NEW JERSEY, 1795–1825.—The Historical Society possesses a receipt-book containing the family register of Isaac Archer, of Moorestown, in 1795, et seq., and a number of autograph signatures of members of early New Jersey families in 1795 to 1825 in Camden and Burlington Counties. We give a list of names below, alphabetically arranged.

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Adams,	Dunlap,	Kirkbride,	Smith,
Antrim,	Eldridge,	Laning,	Stevenson,
Ballangee,	Elkington,	Matlack,	Stockton,
Beck,	Emley,	Middleton,	Stokes,
Bishop,	Fenton,	Moon,	Stratton,
Bispham,	French,	Morton,	Summers,
Borton,	Gaunt,	Naylor,	Swain,
Browning,	Githens,	Newbold,	Thorn,
Bullock,	Haines,	Norcross,	Tomlinson,
Butcher,	Hayes,	Page,	Toy,
Chambers,	Heritage,	Pettigrew,	Vandegrift,
Coles,	Hoagland,	Pidgeon,	Vankirk,
Collins,	Hollinshead,	Pine,	Wells,
Cooper,	Hoopes,	Read,	Wetherill,
Cowperthwaite,	Hoskins,	Reeve,	Wilkins,
Craft,	Humphreys,	Ridgway,	Wilson,
Deacon,	Inskeep,	Risdon,	Woolman,
Dobbins,	Irick,	Roberts,	Wright.
Dudley,	Jones,		0
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THE MASSACHUSETTS GAZETTE, "Published by authority, Monday, Sept. 4, 1769," contains the following advertisement:

"James Joan. | "Teacher of Instrumental Music and of the French Language behind Mr. Barber's Insurance Office, North End, Boston |

"Begs Leave to acquaint the public, That he makes and sells (below Sterling Price) Violins, Screw-Bows and Cases, equal in goodness to the best Imported. He likewise mends at a very reasonable Rate Violins, Bows, Bass Viols, &c. July 31, 1769."

CORRECTION.—On page 33 of Volume X., PENNA. MAG., the name of the wife of William Cooper, the emigrant settler in West Jersey, is printed "Mary." It should be "Margaret," the error having probably arisen from confusing this William Cooper with his son William, born 1660, who married, 9–8–1682, Mary, daughter of Edward and Mary Bradway. MORGAN BUNTING.

EZRA STILES IN PHILADELPHIA, 1754.—We are indebted to the courtesy of the Rev. Edward G. Porter, Dorchester, Mass., for the following extracts from a diary of Ezra Stiles, sometime president of Yale College, of a journey which he made on horseback from New Haven to Philadelphia and return, in the autumn of 1754. The original manuscript is in the possession of Rev. Jonathan L. Jenkins, D.D., of Pittsfield, Mass., a great-grandson. "1754, Sept 27—Arrived at Philadelphia. About sunset put up at Bidwells, sign of Indian King.

weiß, sign of Indian King.
"28. In morning went into Market. Visited Academy. M^r Alison, Mast^r Lat. School, £200; M^r Eben Kinnersley, Mast^r Eng. School, £150; M^r Theoph. Grew, Math. Mast^r, £120; M^r Creamer, Mast^r French & Italian & Dutch & Drawing, £100; M^r Smith, Mast^r Phil., Math., & Moral. Orators,—W⁼ Kinnersley, Henry Merchant, Henry Benbridge, Tho^s Bond, Rob^t Jones, Jasper Yeates. Pastoral Speakers, —Andrew Hamilton & W⁼ Hamilton, Jn^o Okill. Morn^s waited on M^r Kennersly; he went with us to the Court House, where y^{*} Supreme Court was sitting; heard M^r Francis, Attorney General, and M^s Moland plead a cause to the jury. The Court House the most magnificent edifice I ever saw. Afternoon waited on M^r Cross. Walked in M^r Pemberton's gardens. View the stocking frame knitting Machine in Arch Street,—a most curious invention! Walked to M^r Kennersly's. View'd the Academy apartments; heard M^r Ducheè, a young gentleman, reading philosophy under M^r Smith, pronounce Prologue of Cato, &c., & young M^r Kennersly (about 11 ætat.), &c. Went up, & from top of the Academy viewed the city of Phil^{*}, in which are churches; viz., the Eng. Chh., the Presbyterian Chh., the Dutch Lutheran Chh., Dutch Calvinistic Chh., Baptist Chh., M^r Tennants new Presbyt. Chh., Papist Chappel, 3 Quaker meetings, Morav. View'd the rods & wires which defend the Academy House from lightning. Viewed the bells, &c., in M^r Kennerslys house & electric rod. Waited on M^r Sturgeon & Chief Justice Alling. Walked in the Coffee House. Spent evening at our lodgings with M^r Kennersly.
"29, Went to —— Chappel; heard M^r Harding the Jesuit. Dined at

"29. Went to —— Chappel; heard M^r Harding the Jesuit. Dined at Chief Justice Alling's. Went aft. to Presbyterian meeting; heard Rev⁴ M^r Alison; drunk tea with him at M^r Cross's. Evening went to Quaker meeting, & waited on M^r Sturgeon in comp^a with M^r Pinto & M^r Duche; supped there.

"30. Breakfasted at D' Shippen's, &c. Attorney's names: M' Francis, King's attorney; M' Ross; Moland; Galloway; Chew; Ottoway fr. Lond.; M' Shippen, Prothonotary of Supreme Court; . . . Jn° Price. In morning went to M' Franklin's office & viewed the Old Chh. After breakfast Mess^m Jos. & W^m Shippen accompanied us to Springsbury, where passing a long spacious walk, set on each side with trees, on the summit of a gradual ascent, we saw the proprietor's house, & walkt in the gardens, where besides the beautiful walk, ornamented with evergreens, we saw fruit trees with plenty of fruit, some green, some ripe, & some in the blossom on the same trees. The fruit was oranges, limes, limons, & citrons. In the hot house was a curious thermometer of spirits & mercury. Spruce hedges cut into beautiful figures, & disorder.

"We then walk thro' a spacious way into the wood behind & adjoyning to the gardens, the whole scene most happily accommodated for solitude and rural contemplation. Thence we walk to Gov⁷ Hamlinton's seat. Took a walk in his very elegant garden, in which are 7 statues in fine Italian marble curiously wrot; invited into his house; viewed the very splendid & grand apartments magnificently decorated & adorned with curious paintings, hangings, & statuary, & marble tablets, &c. After viewing these curious prospects we passed by the Centre House & returned into town; ascended the turret of the State House, & thence took a full prospect of the city. Retired & drank a glass wine & water at M^r Shippen's, & waited on M^r Kennersley, who shewed his curious electrical apparatus, with sundry experiments, &c. Dined at D^r Shippens in an elegant, social, & genteel manner. Waited on M^r ——.

"Mounted our horses, took leave of the gentlemen who had thus so kindly accompanied us about 4 o'clock. Bot pair stockings in Arch Street. Made our farewell compliments to M^r Alison, & left Philad^a about 5 o'clock afternoon, & arrived at Bristol abo't $\frac{1}{2}$ after eight in evening, where we lodged. N.B. Shewed M^r Kinnersly M^r Poem on the Spring, who was so well pleased with it that he requested me to leave it with him for the use of his young orators. "Oct" 1. Breakfasted at Ferry. Viewed the foundation & plan of college at Princetown, 177 f. long & 533 f. wide. The attria 10 feet each.

"Oct" 1. Breakfasted at Ferry. Viewed the foundation & plan of college at Princetown, 177 f. long & 533 f. wide. The attria 10 feet each. "Rob" Morris, Esq", Gov" in Chief of Pennsylvania, set out from Brunswick for Philadelphia with a splendid retinue of near 50 gentlemen to accompany him" [on his way to assume the functions of his office two days later at Philadelphia].

AN HISTORIC BOUNDARY-LINE STONE .--- Our fellow-member, Mr. John Torrey, of Honesdale, Pa., has presented to the Historical Society's collection the original first mile-stone monument which the commissioners of the States of Pennsylvania and New York, in the year 1786, placed at a distance of one mile from the northeast corner of Pennsyl-vania, to mark the northern boundary of the State. Mr. Torrey, in his letter of presentation, states : "By the charter granted to William Penn in 1681, the northern boundary of the province was to be the forty-second parallel of north latitude, extending westward from the Delaware River five degrees of longitude. In November, 1774, David Rittenhouse and Samuel Holland, commissioners for the province of Pennsylvania and New York, by a series of astronomical observations located a point on a small island in the Delaware River, as in that degree of latitude, and there set an 'initial monument' for the northeast corner of Pennsylvania. In 1786 David Rittenhouse and Andrew Ellicott, com-missioners for Pennsylvania, and James Clinton and Samuel De Witt, for New York, run the boundary-line west from said 'initial monument' a distance of ninety miles, and marked it by placing stones or other monuments on the line at the end of every mile, with the letter ' P' cut on the south side, and 'N. Y.' and figures denoting the distance in miles from said 'initial monument' on the north side. The stone which I In July, 1882, H. W. Clark, chief engineer in the employ of James Wor-rell, Robert N. Torrey, and Christopher M. Gere, of Pennsylvania, and Happy P. B. Bigger Charles and Christopher M. Gere, of Pennsylvania, and Happy P. B. Bigger Charles and Christopher M. Gere, of Pennsylvania, and Happy P. B. Bigger Charles and Physical Science and Physic Henry R. Pierson, Chauncey M. Depew, and Elias W. Leavenworth, of New York, who were commissioners for restoring the monuments on the boundary-lines between those States, was engaged in renewing the monuments along that section of the boundary between the Delaware and the Susquehanna Rivers by placing granite monuments in their stead, and on removing the original first mile-stone monument for such renewal he forwarded it to me as an interesting historic relic," etc.

LANCASTER COUNTY BIOGRAPHIES.—The following biographies in manuscript are known to be extant: Peter Gonder, b. April 20, 1711; Eva Graf, b. September 6, 1709; Anna Maria Richard, b. March, 1701; Rudolph Steiner, b. July 5, 1728; Matthew Roeser, b. December 25, 1708; George Kohl, b. November 24, 1751; Margaret Vetter, b. January 1, 1739; Nathaniel Vetter, b. May 25, 1747; Anton Schneider, b.

November, 1725; John Dehuff, b. July 10, 1783; Susanna Bender, b. October 31, 1743; Ann Catherine Schneider (m. n. Broadbeen), b. July 11, 1754; Tobias Riems, b. September 27, 1718; John George Graf, b. May 24, 1702; George Schenk, b. February 2, 1709; Johanna Vetter, b. December 31, 1709; Michael Ranke, b. October 28, 1701; Andreas Weibuit, b. November 11, 1688; John Christopher Hayne, b. December 8, 1715; H. Catherine Miller, b. March 24, 1757; Barbara Dehuff, b. 5, 1715; H. Catherine Miller, b. March 24, 1757; Barbara Denuil, b. February 3, 1786; Martha Riemer, b. February 22, 1723; Anna B. Hayne, b. November 24, 1717; Jane Turner (m. n. Hendricks) —; Ann M. Hopson, b. January 11, 1712; Conrad Graff, b. August 20, 1744; John Vetter, b. January 29, 1764; Catherine Hartaffel, b. February 7, 1761; Melchior Schneider, b. September 29, 1715; Henry Tuckniss, b. 1729; Catherine Tuckniss, b. February 10, 1766; John Spor, b. 1725.

THE CLAYPOOLES IN AMERICA .- Mrs. Paul Graff, No. 512 Market Street, Philadelphia, is preparing a genealogy of the American Claypooles, and requests that pedigrees and other information be sent to her at the above addres.

FENIMORE FAMILY-BIBLE RECORDS .- The following may be supplemented by some communications on the Fenimores and the various corruptions of the name, etc., in the "New England Historic Genealogi-cal Register," Vol. XXX. p. 467, and XXXI. p. 112. Also Munsell's "American Ancestry," Vol. I. p. 27: Losenb Fenimore son of Logenb and Ann Fenimore was born in Wil-

Joseph Fenimore son of Joseph and Ann Fenimore was born in Wil-liamborough Township Burlington County August 10th A D. 1767. Mary Newton Daughter of Joseph and Elizabeth Newton was born in

Chester Township Burlington County March 15th 1780. Joseph Fenimore and Mary Newton was married on the 11th of De-

cember A D. 1800.

Ann Fenimore daughter of Joseph and Mary Fenimore was born in Northampton Township Burl. Co. Oct. 11th A.D. 1801 at 10 oclock Sunday morning.

Elizabeth Fenimore daughter was born in Northampton Township Burlington County Feby 11th A.D. 1804. 430 Saturday morning.

Charles N. Fenimore son was born in Chester Township Burlington County January 19th A D. 1820 5.30 Wednesday morning.

Ann Fenimore departed this life January 5th 1802 intered at Colestown. Joseph Fenimore departed this life January 9th A.D. 1834 intered at Colestown cemetery.

Chas N. Fenimore departed this life October 23rd A D, 1847 intered at Colestown.

Mary Fenimore departed this life April 4th A D. 1856 intered at Colestown.

Elizabeth Kelley daughter of Joseph and Mary Fenimore departed this life March 7th A D. 1879 at Moorestown N. J. intered at Colestown.

COLONEL WALTER STEWART, on assuming command of the "State Regiment of Foot," issued the following regimental order:

HEADQUARTERS PHILADELPHIA June 18 1777.

Allow me to assure you gentlemen that it was with the greatest pleasure I accepted of the command of a Regiment whose officers stood so high in the esteem of the publick, both in respect to their abilities and activity. It is with no less pleasure I observe the ardent desire each officer sustains to have his men comfortably and completely equipped before the march to camp, and as I think it a duty encumbent upon me to use every endeavour in my power to procure what necessaries they may want I must desire the quartermaster will immediately cloath the Regiment as far as the things now in his possession will go and then deliver me a return of what remains still wanting.

The Captains will immediately be pleased to make out returns to the Adjutant, of their companies, with the names of those men not yet exchanged.

As I am informed that there are a number of Deserters from this Regiment, and many recruits would be willing to join the Regiment, every officer ought to pick them up. The following gentlemen will hold themselves in immediate readiness to go on that service. . .

The Paymaster having received money for the purpose, will as expeditiously as possible settle with the men to the first of June or as late as the money will allow of.

WALTER STEWART, Colonel State of Penn. Regt.

The following letter to Captain John Nice was written by his friend, Captain William Henderson. They had been brother officers in the Pennsylvania Musketry Battalion, commanded by Col. Samuel J. Atlee, and were captured on Long Island, August 27, 1776. Captain Henderson, after his exchange, commanded a company in the Fourth Pennsylvania Line, until he retired, January 1, 1783.

DEAR SIR,-

November 26th, 1780.

Being for some days past considerably perplexed in my fears, re-specting some supposed grand plan which has been conducted under cover of the most adroit maneuver, I am at last, by a tedious and laborious study, arrived at the sumit of a perfect knowledge of the hole mystery. As you are a gentleman I would wish to oblige, I should think myself wanting in gratitude if I did not take the earliest opportunity to inform you of the whole affair. In the first place, you must be sensible, the field officers of the Light Infantry were indefatigable, in making use of the fowls, and vegatables, in their own messes, which they had prepared for the entertainment of the French officers, as they did not choose to dine with them, as they expected. This may be [torn] by Governor Ried's sending three hundred blankets for the use of the Jersey Lines, which he was confident would be sufficient as the regiment was to be incorporated. But Congress knew more of the state of the army, and ordered ten more in addition to the three hundred-at any rate, the boats which were transported by land from the North River, were launched into the Passaic River with the oars muffeled. Neither could the arrangement of the Penn^a Line be completed, because the President and Council had not money to bear the expense of an express to bring inteligence from Fort Pitt. But as the day was wet, and would not admit of marching, we were reviewed by the French officers. Governor Ried declared that his officers should have each a new suit of clothes, by the first of January, as he had sent a ship to Holland at the expense of the State. The Captain, and Subs, cannot admit that it would be consistant with justice to indulge the field, and staff officers, with the state-boots this winter, as it is more than probable, they will ride on horse back themselves in a short time, for the Assembly assure us that we shall have certificates for the depreciation of

our pay which they are confident will at least purchase a suit of new clothes, at the expiration of the war-Provided always that it terminates in favor of Independence. At any rate, it is obvious, that General Arnold's treachery was the cause of Major André's untimely death. For Co¹ Stewart gave orders, that soldiers should be well powdered, not-withstanding the rain, for Gen¹ Hand could not issue brigade orders respecting it, like Gen¹ Wayne (to be clean shaved, and fresh powdered, arms and amunition in the best order), as he quartered some miles from Camp, in order that he might be in readiness to march at the shortest notice. For he could not depend on his Brigade Major, as he was absent; Adjutant Purnell also had been arrested by Lt. Col. Smith for obeying Col. Stewart's orders-Major MacPherson, however, had returned from his intended rout to Carolina. Neither did the light troops take Staten Island, as was expected. This might have been owing to Col. Cragur having command of the invalids, and marching them to Norristown, or to so many of the field officers spending their time in Philadelphia. However orders were issued for marching the next day at 11 o'clock, and in order that the baggage might move with the troops, the Quartermaster General ordered the wagons to go in search of forage, but at all events to be in Camp the day after the troops were to march. The field officers who have, for some time past been about to resign, rather than be encumbered with half-pay, chose to remain in the service. although to ease the burden of it Congress has allowed them the privilege of holding any office the State is pleased to confer on them. But I cannot conceive how that could be construed into an obstical sufficient to prevent the Marquis' Clothing from holding out. Nor the reason why, Cap^t Henderson took his sword, or Cap^t Stakes servant spending so much of his and Capt^a Watkin's money. Notwithstanding, if it was not for the black feathers with red tops, Gen¹ Wayne would make his men believe they were the Light Infantry. For he made a forced march to West Point, and returned at their leisure. All this did not prevent Captⁿ Talburt's getting his sword exchanged, or Captⁿ Lillie's loosing two hard dollars by a bet, respecting the army going to Staten Island. Long service has proved it to be absolutely necessary that proper distinction should be made between the field and other officers, particularly at a time, when the inferior officers are likely to outshine the field officers in merrit. However, in order that inferior officers may not have an opportunity of being acquainted with their foibles, they have wisely formed a plan of messing by themselves. But this does not entirely prevent them, asking a favorite to dine with them. How could the unparalleled logic, assisted by the most shining oratory, of Gen¹ Sullivan prevail on Congress to allow the soldiers, who had been on the Western expedition, any gratuity for the deficiency of their provision ?—But still insisted on it, that the pumpkin and beans, were more than sufficient to make up the deficiency of their rations. But this could by no means influence Capt^a Stake in favor of building a new chimney -and the troop under marching orders. I shall hasten to a conclusion, as I am fully assured I have unburdened my mind, of such a weight of studies as would be sufficient to bend to the ground, any person who was not possessed of a considerable degree of fortitude. Nor will I think my labor lost, if it has only a tendency to give you a clear idea of matters.

WM. HENDERSON.

FIRE DEPARTMENT OF LITITZ, PENNSYLVANIA.—The town of Lititz, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in February of 1765, appointed two of

its property owners "Fire Inspectors." The subject of protection from fire was constantly debated, and the most minute directions were given and insisted on in the building of houses and shops, the placing of bakeovens and fireplaces, and the sweeping and burning out of chimneys. Live coals must be carried in a covered vessel when taken from house to house, and the smoking of cigars in the streets was not tolerated. 1790, a fire-engine was imported from Germany, and every householder was provided with one or more leather buckets. Greenbury Peddycourt, who formerly resided on Carroll's Manor, a man of genuine good nature, and a sort of universal helper, in addition to winding up the town-clock and ringing the parish church-bell, kept the fire engine in repair. When the hospital of the American army was established in the town, during the Revolution, he was appointed a steward for the sick soldiers.

BURLINGTON COUNTY, N. J. MARRIAGES.—Mr. William Foster Jones sends us the following "List of Marriages by Josiah Foster, Justice of the Peace and Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of Burlington, New Jersey," from 1787 to 1800, as taken from his dockets:

January 11th 1787: John Allin and Amy Millor. April 12th 1787 : John Bishop and Rachel Snuffum. November 12th 1788 : Burzillah Ridgway and Rachel Murrel. November 29, 1788 : Jonathan Morse and Grace Stratton. Dec. 17th 1788: James Allin Jr and Rachel Prickett. Dec. 25th 1788: James Budd and Elizabeth Anderson. March 1st 1789 : John Williams and Rebekah Roy. April 30th 1789 : William Saltor and Sarah Robinson. May 2nd 1789 : Seth Crispin and Hope Thomas. May 12th 1789 · John Hollinshead, Esq. and Hepsabe Thomas. "State Warrant." Sept. 5th 1789: Peter Allin Jr and Abigail Wilshear. Dec^r 7th 1789: John Savage and Elizabeth Devit. Dec. 24th 1789: William Mason and Hope Austin. Feb. 27th 1790 : Solomon Parker and Sarah Clear. March 3rd 1790: William Garwood and Ann Irwin. March 9th 1790: Benjamin Severs and Mary Musgrove. March 10th 1790: George Monrow and Hannah Ellis. April 27th 1790: Eber Talor and Tamson Tomlin. May 10th 1790: Thomas Taylor and Caterenor Jackson. June 28th 1790 : Benjamin Pine and Sarah Moore, Widow. Oct. 8th 1791 : Thos. Gallifer and Mary Sharp. Jan. 4th 1792 : John King and Margaret Mingin. Jan. 14th 1792: Joshua Land and Mary Sleeper. Jan. 29th 1792: Ephraim Cline Jr and Rachel Salter. March 8th 1792: Aaron Sharp and Rachel Cox. April 5th 1792: Jonathan Sleeper and Edith Peddle. May 29th, 1792: Thomas Lester and Abigail Cattle, *Widow*. July 28th, 1792: William Nixson and Phebe Goslin. Jan. 2nd 1793: Enoch Sharp and Sarah Phillips. Samuel Goforth and Mary Brown. Jan. 10th 1793: Jos. Hugg Jr and Deborah Matlock. Feb 14th 1793: Caleb Haines and Rebekah Haines. April 1" 1793 : Joseph Garwood and Rachel Shivers.

April 13th 1793 : Joseph Rakestraw and Elizabeth Sharp. May 28th 1793 : Amos Springer and Sarah Harber.

June 27th 1793 : Jonathan Atkinson and Rebekah Cohean.

Aug. 10th 1793 : Sam¹ Jones and Druecila Wallins. Josiah Lippincott and Mary Phillips.

Dec. 2nd 1793: Lawrence Webster Jr and Anna Burdsall.

Decr 14th 1793: Joshua Holbert and Beulah Stratton.

Dec. 23rd 1793 : Peter Budey and Abigail Smith.

Feb. 25th 1794 : Job Lippincott Esq⁴ and Bershebe Evans. March 5th 1794 : John Middleton and Deborah Sharp.

March 8th 1794 : Abraham Witcraft and Mary Addoms.

March 15th 1794 : Timothy Sharp, Widower and Elizh Myoven, Widow. [Here dockets are missing.] Jan. 4th 1800: Philip Wells and Mary Fiels alias Willims.

HENRY LAURENS, OF SOUTH CAROLINA, ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY, 1763.

"REVEREND SIR,-

"March 19, 1763.

... Your observations upon the influence and effect of the Negro Slavery, upon the morals and practices of young people, are but too justly founded, and I have often reflected with much concern on the same subject, and wished that our occonomy and government differed from the present system. But alas I since our Constitution is as it is, what can individuals do? Each can only act in his single and disunited capacity, because the sanction of Laws gives the stamp of rectitude to

the actions of the bulk of any community. "If it was to happen that everybody, or even a considerable majority of people, were to change their sentiments with respect to slavery, and that they should seriously think the saving of souls a more profitable work, than the adding house to house, and laying field to field, and those laws which now authorize the custom, would be instantly abrogated or die off themselves-but while they remain in force and that we see the Negro Trade much promoted of late by our Northern neighbors who formerly censured and condemned it, the difficulties which a few who would wish to deal with those servants as with brethren in a state of subordination met with are almost insurmountable.

"The bad precepts and worse examples daily and hourly set before them by Blacks and Whites surrounding them, often eradicates in one day the labor that has been bestowed on them for years. These are discouraging circumstances-nevertheless I am persuaded that there are some few who will not be defeated in their strife and who think if they gain but one soul in their whole lifetime, that they are happy instruments, and as such are amply rewarded for their trouble.

"... I thank you for the pamphlet too. But I am weary of reading papers of controversy, too many such we have had amongst ourselves of late, and I have unwillingly been forced to bear a part in them, which is really more shocking to me than the loss of any worldly estate. . . . "With great regard, "HENRY LAURENS.

"REVEREND MR. ETTWEIN, "North Carolina."

Queries.

BARON BANEER.—The register of the old Swedish Church at Swedesborough, New Jersey, contains the following record: "Died November 6, 1713, Baron Isaac Beneer." Information is requested of the family.

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OUR FAMILY ANCESTORS.—This is the brief title of a genealogical work which the undersigned now has in course of preparation and publication. Mr. William John Potts, of Camden, New Jersey, will furnish an introductory chapter upon "The Potts Family in Great Britain." Chapter II., "The Potts Family in America," will contain memoranda of the first settlers in the United States bearing this family name, and will embrace a period ranging from 1600 to 1800. These two chapters will, it is believed, contain more general data upon these subjects than has ever before been published in any collective form. A large part of the matter has been derived from original sources.

In the subsequent chapters will be given memoranda or mention of some fifty families or more of other surnames, that come in the direct line of the ancestry of the writer's children, as follows: Bailey, Baker, Bane or Bean, Bentley, Bezer, Bording, Bouwkens, Brown, Butler, Buzby, Carter, Clayton, Cloud, Cox, Oroasdale, Eaton, Edwards, Few, Fisher, Gerritsen, Gove, Hayes, Henderson, Hobson, Hough, Howell, Hutchinson, Ingram, Jennings, Kirk, Lucas, McNeil, Marsuryns, Marten, Matthews, Miller, Mitchell, O'Chilston, Op den Graeff, Pearson, Peart, Peterson, Rush, Shoemaker, Short, Stackhouse, Stanfield, Stavast, Stevenson, Stirk, Van Bebber, Van Tienhoven, Vinje, Wainhouse, Wells, Wessels, Woodward.

The undersigned will be thankful for any information bearing upon the early settlers of any of these families. Correspondence is solicited. Canonsburg, Pa. TH. MAXWELL POTTS.

PETERSEN.—Genealogical and biographical information is desired of Laurence Petersen, an Archbishop of Sweden, and also of Erick Petersen, who is supposed to have graduated from Upsala and arrived in the Delaware in 1738. J. W. J.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON in his English Traits ("Land") has the following curious passage: "I have seen a kratometric chart designed to show that the city of Philadelphia was in the same thermic belt, and, by inference, in the same belt of empire as the cities of Athens, Rome, and London. It was drawn by a patriotic Philadelphian, and was examined with pleasure, under his showing, by the inhabitants of Chestnut Street. But when carried to Charleston, to New Orleans, and to Boston, it somehow failed to convince the ingenious scholars of all those capitals." Who was the "patriotic Philadelphian," and is the chart extant?

HOWELL—WHEELER—CLARK — MONTGOMERY — FLOURNEY.—Information is wanted of the descendants of Reading and Catherine Y. Howell, of Philadelphia. Reading Howell was county surveyor of Philadelphia, and died in 1827. It is reported that he had eight children,—viz., John, who was an officer in the navy; Edward Y., who was a physician; Courtland D.; Clarissa; Rebecca; Henrietta Maria, who married John J. Wheeler, Philadelphia; Harriet, who married Joseph Montgomery; Catherine, who married General Flourney and removed South. Has any one a family record of any of this family, or other information? G.

DESHLER.—Information is requested as to what relationship existed between Anthony and David Deshler, whose names appear in "A Directory of Friends in Philadelphia, 1757-1760," PENNA. MAG., Vol. XVI. pp. 231, 232. David Deshler was the nephew of John Wister (also mentioned in the "Directory"), and was the former owner of the Deshler house, Germantown, now the residence of Mr. Elliston P. Morris. David Deshler had no descendants in the male line.

Germantown.

Book Notices.

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS. By Henry Hakes, M.D. Robert Bauer & Son, Wilkesbarre, Pa., 1892. 132 pp.

The thousands of people who have neither the time nor the inclination to read bulky volumes will find in this handy book a sufficiently comprehensive life of Columbus and his great achievement, of which this year is the four-hundredth anniversary. It is agreeably and intelligently written, and illustrated with maps and wood-cuts. Price in leatherette, 25 cents; cloth, 50 cents.

WRITINGS OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS. Charles L. Webster & Co., New York. Edited with an introduction by Paul Leicester Ford.

Mr. Ford has for the first time collected in one handy volume those letters and other documents written by Christopher Columbus which describe his experience in the discovery and occupation of the New World. Besides his letters to Ferdinand and Isabella, and to various friends, the volume includes the Deed of Entail, Will, and so-called "Privileges" of Columbus. An excellent opportunity is thus presented for studying the beginnings of America from original sources.

"FORT PITT AND LETTERS FROM THE FRONTIER" is the title of a book compiled by Mrs. Mary Carson Darlington, widow of William M. Darlington, of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, from the valuable historical collection of her late husband. It contains the journal of Captain Celeron de Bienville, who voyaged down the Allegheny and Ohio in 1749, with a party of fourteen subaltern officers, twenty soldiers, one hundred and eighty Canadians, and thirty Indians, warning English traders out of the country, negotiating with the Indians, and posting upon trees and burying in the ground plates with the arms of the king of France; letters of Major Grant, General Forbes, and Colonel Bouquet, dealing with the unfortunate battle fought by Major Grant on the site of Pittsburgh in 1758; journal, letters, and orderly-book of Captain Ecuyer when in command of Fort Pitt in 1765; sketch of the life of General James O'Hara, and a number of letters exchanged between him and prominent officers of the Continental army.

THE ENGLISH REDISCOVERY AND COLONIZATION OF AMERICA. By John B. and Marie A. Shipley. London, Elliot Stock, 1892. 8vo.

In this neatly-printed little volume the authors trace the discovery of America from its earliest beginnings, in a series of chapters embracing the Norse discovery, a dissection of the motives and results of the voyages of Columbus, and the actual discovery of North America by John and Sebastian Cabot. The final chapter is devoted to showing how the claims of Cabot, in contradistinction to those of Columbus, should receive the highest possible honor at a national or international celebration of the discovery of America, especially in relation to the United States. The reader will peruse with pleasure the carefully stated historic arguments of the authors, even if he fails finally to be converted to their views.

THE BARTLETTS, ANCESTRAL, GENEALOGICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL, HIS-TORICAL, COMPRISING AN ACCOUNT OF THE AMERICAN PROGENI-TORS OF THE BARTLETT FAMILY, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE DESCENDANTS OF JOHN BARTLETT, OF WEYMOUTH AND CUMBERLAND. By Thomas Edward Bartlett. Stafford Printing Company, New Haven, Coun., 1892. 102 pp.

In the title of this recent contribution to Massachusetts genealogy is fully set forth the contents of the work before us, the compilation of which was inspired by the affectionate recollections of the author's father. Introductory to the genealogical data are chapters on the Bartlett name and ancestry, and an historical sketch of Cumberland, where many of this family, who became Quakers, settled. The book is illustrated with plates of the original and present coat of arms of the family and portraits, is printed on heavy paper, and contains a comprehensive index. We cordially commend it to the attention of our genealogical readers.

ITINERARY OF GENERAL WASHINGTON, FROM JUNE 15, 1775, TO DE-CEMBER 23, 1783. By William S. Baker, Philadelphia. J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1892. 4to. 344 pp. Price, \$2.50. Since the publication of the "Itinerary of General Washington" in

the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Mr. Baker has added upwards of seventy-five pages of new matter and annotations, and we now take pleasure in drawing the attention of our readers to its republication in book form. Composed of extracts from the letters of Washington, orderly books, contemporary diaries and letters, published and unpublished, covering the period from the time he was elected the commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States to the return of his commission to Congress, we are given a concise day-by-day record of the prominent events with which he was connected in our War for Independence. The labor in its compilation has been arduous, and required an exhaustive knowledge of the literature of the period, as well as a topography of the coun-try. As a character study of Washington, the "Itinerary" portrays his earnestness, steadfastness, sleepless vigilance, and patriotism. The work must become of value both for reference and study, and in it Mr. The Baker has undoubtedly made his most important contribution to Washingtoniana. Handsomely printed on heavy paper, with rough edges, gilt top, and special cloth binding, and with a reproduction of an excessively rare engraving by Charles Willson Peale (only three copies being known), as a frontispiece, and a good index, we have an attractive and valuable historical work.



E C.R. CENTRE FNHOUSE. N. W. C. CERT & IND ARCH STREETS, PHILADELPHIA MATTER State

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PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE

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HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Vol. XVI.	1892.	No. 4

THE CASE OF THE SLOOP "ACTIVE."

BY HAMPTON L. CARSON.

In the office of the clerk of the Supreme Court of the United States, among a mass of interesting but unpublished matter relating to the naval history of the American Revolution, can be found the original documents in a celebrated admiralty cause entitled "The Case of the Sloop 'Active.'" Although historians and lawyers are more or less familiar with the main incidents of the narrative, yet many well-informed students of history are ignorant of its details. It is the purpose of this paper to present in a concise form the substantial features of the controversy.

The case presents a most notable collision between the United States and the State of Pennsylvania. Indeed, it may be said to constitute the only instance of armed resistance on the part of Pennsylvania to Federal authority; for though the Whiskey Insurrection, which convulsed the administration of Washington, took place on Pennsylvania soil, yet it was but the tumult of an unorganized mob, and did not represent a rebellion on the part of the State.

The case presents also an admirable illustration of the Vol. xvi.-25 (385) evolution of national authority. It lasted more than thirty years, beginning in 1778 and terminating in 1809. It originated in a controversy as to a prize, in the midst of the American Revolution. It outlived the old Court of Appeals in Cases of Capture, the establishment of which it did much to hasten; it survived the collapse of the Confederation, and was brought twenty years later before the Supreme Court of the United States for final determination.

It exhibits at the outset the political impotence of the Continental Congress uttering a feeble protest against State power while fully conscious of its own rights, and cowering beneath the prospect of a clash of authority. It displays, a few years later, the increasing strength and courage of the infant nation,-the gristle hardening into bone,-and it terminates, after a series of sharp conflicts between State and Federal officers, in the absolute triumph of the national power. It displays all the inherent qualities of a romance. and its scenes are crowded with the most distinguished personages, who are arrayed against each other in situations which are highly dramatic. It opens with a tale of heroism cheated of its reward by jealousy and chicane, contending with indomitable perseverance against great odds, until at the end of a struggle of thirty years an old man of ninety receives the fruits of his valor, and Justice prevails over the plots which had been devised to entrap her.

In the early part of September, 1778, Gideon Olmsted, a sturdy Connecticut fisherman, and three associates were captured by the British upon the open sea, in the neighborhood of Cape Charles, and were carried to Jamaica. There they were put on board the sloop "Active" and forced, much against their will, to assist in the navigation of the vessel to New York with a cargo of arms and supplies for the British army, then occupying that city. One night Olmsted boldly resolved to seize the vessel, and, unfolding his plan to his friends, they rose upon the master and crew, more than thrice their number, confined them to the cabin below the hatches, took possession of the sloop, and steered for Little Egg Harbor in New Jersey.

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A two days' struggle ensued in which shots were exchanged, and desperate efforts were made by the men below to recapture the vessel. The British melted pewter spoons into bullets, forced up the hatches, and swept the deck with their fire. Olmsted was severely wounded, but succeeded in turning a swivel gun heavily loaded down the companionway, and thus secured control. The British captain then cut a hole through the stern and wedged the rudder so as to prevent Olmsted from steering, releasing it only when the pange of hunger and thirst compelled submission. Having completed his capture, and being in full sight of land, Olmsted was pursued and forcibly taken, against his indignant protest, by an armed brig named the "Convention," fitted out by the State of Pennsylvania, and commanded by Captain Thomas Houston, who insisted upon carrying the "Active" into Philadelphia, where he claimed her as his prize. A claim was also made by the captain of an American privateer, "Le Gerard," cruising by agreement in concert with the "Convention" and in sight at the time of the alleged capture. It was argued that Olmsted's victory had not been complete, and that it was absurd to suppose that four men could have subdued fourteen. To this it was replied that the facts were as stated, and that the British captain had surrendered. The depositions of the witnesses, now on file at Washington, certainly sustain this assertion.

The case was tried before Judge George Ross and a jury, under the terms of an Act of Assembly, which had been passed but nine days before the trial, by which it was provided that while an appeal upon questions of law could be carried to Congress, yet the "finding of the facts by the jury shall be without re-examination or appeal." The jury found (most unwarrantably, it seems to us) that the Connecticut captors were entitled to but one-fourth of the prize, and they divided the residue between the State of Pennsylvania, the owners of the privateer, and the officers and crews of the "Convention" and "Le Gerard." The judge, who was one of the signers of the Declaration of Indepen-

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The Case of the Sloop "Active."

dence, did not conceal his sympathy with the heroic conduct of Olmsted, but found himself unable to overcome the local prejudices of the jury in favor of the mariners of their own State, and, moreover, felt himself coerced by the express language of the law into a confirmation of the verdict. Olmsted and his associates were too spirited to submit, and promptly appealed to Congress. Security was required, and in his plight the unknown and friendless Olmsted applied to Benedict Arnold, himself a native of Connecticut, then military commander of Philadelphia, who had recently embarked upon a course of speculative enterprises, induced in a large measure by the life of extravagance and display which he led after his marriage to Peggy Shippen, the acknowledged belle of Philadelphia. Arnold, with a keen scent for gain and certain of success, purchased in common with Stephen Collins, a merchant, a share in the controversy for a low and inadequate price.1

The matter was duly referred by Congress, then sitting in the State House, to the standing Committee on Appeals, styling themselves "The Court of Commissioners of Appeals for the United States of America," consisting of William Henry Drayton, of South Carolina, but lately the Chief-Justice of his State; John Henry, Jr., of Maryland; William Ellery, of Rhode Island, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence; and Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut, afterwards Chief-Justice of the United States.² After full argument and due consideration, on the 15th of September, 1778, they solemnly reversed the judgment of Judge Ross, and directed the marshal of the State Court to sell the sloop and cargo, and after deducting

¹ Arnold's conduct in this transaction was made the basis of one of the charges preferred against him by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, but it was dismissed by the court-martial for want of jurisdiction. He was then indicted for the crime of maintenance, but the bill was ignored by the Grand Jury, by direction of Chief-Justice McKean.—" Arnold's Trial," p. 118, privately printed, New York, 1865. ² Journals of Congress, Vol. IV. p. 445.

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the costs to pay over the entire fund to Olmsted and his friends.

Unhappily, the matter did not end here. Prior to this time judgments of reversal in admiralty matters had been cheerfully submitted to by the State Courts, but now a serious collision occurred.

The first intimation of the coming storm was given by General Arnold,¹ who warned the commissioners in writing that Judge Ross was about to defy them by getting possession of the money, with the avowed purpose of standing out obstinately against any orders that might be given; that he had openly directed the marshal to deliver the money to him at nine o'clock on the following morning, and had boasted that no order of the Congressional committee should take the case out of his hands. He begged them to meet that evening and adopt preventive measures, and added that he had been informed upon good authority that a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly had applied to the judge to get the money paid into his hands, and if he should succeed, it would probably reach the Treasury, and then the claimants would have the whole State of Pennsylvania to contend with. His anxiety was not without cause, but the commissioners acted with deliberation. The next morning they sent for Audrew Robeson, register of the State Court of Admiralty, who informed them under oath that he had witnessed, but an hour before, the payment by the marshal to Judge Ross of the sum of forty-seven thousand nine hundred and eighty-one pounds, two shillings, and five pence, Pennsylvania currency, arising from the sale of the cargo. As the sloop had not been sold, the commissioners drew up an order, in the nature of an injunction, commanding the

¹ His letter is dated the 3d of January, 1779. The original is on file at Washington, D.C., among the MSS. in the office of the clerk of the Supreme Court of the United States, and is printed in full by Hon. J. C. Bancroft Davis in a pamphlet, privately printed by him, entitled "The Committees of the Continental Congress chosen to hear and determine Appeals from Courts of Admiralty and the Court of Appeals in Cases of Capture, established by that Body." See also Appendix to 131 United States Reports. marshal, at his peril, to maintain his custody of the whole of the moneys arising from the sale of the sloop and cargo, until their further order.¹ In reply he audaciously sent them a copy of the written receipt of the judge.²

The commissioners then solemnly declared that they were unwilling to resort to any summary proceedings, lest consequences might ensue dangerous to the public peace of the United States, and positively declined to hear any other appeal until their authority as a court should be so settled as to give full efficacy to their decrees. Thus did they veil their consciousness of their own judicial feebleness behind patriotic fears of provoking a contest between State and Congressional authority. The fact stands out in bold relief that a Pennsylvania judge had successfully defied the Continental Congress.

A statement of the proceedings in the entire case was prepared and made the subject of a communication to Congress, who referred it to a special committee consisting of Mr. Burke, Mr. Paca, Mr. Dyer, and Mr. Smith. In the mean time Judge Ross had, with great dignity and firmness, placed upon the records of his court a vindication of his action, alleging that after mature consideration he was of opinion that though the Court of Appeals had full authority to alter or set aside the decree of a judge upon a pure question of law, yet there its power ended; that the verdict of the jury was made conclusive upon the facts without re-examination or appeal, under the terms of the State law erecting his tribunal, and he would submit to no usurpation of power.

¹ See The Whole Proceedings in the case of Olmsted et al. vs. Rittenhouse's Executors, by Richard Peters, Jr., Philadelphia, 1809. United States vs. Peters, 5 Cranch's United States Supreme Court Reports, 115.

² The marshal was the well-known Matthew Clarkson, who had served as an aide-de-camp to General Arnold, and with him had been severely wounded at Saratoga. He was serving at this time at Philadelphia as provost-marshal, and shared to some degree the hostility to his chief. There is not the slightest evidence, however, to implicate him in the speculations or frauds of his principal, while his conduct in obeying the mandate of Judge Ross, in defiance of the Court of Appeals, was directly opposed to the pecuniary interests of Arnold.

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On the 6th of March, 1779, Congress took steps to assert its final authority, and after a spirited review of the facts, declared that it necessarily had the power to examine as well into verdicts on facts as decisions on law, and to decree finally thereon, and that no finding of a jury in any Court of Admiralty, or court for determining the legality of captures on the high seas, can or ought to destroy the right of appeal and the re-examination of the facts expressly reserved to Congress. That no act of any one State can or ought to destroy the right of appeal to Congress, which was invested by these United States with the supreme sovereign power of war and peace. That the power of executing the law of nations was essential to the sovereign supreme power of war and peace; that the legality of all captures on the high seas must be determined by the law of nations, and that the authority to ultimately and finally decide on all matters and questions touching the law of nations rested in and was vested in the sovereign supreme power of war and peace. That a control by appeal was necessary, in order to compel a just and uniform execution of the law of nations; that this control must extend as well over the decisions of juries as judges, otherwise juries would be possessed of the ultimate power of executing the law of nations in all cases of capture, and might at any time exercise the same in such manner as to prevent a possibility of being controlled, a construction which involved so many inconveniences and absurdities as to destroy an essential part of the power of war and peace entrusted to Congress, and would disable Congress from giving satisfaction to foreign nations complaining of a violation of neutralities, of treaties, or other branches of the law of nations, and would enable a jury in any one State to involve the United States in hostilities; a construction which for these and many other reasons was inadmissible. It was also asserted that Congress had hitherto always exercised the power of controlling, by a committee of its own members through appeals, the several admiralty jurisdictions of the States. It was therefore resolved that the committee before The Case of the Sloop "Active."

whom had been determined the appeal from the Admiralty Court of Pennsylvania, in the case of the sloop "Active," was duly constituted and authorized to determine the same.¹ Upon this resolution the vote stood twenty-one yeas to six nays, all of the Pennsylvania members, and Mr. Witherspoon, of New Jersey, voting in the negative, while the power of Congress was sustained by such men as Samuel Adams, John Jay, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Burke, Henry Laurens, and William Henry Drayton. The reasoning of Congress, while readily commanding assent in our day, proved but a paper victory.

On the memorial of Olmsted, who bitterly complained that the decree of the appellate body had not been complied with, committees were twice appointed by Congress to confer with a committee of the Pennsylvania Legislature. Resolutions, asserting the absolute power of control of Congress by appeal in the last resort "over all jurisdictions for deciding the legality of captures on the high seas," were transmitted to all the States, with the request that they take effectual measures for conforming thereto.² An active correspondence was entered into between Joseph Reed, President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, and Thomas Burke, Esq., in behalf of the Congress, in which, while each was tender in his treatment of the question involving the harmony of the Union, both were firm and outspoken in the maintenance of what they believed to be the respective rights of the parties to the controversy.³

On the 8th of March, 1780, Pennsylvania passed a new act, abolishing trial by jury in admiralty causes and restoring the practice of the civil law, and a similar act was

^a Journals, Vol. V., 165.

³ Letters of January 28, 1779; January 29, June 5, 1779; Pennsylvania Archives, 1778, 1779, pp. 170, 171, 172, 468.

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¹ Journals of Congress, Vol. V. p. 64, et seq. Many years afterwards the reasoning of Congress was expressly adopted and sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States in determining a somewhat similar case. See opinion of Paterson, J., in Penhallow vs. Doane, 3 Dallas, 54.

passed by South Carolina on February 26, 1782. The remaining States declined to act.

Nothing, however, of a conciliatory nature was done by Pennsylvania in Olmsted's behalf; on the contrary, her Assembly by resolution authorized Judge Ross to pay over the money realized from the sale of the cargo and the sloop, which had been disposed of during the discussion in Congress, to David Rittenhouse, the celebrated astronomer, who, though studying the stars by night, was willing to act as State treasurer by day. Payment was made, and a bond of indemnity given to the judge as to that portion of the fund which had been awarded to claimants other than the State.

In the mean time the Constitution of the United States had been adopted, and by the terms of the second section of the Third Article, the judicial power of the United States was expressly extended to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction. The power of the newly-created nation stood behind this constitutional provision, and it remains to be seen what change was wrought in Olmsted's fortunes by this positive declaration in the fundamental law.

In 1790 Judge Ross died, and suit was brought against his executors in the Court of Common Pleas of Lancaster County by Olmsted, who still toiled wearily in search of justice.

A judgment was recovered by default. Thereupon Ross's executors sued Rittenhouse to the use of Olmsted upon the bond of indemnity. This aspect of the controversy came before the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in 1792, and Chief-Justice Thomas McKean, whose name with that of Ross is attached to the Declaration of Independence, declined to sustain the suit, on the ground of the lack of jurisdiction of the Common Pleas over an admiralty matter. He held that this objection ran equally against the validity of the judgment against the executors of Ross, and at the same time expressed in an extra-judicial fashion a decided opinion against the powers of Congress. In the conclusion Associate Justices Shippen and Yeates concurred, although dissenting from his reasons.¹

¹Russel et al., Exrs., vs. Rittenhouse, 2 Dallas, 160.

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Baffled but undismayed, Olmsted quietly awaited the course of events. Three years later, in the case of Penhallow vs. Doane,¹ the Supreme Court of the United States held that the District Courts of the United States had power and authority to carry into execution the decrees of the defunct Court of Appeals in cases of capture. The heart of the doughty old mariner was warmed by fresh hopes. Presenting himself before Judge Richard Peters, the United States District Judge for Pennsylvania, in 1803, he obtained a decree against Mrs. Sergeant and Mrs. Waters, the daughters and executrices of David Rittenhouse, by which they were directed to hand over the certificates of Federal debt in which their father had invested the money received by him as treasurer of the State. To meet this decree, the Legislature of Pennsylvania, at the instigation of Thomas McKean, then Governor, smarting under the inattention paid to his decision as Chief-Justice of the State Supreme Court, passed an act requiring the ladies to pay over the funds in dispute to the State Treasury, and directed the Governor to protect their persons and property against any process issuing out of any Federal court.² Here was a gage of battle flung down by the State, accompanied by a note of defiance. The nominal parties to the controversy were an old man of eighty-two and two women who had inherited the lawsuit, but the real contestants were the State of Pennsylvania and the United States.

For five years no process was issued upon the decree entered by Judge Peters because, as he himself stated, for prudential reasons he deemed it best to withhold it, so as to avoid embroiling the government of the United States and that of Pennsylvania. Rallying his energies for a supreme and final effort, Olmsted applied, in 1808, to the Supreme Court of the United States for a mandamus, which was awarded by Chief-Justice Marshall, in one of his characteristic judgments. "With great attention and serious concern," he examined the question of jurisdiction, and after a

¹ 3 Dallas, 54.

² Act 2d of April, 1803.

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calm but convincing course of reasoning in support of Federal power, he solemnly declared, "If the legislatures of the several States may at will annul the judgments of the Courts of the United States, and destroy the rights acquired under those judgments, the Constitution itself becomes a solemn mockery, and the nation is deprived of the means of enforcing its laws by the instrumentality of its own tribunals. So fatal a result must be deprecated by all; and the people of Pennsylvania, not less than the citizens of every other State, must feel a deep interest in resisting principles so destructive of the Union, and in averting consequences so fatal to themselves." . . . "The State of Pennsylvania can possess no constitutional right to resist the legal process which may be directed in this case. It will be readily conceived that the order which this Court is enjoined to make by the high obligations of duty and of law, is not made without extreme regret at the necessity which has induced the application. But it is a solemn duty, and therefore must be performed. A peremptory mandamus must be awarded."1

There could be but little doubt as to the result, when John Marshall sounded such a note, but the State still maintained an attitude of defiance. Judge Peters issued his writ, but when service of the attachment was attempted, the marshal found the house of Mrs. Sergeant and Mrs. Waters, at the corner of Seventh and Arch Streets, long known as "Fort Rittenhouse," surrounded by the State militia under the command of General Bright, who had been called out by Governor Snyder with the sanction of the Legislature, in fulfilment of their pledge of protection. In vain did the marshal read his commission and his warrant, and add a speech on the duty of obedience; every effort to enter the house was resisted by pointed bayonets.

He withdrew for a time, but fixed that day three weeks for the service of the warrant, and summoned a *posse-comitatus* of two thousand men. Bloodshed was imminent, and

¹ United States vs. Peters, 5 Cranch, 115.

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the city of Philadelphia was torn by the apprehension of civil war. The Governor appealed to President Madison and begged him to discriminate between opposition to the laws and Constitution of the United States and resistance to the decree of a judge founded on a usurpation of power, but Madison replied that the Executive of the Union was not only unauthorized to prevent the execution of a decree of the Supreme Court, but was specially enjoined by statute, wherever any such decree was resisted, to aid in its enforcement. The Legislature then prudently opened a door for retreat. In a new act, they still insisted on the right of the State; but "as sundry unforeseen difficulties" might arise in the way of enforcing it, and as the State was bound to protect at all events the persons and property of the executrices of Rittenhouse, they appropriated a large sum to meet contingent expenses, and otherwise to be used "as to the Governor might appear advisable and proper." The marshal, cleverly resorting to stratagem as a means of eecaping a bloody collision in the streets, secured access to the rear of the house of the ladies, a day or two before the time appointed for the array of his posse, and having taken them into custody, held them as prisoners. A writ of habeas corpus was then sued out before Chief-Justice Tilghman, of the State Supreme Court. The case was argued with great warmth by Walter Franklin, the Attorney-General of Pennsylvania, and Jared Ingersoll on the one side, and on the other by Alexander J. Dallas, the United States District Attorney, and William Lewis, who had represented Olmsted for thirty years, and to whose stubborn qualities as a legal pugilist the final result was largely due. The Chief-Justice, in a sensible and wellreasoned opinion, made it plain that the Federal Courts were successors to the Continental admiralty jurisdiction, and therefore the validity of the decree of the Continental Court of Appeals was a question exclusively for them, with which he had no right to meddle. He therefore remanded the prisoners to the custody of the marshal.¹ The Governor

¹ Olmsted's Case, Brightly's Reports (Pa.), 1.

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then paid over the money in dispute to the marshal, out of the legislative appropriation, and thus saved the ladies from imprisonment.

But the drama had not yet closed. Another act remained. The litigation had ended with the triumph of the nominal plaintiff, but it remained for the United States to vindicate their authority. Warrants were issued against General Bright and his men for forcibly obstructing Federal process. The trials came on before Mr. Justice Washington, who was on all points opposed in opinion to the prisoners, and strenuous in his efforts to uphold the supremacy of Federal The jury, however, held out for three days and law. nights, refusing to convict. The judge refused to discharge them. When two of them fell sick he sent a doctor to them, but declared that they should never separate until they had agreed. Finally, they brought in a special verdict, that the defendants had resisted the marshal, knowingly and wilfully, but that they did it under the authority of the State of Pennsylvania. On these facts they left it to the Court to direct the form of the verdict according to his view of the law. Thereupon he directed a verdict of guilty, which was entered, and after a suitable admonition General Bright was sentenced to three months' imprisonment and a fine of two hundred dollars, and the men to one month's imprisonment and a fine of fifty dollars each; but these were immediately remitted by the President on the ground that the defendants had acted under a mistaken sense of duty.1

The old fisherman had triumphed. His pertinacity in maintaining his legal rights had equalled his persistent valor

¹ The sources of the foregoing account are the original papers in the case of the "Active" in the Clerk's Office of the Supreme Court of the United States: Journals of Congress, Vol. V.; Ross et al., Exrs., vs. Rittenhouse, 2 Dallas, 165; United States vs. Peters, 5 Cranch, 115; "The Whole Proceedings in the Case of Olmsted vs. Rittenhouse," by Richard Peters, Jr., published at Philadelphia in 1809; Trial of General Bright in the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Pennsylvania, printed at Philadelphia in 1809, two scarce pamphlets in the library of the Philadelphia Library Company.

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when gashed and bleeding upon the sea, in securing his prize against superior numbers. Heaven had bountifully lengthened out his days until the victory was won, and then called him away at the age of fourscore and ten. But better and more lasting than the fruits of heroism was the vindication of national power. The priceless principle had been established that the Constitution and laws of the United States shall be recognized as the supreme law of the land, "and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

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EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF CAPTAIN JOHN NICE, OF THE PENNSYLVANIA LINE.

CONTRIBUTED BY MISS HENRIETTA COOPER, HADDONFIELD, NEW JERSEY.

[Hans and John de Neus, or Nice, brothers, settled in Philadelphia County the latter part of the seventeenth century, the former at what is now known as Nicetown and the latter at Germantown. Hans had a son Anthony, who had a son George, who was captain of Militia Artillery during the Revolution. John Nice had a son Winnard, who had a son John, a captain in the Pennsylvania Line, and whose diary, or so much of it as has been found, follows. Captain John Nice was born in Germantown January 29, 1739, and in 1772 married Sarah Engle, by whom he had seven children, only one, a daughter Mary, marrying and leaving descendants. In May of 1760 he was commissioned by Governor John Penn an ensign, and in September of 1763, by Governor James Hamilton, a captain in the Colonial service. On the breaking out of the war for Independence, he was commissioned, March 15, 1776, captain in Colonel Samuel J. Atlee's Musketry Battalion, was taken prisoner at the battle of Long Island, August 27, 1776, and exchanged December 9, 1776, for Captain Gordon, of the Twenty-sixth Foot. He signed the following parole with other officers: "We the Subscribers Commissioned officers in the Service of the United Colonys pledge our Faith and word of Honour to General Howe that we will not while bound by this our Parole, do or say directly or indirectly contrary to the interest of His Majesty George III King of Great Britain, France and Ireland &c., or of his Government and that we will repair to whatever place his Excellency Gen. Howe or the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in North America for the time being shall judge expedient to order us whenever required so to do. As witness our hands at Head Quarters on Long Island this 28th day of August 1776." He was commissioned in 1777 captain in the State Regiment of Foot, Colonel Walter Stewart, which by resolution of Congress was subsequently taken into the Continental service and designated as the Thirteenth Pennsylvania Line. With this regiment Captain Nice participated in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, in the latter leading the advance of General Greene's division. In July of 1778 he was transferred to the Sixth Pennsylvania Line, but owing to some disagreement as to his rank, he wrote the following letter of resignation to General Washington:

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"May it Please Your Excellency-

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"The 14th March 1776, I was commissioned a Captain in Col. Atlee's Regiment in the service of the State of Pennsylvania and in the following year honoured with a Commission from Congress bearing the same date. But the Honourable the Committee of Arrangement, have thought proper to rank me otherwise, and of a much later date, for what reason or on what Principle they have acted, I cannot pretend to judge, as, in the length of time I have served I am not conscious of any Conduct unworthy the officer and gentleman. I am therefore under the disagreeable necessity of requesting your Excellency's permission, to resign a commission, which I cannot longer hold consistent with my honour.

" I	am with due regard
	"Your Excellencys very
"Camp Sept. 11, 1778.	"Obt. Hble Servant,
	"JOHN NICE,
"His Excellency	"Capt. 6th P. R.
"General Washington."	-

His rank, however, was adjusted, and he withdrew his letter of resignation. Captain Nice continued in the service to the close of the war, and was respected as a brave and efficient officer. With other officers of his old regiment he joined the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati, and his insignia is still preserved by one of his descendants. He died in Germantown Township, July 5, 1806.]

August 24, 1776.—Marched over to Long Island, to the town of Brookland [Brooklyn]; halted about two hours, then received orders to march to a place called New Utrecht to relieve Colonel Jonson's [Johnson, of New Jersey] regiment. Placed sentrys against dark; it rained very hard all night. Saw the enemy at the Plains next morning, extending from Gravesend to Flatbush. Kept to our lines and exchanged a few shots with them.

August 25.—At noon we were relieved by Colonel Clark's [Seventeenth Connecticut] regiment, and marched back to Brookland, within our lines by night. Drew no provisions; it rained hard and we had no tents, subsequently we slept in a church.

August 26-27.—Got part of our baggage over, drew provisions, cheerfully arranged our camp and pitched our tents, and slept comfortably until daylight, when the alarm guns from Cobble Hill fort were fired. Our drums beat and the Battalion turned out and marched, with the Delaware and Maryland Battalions in advance, down the road to the Narrows. When we got within half a mile of a place called the Red Lion, we saw the enemy advancing toward us, and the brigade was drawn up on the left of the road, by order of General Sterling. The general marched at the head of his battalion. As we came within three hundred yards of the enemy, where they were drawn up on rising ground with his field pieces in front, we received orders to file to the left, as we had the Bay close to our right, and to lay under cover of a fence, which we did for some considerable time. The enemy then began to pour grape-shot into us from his two field pieces, when our Colonel saw that it was vain for us to remain, as we could do no execution with our musketry; he therefore ordered us to retreat to the right along the fence. In retreating we lost two men. We were next ordered to take possession of a wooded hill, which we held until ordered to retire and incline more to the left, to keep two Battalions from surrounding us, as we observed they were filing off for that purpose. Taking post on an advantageous piece of ground, the enemy came down upon us, when we retreated from our position to the edge of a wood, where we lost our brave Lieut. Col. Parry, who was shot through the head by a musket ball, which killed him on the spot. Animated by seeing him fall, we regained our ground, repulsed and drove them back, killed Colonel Grant [Fortieth Foot], wounded a lieutenant and killed nine soldiers. They retired behind a wood, but our Colonel did not think it prudent to follow them, as we had at that time not above fifty men and they had six times our num-We held our ground near half an hour, when we obber. served them coming down on us with all their force. We immediately prepared to receive them, not firing a shot until they were within fifty yards of us, when we gave them such a warm reception, that they found themselves under the necessity of retreating a second time to the wood. In this attempt they left forty dead on the field, but their

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wounded they carried off to the wood. In all these engagements we lost not a man, but our brave Colonel seeing a party of our men engaged in a field in our rear, we went to aid them, and became engaged with a company of Grenadiers near half an hour, while our brigade crossed at the mill-dam and got in, and we made them give way and incline to their right along a thick hedge. We kept engaged until a force of Hessians came down their left and attempted to surround us, when our Colonel ordered a party of Flying Camp riflemen of Col. Lutz's Battalion to join us and break through their lines, which we could easily have done if they had joined us, but they refused and would not come up. until we were obliged to retreat back in the wood. Here the Colonel called a council of the officers he had with him. to consider what was best to be done. Before we decided. the Hessians gave us a heavy fire from the edge of the wood, which caused us to disperse and every one make the best way he could to save himself. Col. Atlee, Ensign Henderson and myself kept together in the wood, then inclined to our left until we collected about twenty men of different battalions and decided to attempt to break through their lines. Coming up a hill out of the wood we saw a Highlander coming towards us. We called to him that if he would surrender, we would give him good quarters, which he did and delivered up his arms to our Colonel. We then proceeded about fifty yards, and around the corner of a wood, came unexpectedly on a large party of Hessians. as they turned out to be; for we were deceived by their uniforms of blue and red, and taking them for our own people, allowed them to advance within fifty yards, when they fired a volley, fortunately not killing or wounding any of us. Being superior in numbers our Colonel decided not to make a stand. About one hundred and fifty yards distant we crossed a hedge, but no sooner were we over when we saw a Battalion of Highlanders drawn up with their backs to our left. Although within eighty yards, they did not see us at first, but they faced about and fired on us, and inclining to the right, we gained the point of a wood which covered

us from their fire. We then ran through the wood, to the lowland, where another strong party of Hessians fired upon us, and one of them was so bold as to run into the centre of our party, when one of my men fired and killed him. Finding we were pursued, we ran across a swamp where the water and mud was up to our knees, when we took up a rising piece of wood, where we were fired upon from our right. We then inclined a little to the left and still kept making for the Jamaica road, hoping that if we could cross it, we would get around the right of their lines. Advancing farther we were joined by Col. Lutz, of the Flying Camp, with a small party of his men. We now numbered twenty-five men and for half an hour lay concealed in the wood, where we held a council as to what was to be done. The Hessians were observed coming through the wood to surround us, and there being no way to retreat, we determined to push out before the Hessians and deliver ourselves up to the first British troops we met. On clearing the wood, we saw two Battalions of Highlanders drawn up on our front, and the Hessians firing at us all the way, we club'd our firelocks, followed our Colonel, and received good quarters from the Colonel of the Highlanders. We were sent under guard to head-quarters, about one mile from our lines on the Jamaica road, where we delivered up our arms and were put in the Provost Guard, where the British officers and soldiers insulted us. Here we continued until the 29th inst.-twenty three officers in all--in one house, our rations consisting of Pork and Biscuit with Grog.

August 29.—We were sent under a strong guard to a small town four miles down the island, called Flat Bush, and were turned over to a battalion of Hessians, who used us very well.

August 31.—The Highlanders relieved the Hessians and took charge of us. Sent all our private soldiers to Gravesend, where they were lodged in two churches.

September 3.—Under guard we went on board the snow Mentor, Capt. Davis, and were placed on short allowance, 1 lb Pork and 10 ounces of Bread per man daily.

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September 5.—Our men were placed on the transports Wooly and Rochford, where we lay until

September 22, when we passed the Narrows and anchored between Governor's and Gallows islands.

September 23.—The ship of war Roebuck and a thunder-bum with a frigate attacked Powl's Hook. Our people fired a few shots, when they returned to their ships. They then made a landing about a mile above Powl's Hook.

September 24.—The prisoners from Canada left the fleet and were landed at Elizabethtown.

September 27.—The two armies cannonaded each other at Powl's Hook.

September 28.—We observed a great smoke arise from our fort on the heights above Powl's Hook, but the wind was so high we could not hear the sound of guns.

September 29.—Sailed up the North River and dropped anchor opposite Powl's Hook.

October 7.—We were landed in New York and signed a second parole. The New York and New England officers were put in a house together on the Holy Ground; the Marylanders, Delawarians and Pennsylvanians were lodged in the house of Mr. Mariner, on William street, except the field officers, who had the liberty of hiring a house for themselves.

October 9.—To-night I was insulted by a number of Highland officers, who rushed into the house, abused us with bad language, and struck Lieut. Carnaghan of the Right Battalion and Ensign Farnandaz, of the Maryland Battalion, and forced them away to the guard house that night. Here they were treated very civil by the sergeant, and the next morning released by order of Gen. Robertson. We heard during the day heavy cannonading in the direction of Forts Washington and Lee.

November 16.—Fort Washington was taken.

November 18.—The prisoners taken at Fort Washington were brought to New York; the officers lay in the Baptist meeting house that night. November 19.—We signed a parole, and had the privilege of walking about the streets from Sun to Sun, but could not visit our men, except the sentries at the gate allowed us to speak to them, so jealous were they of us for fear we would persuade them not to enlist in their service. The British recruiting officers daily tried to persuade them to enlist, by making fair promises.

December 4.—Eight officers and six privates were exchanged.

December 10.—Seventeen Officers and twenty eight privates were exchanged. We went on board the Cypher, at the Albany Pier.

December 11.—Arrived at South Amboy and proceeded to Spottswood.

December 12.—Continued our march to within two miles of Allentown.

December 13.—Proceeded to within two miles of Blackhorse, on our way to Bordentown, but hearing that some Hessians were at the former place, we struck off to the right and went to Trenton, fearing they might plunder our baggage.

December 14.—Left Trenton in the morning with an English officer, who conducted us through the lines, with orders to proceed down the Jerseys to Cooper's Ferry and there cross. Reached Burlington and nighted there.

December 15.—Finding it impossible to proceed, as the bridges were taken up, we crossed from Burlington to Bristol, put part of our baggage on a shallop, and all the party except five officers and myself went on board. As the night was cold, the cabin very small and the wind ahead, we concluded to walk. At sunset we started, at the Wheat-sheaff got our supper, where my five companions decided to go to bed. I proceeded on by myself, and reached home at Germantown between three and four o'clock in the morning.

[Between December 15, 1776, and June 19, 1778, the diary is missing.]

406 Extracts from the Diary of Captain John Nice.

1778.

June 19.—Left the encampment at Valley Forge, marched to and encamped at Bartlestall's.

June 20.—Marched to Doylestown and encamped.

June 21.—Marched to Coryell's Ferry and encamped.

June 22.—Crossed the river early in the morning, and encamped on the high ground six miles beyond.

June 23.-Marched to Hopewell, where we went into camp.

June 25.—Early in the morning we marched about six miles, and encamped. Drew two days provisions and cooked them.

June 27.—Marched about ten miles and encamped in Monmouth county, within eight miles of the court-house.

June 28.—Early this morning we began our march by the way of the town of Cranberry to meet the enemy. About ten o'clock the engagement began by the forces under Gen. Lee, Gen. Wayne and the Marquis de Lafayette, which continued very warm for some time. Our detachment fell back to the front line of our army, which his Excellency commanded in person, and then began a very severe cannonading. Our detached parties flanked the enemy on the right and left, and cut off most of the Grenadiers, Light Infantry and Highlanders. One part of our army got possession of a height on their left, and quailed them so much, that they thought fit to retreat about four o'clock and left us masters of the field. Our corps was the reserve that day, and did not come into action. We went to the Meeting-House and formed there, but afterwards were ordered to march back and form with the second line at Englishtown, about three miles from the scene of the engagement. Here we lay until five o'clock when Col. Stewart returned and ordered our regiment to march to the field of battle, where we lay with the army all night.

June 29.—At four o'clock this afternoon a strong party was detached to bury the dead of both armies, which was considerable. We lost about one hundred killed on the field

and scattered through the woods. Towards evening we marched back six miles and encamped.

June 30.—The army marched to Spottswood on their way to Brunswick and encamped there, our army on the East side of the Raritan river.¹

[At the end of Captain Nice's diary for the year 1776 is a "List of the Officers now Prisoners" in New York, who were captured on Long Island, to which some annotations have been added.]

PENNSYLVANIA RIFLE REGIMENT.

Samuel Miles. [Colonel commandant. Exchanged April 20, 1778, but did not re-enter the service.]

James Piper, Bedford county. [Lieutenant-colonel. Died in captivity.]

Richard Brown, Bedford county. [Captain.]

Matthew Scott, Cumberland county. [First lieutenant Captain Peebles's company. Exchanged December 8, 1776, for Lieutenant Cleveland, Seventh Foot.]

William Gray, Shamokin. [First lieutenant Captain Weitzel's company. Exchanged December 8, 1776, for Lieutenant Thompson, Twenty-sixth Foot.]

John Davis, Philadelphia. [First lieutenant Captain Lewis Farmer's company.]

George Wirt, Philadelphia. [First lieutenant Captain Shade's company. Died in captivity.]

John Spear, Bucks county. [First lieutenant Captain Long's company.]

Yost Driesbach, Northampton county. [First lieutenant Captain Shade's company.]

Daniel Topham, Philadelphia. [First lieutenant Captain Christ's company. Exchanged April 20, 1778.]

William McPherson, York county. [Second lieutenant Captain Albright's company. Exchanged April 20, 1778.]

Luke Brodhead, Northampton county. [Third lieutenant Captain Farmer's company. Exchanged December 8, 1776, for Lieutenant Wellington, Twenty-sixth Foot.]

¹ Here the diary ends; the remainder to the end of the war is missing.

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James Carnaghan, Westmoreland county. [Second lieutenant Captain Erwin's company.]

Joseph Brownlee, Westmoreland county. [Third lieutenant Captain Erwin's company.]

John Davis, Chester county. [Surgeon.]

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Joseph Davis, Chester county. [Surgeon's mate. Exchanged December 8, 1776, for Surgeon Beaumont, Twentysixth Foot.]

VOLUNTEERS.

Lieut. David Duncan, Philadelphia. Lieut. Moses Young, Philadelphia.

PENNSYLVANIA MUSKETRY BATTALION.

Samuel J. Atlee, Lancaster county. [Colonel commanding. Exchanged August 6, 1778.]

Francis Murray, Bucks county. [Captain. Exchanged December 9, 1776, for Captain William Anstruther, Twentysixth Foot.]

Thomas Herbert, Lancaster county. [Captain.]

John Nice, Germantown. [Captain. Exchanged December 9, 1776, for Captain Andrew Gordon, Twenty-sixth Foot.]

Joseph Howell Jr. [Captain. Exchanged December 9, 1776, for Captain John Livingston, Twenty-sixth Foot.]

Walter Finney, Bucks county. [First lieutenant Captain Murray's company.]

William Henderson, Bucks county. [Ensign Captain Murray's company.]

Alexander Huston Jr. [Ensign Captain Howell's company. Exchanged December 9, 1776, for Ensign Saunders, Twenty-ninth Foot.]

Michael App, Lancaster county. [Ensign Captain De Huff's company. Exchanged December 9, 1776, for Ensign Thomas.]

Septimus Davis, Chester county. [Ensign Captain Anderson's company. Exchanged December 9, 1776, for Ensign McLeod.]

FLYING CAMP.

Lieut. Col. Nicholas Lutz, Berks county. [Third Battalion Associators.]

Capt. [Jacob] Moser.

Capt. [Jacob] Crowle.

Capt. — Groft, York county.

Lieut. — Lewis, York county.

First Lieut. Peter Middagh, Northampton county. [First Battalion Associators, Fourth company, Captain Timothy Jayne.]

Lieut. —— Schoonhover, Northampton county. [Fourth Battalion Associators.]

Capt. Henry Hagenbock, Northampton county. [Second Battalion Associators.]

Capt. [Joseph] Heister, Berks county.

Lieut. Col. Peter Kechlein, Northampton county. [Battalion Associators.]

Capt. [Timothy] Jayne, Northampton county. [First Battalion Associators, Fourth company.]

First Lieut. Enoch Beer, Northampton county. [Captain Kern's company, First Battalion Associators.]

DELAWARE BATTALION.

Lieut. [Alexander] Stuart, Kent county. Lieut. [Jonathan] Harney, Sussex county.

MARYLAND BATTALION.

Lieut. [Edward] de Coursey, Queen Anne county.

Lieut. [Samuel] Wright, Queen Anne county.

Lieut. [William] Sterret, Baltimore county.

Lieut. [Joseph] Butler, Harford county.

Lieut. [Hatch] Dent, Charles county.

Lieut. [Walter] Ridgely, Baltimore county.

Lieut. [Walter] Muse, Dorset county.

Lieut. [Edward] Praul, Harford county.

Ensign [James] Fernandez, Charles county.

Ensign [William] Courts, Charles county.

410 Extracts from the Diary of Captain John Nice.

NEW YORK BATTALION.

Lieut. [Jeronimus] Hoogland. Lieut. [Robert] Troop. Lieut. [Edward] Dunscomb. Lieut. [Garret] Wagoner. Lieut. [William] Gilleland.

CAPTURED THE NIGHT BEFORE THE BATTLE.

Major Bowan, Long Island. Volunteer [John] Calandar, of the Train, Boston.

SEVENTEENTH CONNECTICUT REGIMENT [Huntington's].

Colonel [Joel] Clark, Hartford county. Major [Levi] Wells, Hartford county. Capt. [Jonathan] Brewster, New London county. Capt. Fitch Bissell, Hartford county. Capt. [Caleb] Trowbridge, New Haven county. Capt. [Timothy] Percival, Hartford county. Capt. Osias Bissell, Hartford county. Lieut. [Oliver] Orcutt, Windham. Lieut. [Jonathan] Gillet, Hartford. Lieut. [Nathaniel] Gone, New London. Lieut. [Solomon] Makepeace. Lieut. [Jabez] Fitch, New London. Lieut. [Thomas] Fanning, New London. Ensign [John] Kinsman, New London. Ensign [Anthony] Bradford, Windham. Ensign [Cornelius] Higgins. Ensign [Joel] Gillet. Ensign [Joseph] Chapman, New London. Ensign [Elihu] Lyman, Hartford. Adjutant [Elisha] Hopkins, Hartford. Surgeon [Silas] Holmes, New London.

Major Edward Burd, Lancaster. Adjutant McCordee.

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	New York								
Laid out for the mess:									
Beef, potatoes, onions	•	•	. 4s. 6d.						
5 Loaves of Bread @ 8	•	•	. 40 coppers.						
Dose of Salts for Huston	•	•	. 15 "						
do Harney	•	•	. 15 "						
		•	. 15 "						
do McFini	ney	•	. 9 "						
Milk		•	. 5 "						
			Town Near						

JOHN NICE.

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412 Extracts from the Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer, 1768-1798.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF JACOB HILTZ-HEIMER, OF PHILADELPHIA, 1768-1798.

(Continued from page 177.)

1789.

February 2.—Mr. Barge and I went to the burial of John Wister, who was buried in the Friend's Ground just back of his garden. He was 81 years old, came from near Heidelberg, Germany, sixty-two years ago, as he told me this day one week ago, at which time I spent above an hour with him.

February 28.—Had to breakfast with me Doctor Chapman, Gerardus Wynkoop and son from Bucks county; Alexander Lowry, Gen. Neville, and Joseph Carson.

March 15.—On my way home from Church George Clymer called me into his house where I met the following gentlemen sitting around the table with wine before them : James Wilson Esq., Gen. Phil. Dickinson, Dr. Jones, Col. Lambert Cadwalader.

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March 26.—About 8 o'clock this evening my daughter Kitty was married to Jacob Cox by Bishop William White, in the presence of Thomas Mifflin, President of the State, Richard Peters, Pearson Hunt, William Lawrence, Robert Crozier, and many other friends.

March 31.—Messrs. John Wilcox, Samuel Hodgdon and Andrew Tybout, a committee from the citizens of the Middle Ward waited on me to know whether I would serve as an Alderman of the city. I thanked them kindly, but declined.

April 7.—His excellency Thomas Mifflin and Col. Timothy Pickering breakfasted with me.

April 20.—President Washington arrived from Wilmington to-day. He dined at the City Tavern with a number of gentlemen of the city and the Troop of Light Horse. At night there was fire works at Market and Ninth streets. April 21.—At 10 o'clock the President set out for New York with Col. Humphrey and Charles Thomson. Capt. Bingham with part of the Troop escorted him to Frankford, where his Excellency thanked them and beg'd that they would turn back as it was raining. Capt. James Thompson with the County Troop proceeded no further.

May 22.—Lady Washington came to town on her way to New York.

May 25.—Lady Washington and Mrs. Morris set out for New York to join their consorts.

October 21.—In the evening a Miss Brailsford, of South Carolina, was brought into our house, she having been thrown from her carriage on Seventh street and very much hurt. Doctors Jones, Rush, Shippen, Wister and Dunlap attended her.

October 22.—Miss Brailsford's mother and sister remained with her all night. To-day Dr. Jones ordered that she be carried to her lodgings, Hunter's on Market street, as there is no hope of her recovery.

October 23.—Miss Brailsford died last night. I spent the evening at General Mifflin's with Col. Pickering and Vice-President Ross.

October 24.—Rain. This afternoon Miss Brailsford was buried in Christ Church burying-ground, Arch street. Attended the funeral with my three daughters and two sons. I walked with John Lawrence, my sons assisted in carrying the coffin.

November 5.—With Richard Peters Esq. and several members of the Assembly went to David Rittenhouse's and looked through his telescope at the sun; we observed a black spot on it.

1790.

February 21.—Dined with General Mifflin, his wife very ill. In the evening took a walk to the wharves, and on my return went into the Friend's Meeting-House on Market street. The house was very full, one Scott a New England

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Friend preached. He was very much in earnest, so much so that he took off his coat and spoke in his jacket without sleeves. His discourse was very good.

March 9.—My wife died at 9 o'clock this evening, aged 49 years 9 months and 3 days. We have been married twenty-eight years last October.

March 11.—At 5 o'clock this afternoon I was called to attend the funeral of my wife; Thomas Mifflin took my arm and walked with me to the grave in Friend's yard S. E. corner Fourth and Arch streets. He likewise accompanied me home as did the Hon. Richard Peters. . . .

August 1, Sunday.—The wife of Thomas Mifflin, President of this State, died after a six months illness, at 9 o'clock this morning.

August 3.—My daughter Molly and I went to the burial of Mrs. Mifflin this morning—from their house on Market street, to Friend's ground on Arch street.

September 2.—Attended the Assembly; at 1 o'clock walked in procession from the State House to the Court House in High Street—the Corporation, the Convention, the Council, the Assembly and others, to hear the new Constitution proclaimed. At 4 o'clock I dined at the City Tavern with a number of gentlemen and the President of the United States, who this day arrived from New York.

September 20.—Attended the funeral of Dr. Gerardus Clarkson, from his house on Spruce street to St. Peters church yard.

November 27.—The Honourable the President of the United States, Washington, arrived here from his seat in Virginia, and proceeded to the house of Robert Morris, on Market street, which has been provided by the City Corporation.

November 29.—The Hon. F. von Berkel arrived from New York. I gave him stable room for his five horses.

December 3.—Visited the two rooms fitted up for Congress to meet in next Monday, at S. E. corner Sixth and Chestnut streets, and think them unnecessarily fine.

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1791.

January 8.—The members of Congress and the Assembly attended a concert in the German Lutheran Church on Fourth street, where was also the President of the United States and his lady.

June 25.—Attended the burial of Dr. Jones, from Mrs. Clark's on Market street to Friend's ground. The Governor [Mifflin] called at my house and over persuaded me to go with him to Cape Henlopen. We embarked on Capt. Dorson's boat at Church's wharf,—the Governor, his two daughters, the widow Ritchie and a little girl named Maria. August 7.—Went to the burial of Amos Foulke.

September 5.—Dined with the President of the United

States at the Morris house on Market street. I cannot help remarking that President Washington is a very plain, very sociable man, and of course beloved by every person.

September 19.—Dined at the Hon. Mr. Bingham's with a number of gentlemen.

October 3.—Went with Miss E. Mifflin to Mrs. Keppele; dined at Mr. Barge's with Miss Keppele and Zantzinger.

October 25.—At 12 o'clock President Washington went to Congress and delivered his speech to them, yesterday being the first day of meeting of the Second Congress.

December 31.—Had to breakfast with me General Lincoln, of Massachusetts. In the evening met the officers of the German Society at Mr. Kuhnly's school house in Watkins alley.

1792.

March 12.—The House adjourned after roll call to give members an opportunity to listen to the debate in Congress, concerning the contested election between Generals Wayne and Jackson from Georgia.

March 31.—Finished with the turnpike bill from Philadelphia to Lancaster. Mr. John Sellers and H. Lloyd breakfasted with me.

August 8.—Dined with Mr. Barge and the following gentlemen who are interested in the Lancaster turnpike:

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General Hand, Adam Reigart, Andrew Graff, Abraham Witmer and Thomas Boude.

August 15.—After breakfast set out for the sea shore with Governor Mifflin, his two daughters and their maid. Dined at Bristol, and thence to Crosswix and put up at Douglass' Tavern.

August 16.—Proceeded to Monmouth and there dined. Arrived at the sea shore, the Governor and family took lodgings at Shaffto's and I at Chantlers & Harbert.

August 18.—Went in my chair to the Hon. William Bingham's place to dinner, by invitation of his wife, who received me very kindly and made much of me. Mr. Bingham was expected hourly from Philadelphia.

August 19.—The Governor came to my lodgings and dined with me. After dinner we went to Greens, where Col. Febiger, Mr. Butler, and John Wharton board. Bathed twice in the ocean.

August 20.—Breakfasted with the Governor and then set out for home. Dined at Monmouth, and met there Col. Febiger and family, Mrs. Butler, Mrs. Duncan and John Wharton. Nighted at Crosswix where we met Samuel Morris, Andrew Tybout, Joseph Donaldson and Peter Brown *en route* for Trenton.

August 21.—Arrived home at 7.30 P.M. via Bordentown and Burlington.

August 30.—Governor Mifflin and I went down to Gloucester Point gunning.

1793.

January 8.—No frost in the ground; saw a man ploughing his field.

January 15.—At 1 o'clock the doors of the new play house at the northwest corner of Chestnut and Sixth streets were opened to admit the Governor and the Assembly to inspect the building.

January 19.—Dined with the President of the United States at his house on Market street, with Speaker Gerardus Wynkoop and eighteen members of the House. I cannot

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resist recording the President's familiarity and sociability to all present.

April 24.—After dinner Mr. and Mrs. Barge with my three daughters went to Rickett's Circus; General Washington and family were present.

April 30.—Went down to my meadow to see what progress the workmen were making with the fence and gate, and while there, General Washington came to look at his mare on pasture.

August 29.—The House of Representatives adjourned to Monday, on account of the disorder in the city [Yellow Fever].

September 5.—At 2 o'clock the House adjourned, as the members declined to remain in the city.

September 12.—My daughter Betsy was taken ill last night. Sent for Dr. Rush, who pronounced it fever, and ordered that eight ounces of blood be taken from her.

September 17.—My daughter came down stairs for the first time. Very few people walk the streets, and if it is known to your friends that any of your family are sick they avoid you.

October 14.—Rode out to Germantown, which is filled with Philadelphians who were anxious to hear the news from the city, but kept their distance when they found we were from there. Burials average 100 daily.

November 9.—Many citizens are returning to their homes from the country.

1794.

September 30.—That great and good man General Washington, President of the United States, set out from his house on Market street, with Secretary Hamilton on his left and his private secretary on his right, to head the militia who march to quell the Western Insurrection.

November 28.—Attended the burial of Mrs. Clarkson, wife of the mayor of this city.

December 26.—While visiting Mr. Barge this evening the cry of fire was raised, and found it was in the rear part of the

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Lutheran church at the corner of Fourth and Cherry streets. The tower was consumed, and the church it was supposed saved, but soon afterward fire was discovered under the roof and the whole beautiful building burned to the ground.

December 29.—At four o'clock this afternoon my daughter Elizabeth died. She was born September 1, 1773, in the house in which all my children were born, and was a dutiful child.

December 31.—My daughter Elizabeth was buried at three o'clock this afternoon in the Friend's ground at Fourth and Arch streets.

1795.

February 12.—Mr. John Penn, formerly Governor when this State was a Province of Great Britain, was buried from his house on Pine street, in Christ Church yard.

March 9.—At four o'clock with Speaker Latimer and twenty two members of the Assembly, I dined with President Washington.

July 1.—Paid John Dunlap and Richard Wells five dollars towards the trees planted this spring on both sides of Market street to the Schuylkill. This was done by subscription.

July 15.—President Washington about 8 o'clock set out for his seat in Virginia—himself in a phaeton drawn by two horses, a part of his family in a coach and four, and two servants on horseback leading his saddle horse.

September 11.—Began to read Brissot de Warville's Travels, August 31, and finished to-day. He remained such a short time in this country, that I do not wonder he gives inaccurate accounts of matters and things.

October 28.—Paid to-day for oakwood 12/6 per cord! In the evening attended Rickett's Circus.

November 24.—At 10 o'clock set out in my chair for Lancaster, in company with Israel Whelen, John Perot, John Hall, A. Witmer, William Sansom, and James Fisher. Dined at Snyder's Tavern and nighted at Hunt Downing's.

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November 25.—After breakfast Richard Downing and Mr. Paulding joined us and we proceeded to Humphrey's Tavern, and thence to Reynolds, where we dined. We then went on to A. Witmer's, at his bridge, and reached Slough's in Lancaster—in all 64 miles. We found the turnpike road very good.

November 27.—At 11 o'clock Mr. Whelen with General Henry Miller in his carriage and I in my chair, started on our homeward ride. At Downing's we met the Hon. James Ross and wife, from Pittsburgh.

November 28.—Mr. Thomas, member of Congress, overtook us. We dined at the widow Miller's, and arrived home at sundown.

December 5.—At three o'clock Mr. Barge, the Governor and myself went to Dunwoody's Tavern, the Spread Eagle on Market street and there dined on venison. The following gentlemen were present: Jacob Barge, born 1721; William Jones, 1723; Edward Shippen, 1728; Frederick Kuhl, 1728; Michael Hillegas, 1729; Jacob Hiltzheimer, 1729; James Biddle, 1731; Matthew Clarkson, 1733; Josiah Hewes, 1733; Moses Cox, 1734; Daniel Brodhead, 1736; Andrew Tybout, 1736; Rey. Keen, 1739; Alexander Wilcox, 1742 and Thomas Mifflin, 1742. After dinner was over, we agreed to meet at the same place every three months—the first Saturdays in March, June, September and December.

December 8.—The House adjourned at noon and proceeded to Congress Hall, where President Washington delivered his address to the Senate and House.

December 11.—At 12 o'clock Mr. Barge called for me and we went to the house adjoining the Free Quaker Meeting on Arch street, and there drank punch with Samuel Miles Jr. who was married to Caleb Foulke's daughter on 8th inst.

1796.

February 6.—This afternoon General Wayne came to town from the Indian country, where he has been above three years. The three troops of light horse met him four

420 Extracts from the Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer, 1768-1798.

miles from the city. On crossing the bridge over Schuylkill a salute of fifteen guns was fired from Centre Square. The crowd was very great notwithstanding the muddy roads and streets.

February 22.—The Speakers of the House and Senate with the members of the Assembly called on President Washington to congratulate him on his birthday anniversary. He stood in the centre of the back room, where he bowed to each member as they passed into the front room to partake of cake and wine. At night the ladies and gentlemen had a dance at Rickett's Circus, S. W. corner Sixth and Chestnut streets.

March 26.—Dined at Dunwoody's with Governor Mifflin, Benjamin Chew, Judge McKean, Edward Shippen, Richard Peters, General Wayne, Daniel Brodhead, Edward Duffield, Mayor Clarkson, Charles Jarvis, Capt. Anthony, William Jones, R. Keen, Tench Francis, Andrew Tybout, Judge Biddle and Joseph Donaldson.

June 4.—Coming home from a ride in my chair, met President Washington and his lady in a coach and four with two postilions and only one servant on horseback. In the old countries a man of his rank and dignity would not be met from his house without a retinue of twenty or thirty persons.

June 27.—To-day the great David Rittenhouse was buried under a small building just back of his house at the corner of Seventh and Arch streets.

September 9.—I read the address of President Washington declining to accept of the office of President of the United States for another term. The words of advice and caution he gives to the people I hope will be remembered by every good citizen to the end of time !

December 17.—At 12 o'clock the Legislature attended the Presbyterian Church on Market street, where Dr. Rush, a member of the Philosophical Society, pronounced an eulogium in memory of their late President David Rittenhouse. President Washington and his lady and members of Congress were also present.



1797.

January 20.—At three o'clock dined at Robert Waln's with sixteen gentlemen, at his house on Second street. He is a young man of uncommon understanding, a good speaker and can answer any one opposed to him with temper and good reasoning. He has an elegant house, richly furnished, with a large lot and garden in the rear.

February 18.—At four o'clock with other members of the Assembly, I dined with President Washington, who will retire from office on March 4th. Our Speaker, George Latimer, sat between the President and his lady and I on his left.

February 22.—The House adjourned at noon and the members waited on President Washington to pay their respects, it being his birthday. A salute was fired by the artillerists.

March 4.—John Adams was proclaimed President of the United States, and a salute fired on the lot northwest corner Sixth and Walnut streets.

March 6.—General Washington set out with his family for his seat in Virginia.

May 10.—Drove down to the old fort, in Southwark, to see the frigate United States launched. About 20000 persons were present on the river and its bank.

June 20.—Mr. Barge and I drove out to the Middle Ferry, to see the mast ninety feet long, Witmer brought down on his wagon with three pair of wheels and nine horses, from Wright's Ferry on the Susquehanna. We were told it weighs nine tons. It was unloaded into the Schuylkill and is to be towed around to the city. Tench Francis told us it cost about \$200, and that it is intended for the Algerine government.

November 10.—John Adams, President of the United States, arrived at his house on Market street about 2 o'clock to-day, escorted by our three companies of light horse.

December 20.—After the House adjourned several of us went with Speaker Latimer, to the house of George Bickham on Market street to drink punch. His daughter was married to Washington Finney.

December 22.—The river is frozen over and people walking on the ice. 422 Extracts from the Diary of Jacob Hiltsheimer, 1768-1798.

December 28.—I went to the coachmaker's shop on Fifth street near Market and paid twenty five cents to see a large Lion.

1798.

April 13.—Subscribed for two shares of stock of Bridge over the Schuylkill, at Market street, at ten dollars each.

August 20.—At 4 o'clock set out with my daughter Hannah towards Trenton. Breakfasted at the Cross Keys Tavern in Bristol and there met Mr. Ingersoll, of the city. We had some conversation about the present sickness [Yellow Fever] in the course of which he said, that the Legislature ought and he hoped would appropriate a sum of money to complete the canal from Norriton near the Schuylkill to the neighborhood of Philadelphia, to bring the water into the city for the great benefit of its health and in cases of fire. At 12 o'clock I reached Trenton, and dined with my friend Abraham Hunt. My weight to-day is 162 lbs.

August 22.—Left Trenton at 4.80 and rode to Matthew Clarkson's at the eleven mile stone, where I breakfasted and dined. Reached home before dark.

August 23.—Breakfasted with Mr. Barge, after which we took a ride, calling at Peter Kuhn's new house, building on Turner's Lane and afterwards at F. A. Muhlenberg's.

September 2.—Set out for Trenton; breakfasted and dined at Satterthwait's at the mouth of Pennypack; found my daughter Hannah well.

September 4.—After breakfasting at Gordon's, I set out for Philadelphia. Called at Matthew Clarkson's and afterwards at Satterthwait's, where I dined on fish just taken out of the Delaware. At the eight mile stone Mrs. Oellers begged me to take her housekeeper and little daughter to the city with me, which I did. Deaths to-day 66.

September 5, Wed.—[Here the diary ends. On this date Mr. Hiltzheimer was taken down with the Yellow Fever, and died September 14. His remains were interred in the cemetery of the German Reformed Church, now part of Franklin Square.—ED.]

ROSTER OF THE OFFICERS OF "THE LEGION OF THE UNITED STATES," COMMANDED BY MAJOR-GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE.

[For the protection of the northwest frontiers, President Washington, in December of 1792, ordered the organization of "The Legion of the United States," on the plan submitted in 1790 by the Secretary of War, General Henry Knox, to Congress, and Major-General Anthony Wayne was assigned to its command. The following list of the officers of the "Legion," with the dates of their commissions, is copied from an original MS. endorsed "Return of the officers in the Legion of the United States."]

RETURN OF THE OFFICERS IN THE LEGION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Anthony Wayne,	•	•	•	Major General.
James Wilkinson,		•	•	Brigadier General.
Thomas Posey, .	•	•	•	ditto.
Michael Rudulph,	•	•	•	Adjutant and Inspector.
James O'Hara, .	•	•	•	Quarter Master.
John Belli,	•	•	•	Deputy Quarter Master.
Caleb Swan, .	•	•	•	Paymaster.
Richard Allison, .	•	•	•	Surgeon.
John Hurt,			•	Chaplain.

CAVALBY.

Michael Rudulph, Major, 5 March, 1792. Henry Bowyer, Captain, 5 March, 1792 (resigned). William Winston, Captain, 8 May, 1792. Robert Mis Campbell, Captain, 7 October, 1792. William Aylet Lee, Captain, 25 October, 1792. Tarleton Fleming, Lieutenant, 8 May, 1792. Solomon Van Rensalaer, Lieutenant, 18 September, 1792. James Taylor, Lieutenant, 7 October, 1792. Leonard Covington, Lieutenant, 25 October, 1792.

424 Roster of the Officers of "The Legion of the United States."

John Webb, Cornet, 8 May, 1792. George H. Dunn, Cornet, 18 September, 1792. Abraham Jones, Cornet, 7 October, 1792. Daniel Torry, Cornet, 25 October, 1792.

ARTILLERY.

Henry Burbeck, Major, 4 November, 1791.
Mahlon Ford, Captain, 4 March, 1791.
John Pierce, Captain, 15 October, 1791.
Moses Porter, Captain, 4 November, 1791.
Daniel McLane, Captain, 4 November, 1791.
Abimael Youngs Nicoll, Lieutenant, 4 March, 1791.
George Ingersoll, Lieutenant, 4 March, 1791.
Staats Morris, Lieutenant, 26 July, 1791.
George Demlar, Lieutenant, 5 March, 1792.
Piercy Pope, Lieutenant, 5 March, 1792.
Joseph Elliot, Lieutenant, 5 March, 1792.
Ebenezer Massey, Lieutenant, 5 March, 1792.
Peter L. Van Alen, Lieutenant, 6 September, 1792.

FIRST SUB LEGION.

John F. Hamtramck, Lieut. Col. Commandt., 18 February, 1793. Thomas Doyle, Major, 28 September, 1792. Thomas Hughes, Major, 27 November, 1792. John Pratt, Captain, 4 March, 1791. William Kersey, Captain, 4 June, 1791. William Peters, Captain, 4 November, 1791. Jacob Kingsbury, Captain, 28 December, 1791. Thomas Martin, Captain, 5 March, 1792. Thomas Pasteur, Captain, 5 March, 1792. Cornelius R. Sidam, Captain, 23 April, 1792. John Jeffers, Captain, 15 May, 1792. Abner Prior, Captain, 2 June, 1792. Asa Hartshorne, Captain, 1 September, 1792. Jacob Melchor, Captain, 28 September, 1792. Vacancy to be filled by Ensign Morgan, if acquitted.

James Clay, Lieutenant, 28 December, 1791. Daniel Britt, Lieutenant, 29 December, 1791. Hamilton Armstrong, Lieutenant, 10 January, 1792. Bartholomew Shomberg, Lieutenant, 5 March, 1792. Bernard Gaines, Lieutenant, 5 March, 1792. John Wade, Lieutenant, 5 March, 1792. Ross Bird, Lieutenant, 23 April, 1792. Hastings Marks, Lieutenant, 15 May, 1792. William H. Harrison, Lieutenant, 2 June, 1792. Robert Hunter, Lieutenant, 1 September, 1792. Lewis Bond, Lieutenant, 28 September, 1792. John Whistler, Lieutenant, 27 November, 1792. John Morgan, Ensign, - May, 1790. Daniel Bissell, Ensign, 5 March, 1792. John Michael, Ensign, 5 March, 1792. Jacob Krumer, Ensign, 5 March, 1792. Henry Montfort, Ensign, 5 March, 1792. Charles Hyde, Ensign, 5 March, 1792.

SECOND SUB LEGION.

David Strong, Lieut. Col. Commandt., 19 February, 1798. Thomas Hunt, Major, 18 February, 1793. John Mills, Major, 19 February, 1798. John H. Buell, Major, 20 February, 1793. Richard Brooke Roberts, Captain, 4 March, 1791. Thomas H. Cushing, Captain, 4 March, 1791. Joseph Shaylor, Captain, 4 March, 1791. Jonathan Haskell, Captain, 4 March, 1791. Bezaleel Howe, Captain, 4 November, 1791. Daniel Bradley, Captain, 4 November, 1791. Cornelius Lyman, Captain, 30 July, 1792. Richard Surcombe Howe, Captain (deceased), 27 November, 1792. Richard H. Greaton, Captain, 18 February, 1798. Russell Bissell, Captain, 19 February, 1793. Joseph Dickinson, Captain, 20 February, 1793. Edward Miller, Captain, 21 February, 1798.

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John Tillinghast, Lieutenant, 4 November, 1791. Daniel Tilton, Jr., Lieutenant, 4 November, 1791. Samuel Andrews, Lieutenant, 4 November, 1791. John Bird, Lieutenant, 4 November, 1791. Micah McDonough, Lieutenant, 5 March, 1792. Edward Turner, Lieutenant, 13 July, 1792. Theodore Sedgwick, Lieutenant, 80 July, 1792. John Sullivan, Lieutenant, 27 November, 1792. Andrew Marschalk, Lieutenant, 18 February, 1798. William Martz, Lieutenant, 19 February, 1798. John Lowry, Lieutenant, 20 February, 1798. Andrew McCleery, Lieutenant, 21 February, 1793. Samuel Drake, Ensign, 5 March, 1792. Felix Long, Ensign, 5 March, 1792. Peter Shoemaker, Ensign, 5 March, 1792. Isaac Younghusband, Ensign, 5 March, 1792.

THIRD SUB LEGION.

-, Lieut. Col. Commandt. Henry Gaither, Major, 5 March, 1792. George M. Bedinger, Major (resigned), 5 March, 1792. Jonathan Cass, Major, 21 February, 1798. Isaac Guion, Captain, 5 March, 1792. Zebulon Pike, Captain, 5 March, 1792. Richard Sparks, Captain, 5 March, 1792. Uriah Springer, Captain, 5 March, 1792. Nicholas Hannah, Captain, 5 March, 1792. John Heth, Captain, 5 March, 1792. Joseph Kerr, Captain, 5 March, 1792. William Faulkner, Captain, 5 March, 1792. Thomas Lewis, Captain, 5 March, 1792. William Lewis, Captain, 5 March, 1792. Howell Lewis, Captain, 5 March, 1792. John Cummins, Captain, 30 June, 1792. John Reed, Lieutenant, 5 March, 1792. William McRea, Lieutenant, 5 March, 1792. Robert Craig, Lieutenant, 5 March, 1792.

Nathaniel Huston, Lieutenant, 5 March, 1792. John Boyer, Lieutenant, 5 March, 1792. Samuel Vance, Lieutenant, 5 March, 1792. William Smith, Lieutenant, 5 March, 1792. Samuel Tinsley, Lieutenant, 5 March, 1792. William Richard, Lieutenant, 5 March, 1792. Aaron Gregg, Lieutenant, 30 June, 1792. John Polhemus, Lieutenant, 25 September, 1792. John Steele, Lieutenant, 21 February, 1798. Reason Beale, Ensign, 5 March, 1792. Peter Marks, Ensign, 5 March, 1792. Samuel Davidson, Ensign, 5 March, 1792. Charles Wright, Ensign, 5 March, 1792. Nanning J. Nischer, Ensign, 5 March, 1792. David Hall, Ensign, 5 March, 1792. Archibald Gray, Ensign, 5 March, 1792. Hartman Leightersir, Ensign, 5 March, 1792. Andrew Shanklin, Ensign, 5 March, 1792.

FOURTH SUB LEGION.

John Clark, Lieut. Col. Commandt., 21 February, 1793. Thomas Butter, Major, 5 March, 1792. William McMahon, Major, 5 March, 1792. Ballard Smith, Major, 2 June, 1792. Edward Butler, Captain, 5 March, 1792. Henry Carberry, Captain, 5 March, 1792. William Buchanan, Captain, 5 March, 1792. Jacob Slough, Captain, 5 March, 1792. Joseph Brock, Captain, 5 March, 1792. William Eaton, Captain, 5 March, 1792. John Crawford, Captain, 5 March, 1792. John Cooke, Captain, 5 March, 1792. William Preston, Captain, 5 March, 1792. Alexander Gibson, Captain, 5 March, 1792. Benjamin Price, Captain, 9 June, 1792. Henry De Butts, Captain, 28 December, 1792. Robert Thompson, Lieutenant, 5 March, 1792.

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Henry B. Towles, Lieutenant, 5 March, 1792. Maxwell Bines, Lieutenant, 5 March, 1792. Daniel T. Jenifer, Lieutenant, 5 March, 1792. James Glen, Lieutenant, 5 March, 1792. William Clarke, Lieutenant, 5 March, 1792. James Underhill, Lieutenant, 5 March, 1792. William Stedman, Lieutenant (resigned), 5 March, 1792. Benjamin Lockwood, Lieutenant, 5 March, 1792. Benjamin Strother, Lieutenant, 5 March, 1792. William Diven, Lieutenant, 9 June, 1792. Peter Grayson, Lieutenant, 28 December, 1792. Robert Purdy, Ensign, 5 March, 1792. Hugh Brady, Ensign, 5 March, 1792. William Pitt Gassaway, Ensign (deceased), 5 March, 1792. Campbell Smith, Ensign, 5 March, 1792. Robert Lee, Ensign, 5 March, 1792. Stephen Trigge, Ensign, 5 March, 1792.

Patrick Shirkey, Ensign (resigned), 5 March, 1792.

Jonathan Taylor, Ensign, 5 March, 1792.

SURGEONS.

John Elliot, John Scott, John F. Carmichael, Nathan Hayward.

SUBGEON'S MATES.

Elijah Tisdale, Charles Brown, Joseph Philips, William McCroskey, Frederick Dalcho, William A. McCrea, Thomas Hutchins, John Sillman, George Balfour,

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James L. Clayton, Thomas Farley, Joseph Strong, Joseph Andrews, John C. Wallace, John Hammill, Charles Watrous, Samuel Boyd, Elihu Lyman.

Roster of the Officers of "The Legion of the United States." 429

PROVISIONAL ENSIGNS TO BE CALLED INTO SERVICE AT THE DISCRETION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Levi Hause, John Lamson, Nathan Woodward, Aaron Catlin, Francis Johnston (present), Garret Voorhis, John Wallington, George Baynton, Jesse Lukens, Charles Lewis (present), Levi McLane (present),

Richard Butler (present), William Davidson, Ferdinand Leigh Claiborne, Charles Turner, Charles Harrison, George Lee Davidson, Howell Cobb, Edmund Taylor (present), John Bradshaw, Elijah Strong (present), John Brick (present).

AN ACCOUNT OF THE FAMINE AMONG THE IN-DIANS OF THE NORTH AND WEST BRANCH OF THE SUSQUEHANNA, IN THE SUMMER OF 1748.

[The following account of the famine among the Indians of the North and West Branch of the Susquehanna, in the summer of 1748, is taken from the Journal of the Moravian Missionaries, David Zeisberger and John Martin Mack.]

July 9, 1748.—Set out from Shamokin on our journey up the West Branch.

July 10.—About noon reached Otstonwakin, which we found deserted. At night were tormented by punks and mosquitoes, despite the five fires between which we lay down to sleep.

July 11.-Resumed our journey, and at noon came to some Indian huts which we found deserted. Crossed a branch of the Susquehanna and over to an island, where we found a number of huts but not a soul about. Mack wandered over the island and climbed a tree to look for some human being, (the grass and weeds being so high as to intercept our view) and saw an Indian. He descended and we made for the point. Here we found a hut in which was an old woman and some others down with the small-pox. On asking where the Indians of this region were, he was told that many had died of the small-pox and the others had been driven by famine to the white settlements. We learned that this district was called Long Island, and nearly all who dwell here are Delawares. One of the Indians who knew Mack, (having met him at Shamokin) was very friendly and pointed out the way to Great Island, but regretted he had nothing to give us to eat.

Towards evening we reached the island and found some Indians and old squaws at home, most of the men had been driven away by famine. We asked whether we could lodge in a hut over night, were cordially received and a bear skin spread for us to sleep on, but could not obtain any thing to eat. In the evening we were visited by a number of Indians, Shawnese and Cayugas, among the latter one who spoke Low Dutch, from near Albany. In all of the huts there were cases of small-pox, and in one hung a kettle in which grass was being stewed, which they ate with avidity.

July 12.—To-day our host brought us some dried venison and we in turn gave his child some of our bread, for which he was very thankful. In the afternoon we informed our host that we desired to visit the island to see the Indians there and he went with us. We found some clever people here, who had just returned from the woods, and who shared with us the unripe grapes they had gathered.

July 18.—Before setting out on our return our host gave us some dried venison, and in return we gave him and his wife some needles and thread.

July 14.—Arose early. Zeisberger caught some fish which we cooked and ate. At noon reached Otstonwakin, where we speared a large fish with a pointed stick, which we ate for our supper.

July 15.-Set out early and at evening reached Shamokin.

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July 22.—Early this morning we set out up the North Branch of Susquehanna. At noon we lost the path, as we had taken the one that leads into the woods, which the Indians take on their hunts. Towards evening we recovered the right trail. Lodged on a hill for the night near the river. It began to rain hard, and the water swept down the hillside so strongly, that we feared we would be washed into the Susquehanna. We had no hut and could get no bark.

July 28.—Proceeded through the rain and towards noon came to a Tudeler town where we hoped to dry ourselves, but found all drunk. Continued on our way a few miles when we built a fire and dried and warmed ourselves. By evening we reached Nescopeck, and were taken over the river in a canoe. We found few at home, but were taken 432 An Account of the Famine among the Indians.

into a hut where we dried ourselves and supperless retired to rest.

July 24.—Our host cooked some wild beans of which we partook. We gave the old man in turn of our bread. He informed us that his people had gone among the whites to obtain food.

July 25.—Resumed our journey and came to Wapwallopen, where we stopped a few hours. Found only one family at home, which boiled the bark of trees for food, all the others had been driven by famine to the white settlements. At night we camped at the lower end of the flats of Wyomick.

July 26.—Arose early and proceeded up the flats. On coming to the first huts, we found only a man and his wife at home, and some other decrepid people scarcely able to move. They complained to us of their need of the want of food and of iminent starvation. We lodged in one of the huts.

July 27.—Crossed the river and visited the Nanticokes who moved here last spring from Chesapeake Bay, and found them clever, modest people. They, too, complained of the famine, and told us that their young people had been gone several weeks to the settlements to procure provisions. In the evening the Nanticokes set us over the river and we went to our lodgings. Visited some old people, also an old man who fetched some wood to make up a fire in his hut. He was so weak as to be compelled to crawl on his hands and knees. Mack took the faggots into the hut and made the fire, much to the gratitude of the aged invalid.

July 28.—We found our host this morning busy painting himself. He painted his face all red, and striped his shirt and mocasins with the same color. He offered to go with us a few miles to show us where we could best cross the Susquehanna. Set out on our return journey, passed Wapwallopen and thence over the country, across Wolf Mountain to Gnadenhuetten, which we reached July 80th.

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INCIDENTS IN THE HISTORY OF YORK, PENNSYL-VANIA, 1778.

[Extracted from the diary of Rev. George Neisser, Moravian minister.]

January 19.—This afternoon Gen. Horatio Gates, who has been appointed President of the Council of War, arrived in town and was received with demonstrations of joy.

February 12.—I visited the Heller family, two members of which are sick with fever. They are very much inconvenienced, as the Hospital has been transferred to their house. John Firholtz's house has also been taken for hospital purposes.

February 20.—Balls have been given so often, as to call forth remonstrances from all the clergymen of the town.

March 19.—Throughout the entire night the soldiers kept guard, since a plot on the part of the Tories and Howe's light cavalry to capture the members of Congress, had been discovered. One man who was acquainted with the details and is supposed to be in it, was arrested.

March 20.—I called on the French secretary to ascertain the whereabouts of Brig. Gen. Fermoy, and being unsuccessful, sent letters by Joseph Dean who returns home after having finished his business with the Board of War.

March 22.—John G. E. Heckewelder and John Schebosch arrived from Bethlehem yesterday and this morning delivered their letters to Gen. Gates and Henry Laurens.

March 23.—Passes were given by the Board of War to Heckewelder and Schebosch to proceed to Pittsburgh, and there they are to receive others from Gen. Hand, to enable them to go on to the Muskingum. I was visited by the French Col. Ormond, who offered to deliver letters for me in Bethlehem, through which place he passes on his way to join the army.

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March 25.—While absent from home, a Doctor from the Hospitals and two officers called and presented an order from the Board of War authorizing them to inspect our building for Hospital purposes.

March 29.—Philip Rothrock gave me information with regard to several political occurrences, and the discovery of the designs of the Tories against this town.

April 4.—Visited John Rothrock who I found sick; his father now attends to the printing of the Continental bills.

April 9.—Virginia troops reached the camp here.

April 18.—William Henry, of Lancaster, visited me and brought letters, and an order on Mr. Gibson, Paymaster, for \$100. Continental currency.

April 21.—Visited Riehle's where I addressed the sick soldiers.

April 22.—Fast and Prayer Day. William Henry informed me that it had been proposed to use our building for the drawing of the State Lottery; that he declared it unsuitable for the purpose, and it was abandoned. The Lutheran and Reformed Churches were also mentioned, but when opposed the Court House was selected. Mr. Henry has been appointed armourer of the State.

April 24.—Today Lord North's speech of February 19th, before the House of Commons, with addition of the notes of Congress, and the drafts of two bills pertaining to American affairs, appeared in Hall & Seller's Gazette, published here.

April 27.—Received information from Mr. Cist, that on March 15th, France had declared war against England.

April 30.—Quite a number of troops from the South marched through the town to join Gen. Washington's army.

May 1.—Adam Orth and Christopher Kucker arrived from Lebanon with a letter from the pastor of the congregation to the Board of War, in which he asks for relief, since Major Watkins has filled his church with gunpowder. I advised them to draw up a memorial in the name of the congregation.

May 2.- I accompanied Orth and Kucker to Mr. Morris.

who prepared for them the memorial to the Board of War, and subsequently it was presented to Gen. Gates. Silas Deane called on me. He has just returned, after a passage of thirty two days from France, to report the treaties made by him, and which are to be ratified by Congress. Henry Miller arrived this evening from Bethlehem with letters, describing the condition of affairs in Philadelphia and vicinity.

May 4.—Adam Orth and Kucker received today a reply from the Board of War to their memorial. It was to the effect, that pastor Bader should remain in his house, that the powder would be removed and other stores put in its place.

May 5.—I learned from Mr. Young, Secretary of the Board of War, that the articles of alliance between France and the thirteen united States had yesterday been ratified by Congress. A supplement of Hall & Seller's Gazette of last Saturday appeared yesterday. It gave an account of the important news from France and also the principal articles of the alliance.

May 6.—In the evening the entire town, now the capital of the United States, showed its joy at the alliance made with Louis XVI. of France by illuminations.

May 7.—I visited the family of —— Fichol's, who are on good terms with the member of Congress who lodges with them.

May 11.—John Ettwein and H. Klein arrived from Bethlehem, with a petition to Congress asking that certain portions of the Test Act be made less stringent. They called on Henry Laurens.

May 15.—Adam Orth and Kucker arrived from Lebanon, with a petition to the Board of War, to the effect that the order given by the Board on May 4, had not been obeyed. They were given the following order:

"Major Watkins is directed to permit Mr. Bader to remain until Colonel Flowers examines into the matter. The Board does not wish to distress any person, therefore it is presumed the officers at Lebanon will conduct themselves so as to make everything as convenient as possible

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for the inhabitants, still keeping in view that private advantage must yield to the public service.

"By order of

"WAR OFFICE, May 15, 1778."

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"RICHARD PETERS.

Mr. Reeve with his large family who fled from Philadelphia obtained for them, a part of Berot's house.

May 17.—Ettwein and Klein who received a friendly letter from President Laurens, left for Lancaster to present their memorial to the State Assembly.

May 18.—Several counterfeiters of Congress gold currency were brought here as prisoners.

May 20.—Henry Miller translated into German the "Address of Congress to the States of America," in order that it might be read to the various congregations, as ordered by Congress.

May 22.—A battalion of artillery from North Carolina arrived here *en route* for the army.

May 24.—At the close of the morning service, I read the German translation of the Address of Congress.

May 27.—A man was hung today in the presence of a large crowd of people. Many school children who witnessed the execution from a distance, were warned to shun all evil doing.

May 28.—Michael Hillegas, Treasurer of the United States, made me a pleasant visit.

June 1.—Mr. Claypoole and Snowden called and told me that they would start for Philadelphia as soon as information was received that the British had left that city.

June 2.—Wrote to my brother Augustine, and gave the letter to Mr. Claypoole, who told me of the sad fate of his son in the army.

June 3.—Mr. Cist during his visit to me, reported that a large number of Tories had called on Gen. Washington and requested to be pardoned, but that he had sent them to the Council.

June 12.—I was invited to attend the funeral of Philip Livingston, a delegate to Congress from New York, with other clergymen stationed here. Mr. Duffield, the Presbyterian Chaplain of Congress, delivered an address at the grave. I became acquainted with Mr. Rogers, the Chaplain of the Continental Army, who had a letter for me.

June 13.—This morning Chaplain Rogers called to see me and I showed him through our chapel and house.

June 16.—I was requested to conduct the funeral services of the wife of a soldier who died yesterday. I made an English address at the grave, taking as my text II. Corinthians 5, 15.

June 17.—A part of Col. Hartley's battalion left for Gen. Washington's army, having in charge a number of British prisoners.

June 18.—John Hancock, delegate to Congress from Massachusetts Bay arrived today. The British evacuated Philadelphia, and gave vent to their rage and malevolence by illtreating the American prisoners. This news was brought to me by Mr. Snowden and Nicholas Garrison.

June 23.—Families who had fied from Philadelphia, today began to return.

June 24.—As the remainder of Col. Hartley's battalion is to leave tomorrow, the militia guard has been ordered out.

June 25.—Major Young connected with the Board of War, left today for Philadelphia, and took letters for my friends.

June 27.—Several members of Congress left for Philadelphia, in order to participate in the 4th of July celebration in that city.

June 29.—Mr. Claypoole left for Philadelphia with the Dunlap printing establishment. Refugees fleeing from the border, where the Tories and Indians are depredating, passed through here on their way to Maryland. I wrote to my brother and handed it to Mr. Lanius to deliver, as he is one of the Guard who are to escort Congress to Philadelphia. People who fled to this town and vicinity, still continue to leave for Philadelphia.

July 4.—The anniversary of the Declaration of Independence was celebrated in a very joyful manner.

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July 7.—The troops which arrived here yesterday en route for Pittsburgh, continued their march, after having drawn rations.

July 19.—Today we offered prayers for the needy fugitives from the border, where the Tories and Indians are committing great outrages. Many of them passed through here this week and were indeed objects of pity.

July 20.—The Continental wagons of Treasurer Hillegas left for Philadelphia under guard.

July 21.—A traitor by the name of Lefever, a Menonite, was arrested on the accusation of an English deserter.

August 18.—A part of the York township militia left for the border to protect the inhabitants from the Tories and Indians who have for some time been committing murders and outrages and devastating the country, being instigated by the British.

October 2.—During the past few days, many British prisoners marched through the town from Virginia to join Gen. Clinton.

December 16.—This evening a part of the Convention troops arrived, on their way from New England to Virginia.

December 22.—Large numbers of German and British Convention troops, passed through to the South.

December 24.—Desertions of Convention troops are numerous, owing to the bad treatment of their officers. Some of them attended our service and were very attentive listeners.

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BOUDINOT CORRESPONDENCE.

[Original MSS. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.]

SIR:

FISH KILL 4th Novem^r 1777.

I wrote you the 24 ult^o on my Arrival at Albany the 80th the night before I left it, accompanying three Returns of Prisoners sent off to the Places of their Residence, with a General Return of the three, also a Return of some sick with a Copy of an Exchange that took place by Gen¹ Gates. and a Letter from Mr. Hale, who could not give me an exact account of the sick & wounded, but believed they would come near to 4 or 500, but to this was not certain, on my arrival here the 2nd. I embraced the opportunity of Mr. Smith in writing you a few lines by whom the above Paquet went, which I hope will get safe to your hand and find you quite recovered of your late indisposition. You have now Inclosed two monthly Returns, for Sept^{*} at Peeks-Kill and for October at this Post, the former include the Prisoners ordered on by you with the Addition of two of the 37th Reg' taken at New Bridge Hackensack, the latter were taken in this River together with the Schooner on her return down while the fleet lay at Red Hook.

I was in some expectation of being able to have furnished you with Mr. Lowdon's Paper for this week, but the want of printing paper prevented him Publishing it—to make up this defliciency will add a list our Success in the Norer'd Campaign:

Taken in the whole Six Generals—viz. Lieut Gen¹ Burgoyne; Major Generals Philips, & Riedesel, Brigadiers, Hamilton, Speght & another German whose name I could not learn—

Boudinot Correspondence.

Gen¹ Burgoyne & Staff, among which are Six Members of Par-

liament												12
		. 9.13	•		·		•	•	•	•	•	
British Offic		6 10010	1075	by Ca	apituu	atior	1.	•	•	•	•	2442
Foreigners b	уy				do.	•	•	•		•	•	2198
Canadians, 7	Corie	e &c.,	sent	to C	anada	•	•	•	•	•	•	1100
Sick .	•			•	•			•		•	•	598
Wounded		•		•	•			•			•	528
Prisoners of	War	befo	re th	e Car	oitulat	ion	•	•	•	•	•	400
Deserters ab	out	•	•	•	•					•	•	800
Lost at Benn	ningt	on	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	1220
Killed betwe	en 1	7ª Se	pt ^r a	nd 18	3 th Oct	ober	abou	ıt.	•	•	•	600
Taken at Tic	conde	eroga	•	•	•		•	•	•	•	•	413
Killed at Ge	n' H	erker	mer'	s Bati	tle & s	ıt F.	Schu	ıyler	•	•	•	800
Total		_										10.111
	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	• •	,

37 Brass Cannon, royals, with emplements and Stores compleat 5000 Stand of Arms

400 Sets of Harness; A considerable number of Ammunition waggons 6 field Pieces taken at Bennington

2 ditto & 4 Royals taken at Fort Schuyler.

Gen¹ Schuyler left Albany when he heard the Convention was signd. The British Soldiers behaved with a great deal of haughtiness on the delivery of their Arms, our Troops with much coolness and good Manners as they past by, even not so much as a hiss or wry face, which was more they acknowledged then they would have done.

Gen¹ Schuyler went up to repair his Mills & rebuild his House which Gen¹ Burgoyne had destryd, he met with him in his way down, he made an appoligie for Burning his House & but Gen¹ Schuyler returned him for answer, the satisfaction of seeing him there was a sufficient recompence, and made him an offer to Lodge at his House in Albany the time he staid. Gen¹ Schuyler was not at Albany all the time he was there.

There was a number of the Inhabitants of Albany petitioning Gen¹ Gates while I was there to go to Canada, amongst whom were Parson Munroe of Albany & Parson Doughty of Schenectedy, who was set off. By all accounts the Inhabitants where Gen¹ Burgoyne was with his army will prove better subjects to the States than ever. Major

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Skeene is not Dead as was observed, he is no favourite of Burgoynes by all accounts—he wanted to come down to Albany but Gen¹ Gates turned him about at Still Water.

We learn here that Gen¹ Clinton left New York last Saturday the 1st Inst. with a Reinforcement for Gen¹ Howe of 6000 men. I hope our Troops which has gone on will be there as soon as he. By a Gentleman that was at the Bridge with a flage, he says they look very much down & keep up their Spirits with the arrival 30 or 34,000 Russians.

I heard flour brought in New Six Pound hard Cash pr Barrell, by a Gentleman that came out from there lately; thy now ask here 60/ per C. and hard to be got. Gen¹ Putnam talks of leaving this and going nearer the Lines.

I remain with Respect Sir Your Most Obed^{*} Hbl Serv^{*}

JOHN ADAM D. C. of Prisoners.

P.S.—Gen' Parsons has taken 50 Tories at East & West Chester, amongst whom is that infamous Capt. Tribbet & Huston, who style themselves free-booters, alias Horse & Cow Stellers. Governor Clinton has ordered me to wait on him on Sunday at New Windsor—as far as I can learn it is relating to Prisoners that were taken at Forts Montgomery & Clinton.

Nov^r 7th

ELIAS BOUDINOT Esq^r.

PHILADELPHIA March 24 1783

SIR:

I am happy in having an opportunity by an Express Messenger despatched on the most benevolent & joyous occasion, of acknowledging the receit of your Letter of the 19th Inst.

My friendship for Lord Drummond and an attachment to his Interests & that of his family, neither ceased with a difference in our political Sentiments, or his untimely departure from this troublesome World. I have tho' with some difficulty preserved his Estate from Confiscation, an Inquisition having been found of him. It has also been

Boudinot Correspondence.

attempted to draw me off from his support, by the friends of the Melfort family, but I hope I have even extinguished their Hopes from this Claim, as I verily believe it is not founded in Justice. It will be prudent before you go to England, to leave for me all the Papers you have, as also some Acc^t of the present State of the family, that I may not be imposed on by intruders.

I have the honor to congratulate you Sir on a general Peace between all the belligirent Powers in Europe, and that we are once more friends. This happy event was announced yesterday, by Letters I recd from the Marquis Lafayette, as also by the Compte Estaing, by an Express Boat sent for that Purpose. A Copy of the Compte's Passport in the Business on which this Express is sent, which will also announce this happy Event to his Exclly. Gen¹ Carleton.

I have the honor to be with great respect, Sir, Your very Hbl. Serv⁴.

ELIAS BOUDINOT.

The Honble JAMES ROBINSON Esq.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF JOHN PARRISH, 1773.

[The following "Extracta," as they are termed in the MS. before me, "from John Parrish's Journal of a Visit performed to the Western Indians in Company with Zebulon Heston & Jn[•] Lacey Anno 1773. in about 2 months," are evidently not given *verbatim*, as the use of the third for the first person shows; but they are, doubtless, substantially accurate and are not without a certain value.—T. S.]

Set out 7 mo. 9. dined at the Buck & lodg'd at Rob' Valentine's. 10th din'd at Miller's and lodged at Lancaster where staid at Meeting the next Day. 12th Crossed Susquehanna in the Evening & lodg'd at Tobias Hendrick's, (I suppose at Carlisle). 13th lodg'd at Shippensburgh at one Ripples. 14, reach'd the Blue Mountains at about 11 oclk —rough travelling yet pleasant.

15th lodg'd at Fort Littleton. 16th Travelled thro' a rough and mountainous country & lodged at Fort Bedford at Fredth Naglee's (good Entertainment). 17th Crossed Laurel Hill thro' better Roads & lodg'd at a private House, one Lawrence Erwin's. 18th In the Evening reach'd Pittsburgh in good Health, having been treated with remarkable Civility by the People hitherto. Put up at one Sample's. They reached Pittsburgh in 10 days; not being hindered an Hour in the whole Journey.

The 19th they rested, got their Cloaths washed & sent 18 miles down the Ohio for a Guide to New-Comer's Town, one living so far on the way to that place & intending to set out next morn⁴, but to their surprize he came into Pittsburgh that morning, his Life being threatened by an Indian man named Jn⁶ Logan, whom White Eyes & Cohursater went to appease, by water, leaving them to the care of an Indian Guide who took them by Land near to John Logan's Camp, which under conduct of another Indian they avoided by going round thro' the Woods, & swam

444 Extracts from the Journal of John Parrish, 1773.

their Horses over the Ohio to John Gibbons' y. Trader, where they were kindly & freely entertain'd. Here they staid 4th Day 21st and Logan being pacified they set out y 22⁴ accompanied by White Eyes & John Gibson, the former agree^s to go with them least they should be under any apprehensions of Danger. Rode 9 or 10 miles down the Ohio to Beaver Creek's Mouth where Jnº Logan had his Cabbin. Here along the River were several Cottages & a fine Bottom. Cross'd Beaver Creek & twin'd more Westward, thro but indifferent Land & lodg'd in a low Place for the sake of the Water. 28^d saw a few Indians on their way (Lands hardly fit for Cultivation) & lodg'd at a Bark Shelter. 24. Gibbons & White Eyes went on & they staid at a Moravian Town (12 miles short of New Comers Town) where they were kindly entertained. 25, made them full satisfaction & went on, got to the Town about 1 o'clock being met by Cap' Kilbuck who seem'd pleas'd, & were conducted to the King's Palace. He express'd Joy in his Countenance & told them by an Interpreter that "He had a sense of that Love which subsisted between our Forefathers," which was evidently to be felt.

Then they were conducted to a House prepar'd for them, & staid y° 26 & 27 waiting for an Interpreter, visited by several particularly Tho' McKee the King's Brother who enquir'd kindly after his 2 friends Is: Pemberton & Isaac Zane & gave them a hearty welcome. They were kindly entertained, the Women daily bringing them the best Provisions the Town afforded.

28. The Day appointed for a Council, Cap' Kilbuck waited on them & told them they were ready to hear them. John, after a short Introduction, read the Certificates & Epistle from Friends... when the Meeting ended they withdrew, & left the Indians in Council. After some time they were sent for & Cap' White Eyes spoke by a Belt, & said "That was the Delawares' writing." He express'd much Joy in seeing some of their Brothers, the Quakers, & believed what had been said to be right—that they had receiv'd offers of Religion many Times but would not accept them til they had seen their Brothers the Quakers & heard what they would say to them . . . said they were weak & poor and not able to judge for themselves, & when they thought of their Children it made them sorry, hop'd the Friends would instruct them in the right Way for their Good both in this & the World to come, & that they should be strengthened to abide by what they had heard. He then delivered a Belt as a Confirmation of what he had said.

29. Cap' White Eyes & J. Gibbons set off for the Shawanee Town. At 12 o'clock a Meeting was appointed. . . . The Indians declared their Intention of going to England &. After Dinner the King & several of his Council came to see them at their Quarters. One of the Council undertook to read the Belt so that it might be taken in writing, but fell short of what had been said the Day before. 30th They visited several small Settlements & were kindly entertained. 81. They wash'd their Cloaths & fished a little. . . .

8 mo. 2⁴ dined with White Eyes, where their Speech being read over to them, they pointed out some Omissions, which were added, & it was read over again before the King & 4 Counsellors who approv'd it.

3⁴ Set off homeward, dined at Connodenhead, went to the Upper Moravian Town, staid all night, saw the Indians & their Teachers. A Number of them sent their Love to Friends, in Philad. 4th went back to the Lower Town. where White Eyes & Tho' McKee came to accompany us to Pittsburgh. After dinner put forward about 15 miles & rested comfortably at a fine Spring after taking a dish of 5th Rode about 30 miles thro' a very poor Soil with coffee. little Water-slept in the Woods. 6th John's Beast failed. & the others left him-he at length turn'd her loose & follow'd the Company with his Saddle, Bridle, Bags & Blanket on his Back, overtaking them they got to Jn^o Logan's on Beaver Creek, the prospect gloomy he being expected home drunk, his Mother & Sister were however civil & got them some supper. 7. John went back 7 miles on a hired Beast & bro' in his tired mare to Logan's-got to John Gibson's-(swam their horses over y. Ohio oppo446 Extracts from the Journal of John Parrish, 1773.

site Logstown). 1st Day (the 8th) rested all Day. 9th pass'd along the English Shore to Captain McKee's, it raining hard & they much wet, treated kindly & stay'd all night. John chang'd his Beast. 10th rode on 4 miles to Pittsburgh where 11th they had an appointed Meeting, at which the most reputable People attended & it was favour'd. Afternoon went to see the Coal Quarry. Spent some Time with the Indians, of whom Cap' White Eyes, Tho' McKee & Delemson, all men of Note, were then there. 12th Left Pittsburgh to visit some Friends in the new Settlement about Redstone (Governor of Virginia just arriv'd at Pittsburgh)-went down the Monaungahela about 6 miles & forded; went to one Francis Fisher's a Friend who receiv'd them kindly-had a large Family of Children. 13. Had a Meeting with his & 3 other Families. 14. Cross'd the same Fording Place back into Braddock's Road & pass'd thro' the Field of Battle (the Bones yet in Sight)-travell'd down the Road about 30 miles from Pittsburgh, put up at McDole's a Presbyterian, a private House. 1" Day yº 15" stay'd all day. 16 Turned back 8 miles into the Redstone Road & in about 10 miles riding came into a small Settlement of Friends, between the two Sewickillys; & not far from Yohageni are settled Joseph Blackburn, W" Read. Simeon McGraw, Anthony Blackburn, Dan¹ Hammond, James . . . Jo' Bedsworth . . . Gilbert. Had a heavenly Meeting the 17th at Jos: Blackburn's about 30 or 40 Persons being present, mostly promising Youth, went towards the upper End of Redstone & lodg'd with Daniel Hammond. 18th cross'd the 2 Redstone Creeks along by the Fort (hilly fertile Lands) & got to Josias Crawford's where were kindly receiv'd, and next Day by him accompanied to his Brother James's. 20 had a meeting in a School House which was full solid & satisfactory. 21. Rested. 22, Had a meeting with about 100 Persons many pretty Youth among them. James has 10 children. Barnebas McKee, Tho' Gregg. Nathan Brown & Tho' Bishop appear to be solid Friends. 23, went forw^d dined at Tho^s Greg's & lodg'd at Jacob Beason's. 24 Staid all Day & had a good Meet^s at his

House, with several Professors & other friendly People. 25, Came to the Foot of Laurel Hill (3 miles long) & after 10 or 12 miles riding came to the Junction of the Redstone & Pittsburgh Roads a little below Dunbar's Destructionpass'd over Braddock's Grave soon after-bated near y^e Great Meadows-lodg'd at Moore's Ordinary on the Floor in our Blankets. 26th Started soon found the Roads very stony and muddy, dined at Thomlinson's Tavern & afterwards rode 10 miles to Tittle's-were wet & cold as it frequently is in passing these mountains-the Road this Day very bad. 27th Left Tittle's, met great Numbers of People going to the new Country. Cross'd the North Branch of Potowmack into Virginia-lodg'd at Reynolds' Tavern. 28, Cross'd the South Branch in a Canoe swimming the Horses, & reach'd to Jesse Pugh's in the Evening where they were kindly entertained. 29. Went to Back Creek Meeting which was a good one. Z. H. appear'd in Testimony as did also Sidney Wright, and . . . Mendinghall concluded in Supplication; dined at Jesse Pugh's & lodg'd at John Lupton's. I. Lacey left them here & went forward to Fairfax. 30 P.M. John Lupton went wth J. P. to I. Zane's Iron Works. 31, were at a Meeting held in Course at Rich^d Fosset's House-lodg'd at David Brown's. 9 mo: 1st we went to Crooked Run, accompanied by D. B's Wife, it was their Preparative Meeting-dined at Robert Hames's & return'd to David Brown's. 2^d Were at Hopewell Week Day Meeting, a good Meeting. Zebulon, Sidney Wright & Eneas Huse appear'd. Zebulon went to dine with Sam¹ Pickering & I with Widow Jolliff-return'd back thro' Winchester with Isaac Zane to the Iron Works where met with his kind Mother & Sister. The Works, Farms & compleater than any J. P. had seen. Land good and Provision low. 4th of 9 mo: return'd to his Companion at S. Pickering's, who accompanied them to Rich⁴ Ridgeway's. 5th Went forward to . . . Meeting, & afterwards went home with Edw^d Beason. 6th Lewis Walker went with them Part of the way to Edw^d Crawford's near the Foot of the Ridge. 7th Cross'd the Mountain at Black's Gap & got in

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the Evening to Abbot Town, lodg'd at Dunkin's Tavern. 8th By noon got to York where remain'd at W. Matthews. 9th John Lacey rejoin'd them—got to I. Whitelock's at Lancaster. 10th Dined at the Ship.

Memorandum. In Clapham Bottom lives Jos: Bedsolt —near Fort Ligonier live Solomon Shepherd & his Brother John. Caleb Powell from N. York late from York County. Ja[•] McGrew mar⁴ out. At Laurel Hill Settlement at the Head of Redstone, Manallin Township, live Jacob Beason, Henry Beason, W⁼ Cammell.

The addition which White Eyes & desired might be made to the Belt Speech mention'd in the preceding Journal, was

"We think that as we two Brothers the Delawares & the Quakers were brought up together, it is our Saviour's Mind they should be of one Religion. Now you have come & open'd the Road, we expect to see the way from Town to Town over to the great King. Then our King will see us that we the Quakers & Delawares make one Man and one Religion."

RECORDS OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA. BAPTISMS, 1709–1760.

BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

(Continued from page 370.)

1738 Oct. 4 Hopkinson Elizabeth d. Thomas and Mary 5 wks.
1740 May 7 Jane d. Thomas and Mary 5 wks.
1741 July 81 Mary d. Thomas and Mary 8 wks 5 dys.
1742 Nov. 11 Mary d. James and Mary 5 wks.
1745 Dec. 21 Anne d. Thomas and Mary Nov. 23 1745
1747 Oct. 17 Thomas s. Thomas and Mary Sept. 7 1747
1749 Aug. 28 Margret d. Thomas and Mary July 21 1749
1734 Oct. 18 Hopper John s. Cornelius and Anne 7 wks.
1731 Mch. 5 Horidge James s. Richard and Susannah 17 mos.
1742 July 13 Horner Sarah d. Thomas and — 1 yr.
1735 July 24 Horton Margaret d. Nicholas and Hannah 5 yrs 4 mos.
1736 Feb. 16 William s. Nicholas and Hannah 3 mos.
1728 Oct. 9 Hoskins Joseph s. Benjamin and Sarah 1 wk.
1735 June 18 Benjamin s. Benjamin and Mary 6 dys.
1760 Nov. 2 House Elizabeth d. Samuel and Mary Sept. 18 1751
1760 Nov. 2 George s. Samuel and Mary Dec. 12 17-
1760 Nov. 2 Samuel s. Samuel and Mary April 25 17-
1760 Nov. 2 Joseph s. Samuel and Mary May 10 17-
1729 Jan. 8 Howard Grace d. Thomas and Grace 8 yrs.
1731 Mch. 30 John s. Thomas and Grace 3 yrs.
1731 Mch. 30 Grace d. Thomas and Grace 1 yr. 6 mos.
1784 Feb. 14 Joannah d. Thomas and Grace 2 yrs. 4 mos.
1734 Feb. 14 Grace d. Thomas and Grace, 3 mos. 2 wks.
1738 Mch. 25 Frances d. Francis and Elizabeth 6 mos.
1738 June 7 Mary d. Thomas and Grace March 11 1785
1738 June 7 Sarah d. Thomas and Grace March 18 1738
1740 Mch. 15 Samuel s. Francis and Elizabeth 9 mos.
1751 Mch. 17 Grace d. John and Grace Oct. 4 1750
1760 Jan. 11 Sarah d. John and Sarah Feb. 4 1758
1760 Aug. 25 Elizabeth d. John and Sarah July 30 1760
1732 Mch. 8 Howel John s. Richard and Letitia 8 wks.
1738 April 26 Elizabeth d. Richard and Letitia 3 wks.
1729 April 7 Howell Elizabeth d. Edward and Mary 2 wks.
1729 Oct. 5 Clark s. John and Martha 6 dys.
1730 April 12 William s. Joseph and Amy 4 hours
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1788 Oct. 31 Howell Joseph s. William and Martha 5 wks. 1734 June 24 Mary d. Richard and Letitia 2 wks. 1785 May 28 Mary d. William and Martha 15 wks. 1728 Nov. 8 Howgate Anne d. Jonathan and Elizabeth 4 wks. 1738 Aug. 9 Samuel s. Jonathan and Elizabeth 2 yrs. 1730 April 19 Hows Jemima d. John and Anne 9 wks. 1743 July 28 Hoy John s. John and Elizabeth 16 dys. 1712 April 13 Hubbard Enoch s. John and Mary 7 dys. 1715 Mch. 10 Thomas s. John and Mary 3 dys. 1726 Sept. 14 Huddle Mary d. Joseph and Elizabeth May 9 1781 Mch. 5 Frances d. Joseph and Elizabeth 8 yrs. 2 mos. 1731 Mch. 5 Elizabeth d. Joseph and Elizabeth 1 yr. 9 dys. 1741 Nov. 26 Rachel d. John and Elizabeth 1 yr. 10 dys. 1758 Dec. Joseph s. John and Annabell Nov. 30 1755 3 1758 Dec. 8 John s. John and Annabell May 4 1758 1758 Dec. Elizabeth d. John and Annabell May 4 1758 8 1712 June 12 Hugg Ann d. William and Mary 1 mo. 1709 June 26 Hughes Ann d. Hugh and Sarah 1 mo. 1751 Jan. 18 Catharine d. John and Sarah June 29 1750 1751 Dec. 29 James s. John and Sarah Nov. 29 1751 Hughs John s. Hugh and Sarah 3 wks. 8 dys. 1711 Aug. 1 1711 Sept. 1 Joan d. John and Margaret 4 wks. 1729 June John s. John and Ann 4 Koath s. Walter and Anne 2 mos. 1731 Mch. 2 1739 Sept. 21 Daniel s. Bryan and Mary 1 yr. 6 mos. 1750 Jan. 22 Hulings Susannah d. Michael and Susannah Sept. 1 1749 1734 May 17 Hulins Joseph s. Lawrence and Diana 10 wks. Sarah d. Michael and Sarah 3 mos. 9 dys. 1786 April 21 1758 Jan. 21 Hull Sarah d. Anthony and Susannah Sept. 18 1756 1758 Nov. 12 Dyanatha s. Anthony and Sarah June 16 1758 1737 Oct. 9 Hulston Elizabeth d. Christopher and Elinor 1 yr. Humphreys Elias Young s. Thomas and Joanna 43yrs. 1725 Nov. 19 1738 April 13 Thomas s. Thomas and Elizabeth 7 wks. 1742 May 14 Susannah d. James and Susannah 6 wks. 5 dys. 1744 May 27 Rose d. James and Susannah 18 dys. 1746 Sept. 19 Margaret d. James and Susannah Aug, 17 1746 1749 Feb. 15 James s. James and Susannah Jan. 18 1749 1749 July 12 William s. John and Catherine June 2 1749 1752 Dec. 11 Elizabeth d. John and Catherine July 21 1752 1757 April 1 Rebecca d. John and Catherine July 16 1756 1758 Dec. 1 John s. John and Catherine Oct. 7 1758 1755 April 1 Humphrys Nicholas s. John and Catherine October 13 1754 1751 Aug. 23 Hunlock Edward s. Bowman and Susannah, Aug. 13 1751

1730 Feb. 20 Hunt Timothy s. John and Jane 6 mos.



1730 Oct. 28 Hunt John s. John and Catherine 10 wks. 2 dys. 1784 Nov. 22 Ralph s. William and Susannah 9 dys. 1736 Oct. Samuel s. Thomas and Mary 3 mos. 3 1737 Dec. 25 Peter s. Thomas and Mary 10 dys. 1740 Mch. 12 Thomas s. Thomas and Mary 11 mos. 1743 Mch. 27 Edward s. Thomas and Mary 6 mos. 4 dys. 1749 Aug. 20 Sarah d. Roger and Susannah July 21 1749 1755 Mch. 7 Elizabeth d. Thomas and Mary Feb. 13 1755 1734 Feb. Hunter Egerton d. John and Mary 7 dys. 6 1737 Jan. 12 Egerton s. John and Mary 3 mos. 1736 April 14 Huntman John s. John and Susannah 19 yrs. 1758 Mch. 8 Huse Sarah d. ---- and Mary Nov. 14 1756 1738 Nov. 5 Huss Thomas s. Thomas and Elizabeth 6 mos. 1715 Aug. 16 Hust William s. Thomas and Eleanor 1 yr. 9 mos. 1747 Feb. 17 Samuel s. Thomas and Catherine Jan. 26 1747 1737 Jan. 27 Hustice Elizabeth d. Joseph and Mary 2 yrs. 1746 Aug. 9 Huston Robert s. Alexander and Elizabeth -1728 May 29 Hutchins James s. James and Sarah 15 mos. 1731 Sept. 19 Susannah d. Lewis and Mary 14 mos. 1760 Jan. 9 Elizabeth d. Stephen and Ann Oct. 10 1759 1733 July 2 Hutchinson Mary d. William and Sarah 1 mo. John s. William and Alice Jan. 31 1745 1746 Feb. 12 1750 Mch. 3 Hutton James s. James and Mary Feb. 28 1749 Elizabeth d. James and Mary Oct. 11 1751 1751 Nov. 10 1751 June 2 Hyder Elizabeth d. John and Hannah Sept. 13 1736 1751 June 2 Sarah d. John and Hannah March 2 1739 2 John s. John and Hannah June 11 1741 1751 June 1751 June 2 Hannah d. John and Hannah Aug. 22 1748 1751 June 2 Anne d. John and Hannah Nov. 10 1745 Isaac s. John and Hannah July 17 1748 1751 June 2 1751 June 2 Rebekkah d. John and Hannah Oct. 3 1750 1727 May 14 Hyther Sarah d. Thomas and Elizabeth 2 wks. 1709 Sept. 13 Hythor Elizabeth d. Richard and Elizabeth 9 wks. 1743 Mch. 7 Hyzer John s. Charles and Barbara 6 wks. 1736 Sept. 27 Ifland Jacob s. Nicolas and Regina 8 dys. 1728 Nov. 6 Ingle Catherine d. Christopher and Elizabeth 1746 April 13 Ingles Samuel s. John and Catherine Nov. 3 1745 1747 April 17 Catherine d. John and Catherine Dec. 14 1746 1749 Oct. 26 Catherine d. John and Catherine -1737 Sept. 14 Inglis Anne d. John and Catherine 5 wks. 1739 April 23 George s. John and Catherine 2 wks. 1740 Mch. 9 Margaret d. John and Catherine 6 dys. Mary d. John and Catherine 10 wks. 1742 April 30 1744 Sept. 27 John s. John and Catherine March 20 1743 David s. John and Catherine July 10 1744 1744 Sept. 27

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1760 April 8 Inglis Thomas s. John and Elizabeth Oct. 16 1759 1734 Aug. 15 Ingram Charles s. Thomas and Mary 11 dys. 1785 Nov. 25 Thomas s. Archibald and Priscilla 10 dys. 1737 April 29 Anne d. Thomas and Margaret 8 dys. 1739 May 5 James s. Archibald and Priscilla 1 yr. 2 wks. Thomas s. Thomas and Margaret 8 dys. 1739 Nov. 16 1744 June 14 Elizabeth d. Thomas and Margaret 7 dys. 1748 Sept. 8 Abigail d. John and Hannah July 21 1748 1751 June 20 Hannah d. John and Hannah June 16 1751 1783 June 8 Ingrim James s. Thomas and Margaret 10 dys. 1727 Aug. 27 Ingrum Richard s. John and Susannah 1 yr. 8 mos. 1786 Mch. 19 Innes Jane d. Thomas and Elizabeth 5 dys. 1734 April 8 Irvine Elizabeth d. George and Mary 2 wks. 1736 Jan. 15 James s. George and Mary 2 wks. 1739 April 29 Susannah d. George and Mary 2 wks. 1756 Feb. 20 Israel Joseph s. Michael and Mary Dec. 12 1755 1731 Feb. 28 Jackson Elizabeth d. William and Mary 4 mos. 1786 May 23 Edith d. William and Mary 6 wks. 1738 July 31 John s. William and Mary 2 wks. 1740 April 18 John s. William and Mary 4 wks. 1747 Jan. 26 Margaret d. Robert and Margaret Sept. 24 1746 1748 Aug. 21 Elizabeth d. Robert and Margaret Aug. 1 1748 Thomas s. Robert and Mary Nov. 8 1752 1752 Nov. 26 1754 Aug. 7 Joseph s. Robert and Mary July 9 1754 Rachel d. William and Rachel March 29 1756 1756 Mch. 30 1754 Nov. 17 Jacobs Richard s. Thomas and Susannah Nov. 7 1758 1723 Mch. 20 Jameson John s. William and Sarah 1723 Mch. 20 William s. William and Sarah 1721 Feb. 10 Jarwood Sarah d. John and Hannah July 19 1720 1760 July 26 Jefferys Mary d. Edmund and Sarah Jan. 26 1760 1731 Sept. 9 Jenkins Sarah d. Benjamin and Elizabeth 6 mos. 9 dys. Richard s. Benjamin and Elizabeth 18 mos. 4 dys. 1741 Aug. 9 1755 Aug. 5 Jennings Michael s. John and Mary July 15 1755 1757 Dec. 12 Perry s. John and Jane Nov. 10 1757 1736 Nov. 25 Jewel Robert s. Robert and Sarah 3 mos. Anne d. Robert and Sarah 9 wks. 1738 Oct. 19 1740 May 29 Jewell Joseph s. Robert and Sarah 9 wks. 1720 Dec. 23 Jobbing Hannah d. Thomas and Ann -Elizabeth d. Thomas and Ann -1728 Jan. 20 1713 Aug. 2 Jobson Michael s. Michael and Mary 8 yrs. 1760 July 28 James s. Samuel and Ann May 26 1760 1737 Dec. 16 Johns Thomas s. Thomas and Jane 8 dys. 1724 April 5 Johnson Sarah d. John and Sarah -1729 Jan. 26 Joseph 21 yrs.

1729 Feb. 14 Joseph s. Joseph and Elizabeth 3 wks.



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1729 Nov. 23 Johnson Joseph s. John and Mary 5 wks. 1730 April 30 Henry s. Henry and Jane 6 wks. 1730 Nov. 22 Ann d. John and Mary 16 dys. 1730 Nov. 22 Elizabeth d. William and Mary 2 wks. John s. John and Rebecca 7 mos. 1731 Nov. 4 1732 Dec. 29 Elizabeth d. John and Mary 3 wks. 1733 Mch. 23 Mary d. William and Mary 3 mos. Susannah d. John and Rebecca 1 dy. 1784 April 6 1785 Jan. Mary d. John and Mary 6 wks. 1 1736 Dec. 26 William s. John and Mary 5 mos. Catherine d. James and Mary 10 dys. 1739 July 29 James s. John and Mary 1 yr. 4 mos. 1739 Aug. 6 1741 Mch. 30 Elenor d. Hugh and Margaret 1 mo. 1743 Feb. Margret d. Hugh and Margaret 2 wks. 4 dys. 6 Samuel s. Collin and Eloner 28 dys. 1744 Jan. 2 1745 Oct. 22 James s. Margaret widow Aug. 28 1745 1752 June 6 John s. Samuel and Sarah Dec. 14 1750 Anne d. Samuel and Sarah May 1 1752 1752 June 6 1755 May 30 Samuel s. Samuel and Sarah Dec. 27 1754 1756 Aug. 28 Charles s. Patrick and Frances July 25 1756 1758 Nov. 24 Ann d. James and Ann Nov. 5 1758 1758 Nov. 24 Mary d. James and Ann Nov. 5 1758 Sarah d. James and Deborah July 3 1759 1759 Aug. 11 John s. John and Margaret Nov. 24 1760 1760 Dec. 13 1747 May 22 Johnston Elinor d. Collin and Elinor April 19 1747 1751 Mch. 24 Elizabeth d. John and Catherine Jan. 12 1750 1751 Sept. 26 Thomas Gregory s. Andrew and Elizabeth Sept. 5,1751 1752 Mch. 24 Collin s. John and Jane Feb. 29 1752 1754 Jan. 25 Elizabeth d. Samuel and Sarah Jan. 9 1754 1757 July 17 Charles s. Samuel and Deborah June 1 1757 1758 April 16 Letitia d. John and Magdalen April 14 1758 1760 Nov. 2 Mary d. John and Rebecca Oct. 6 1760 1738 July 23 Jollings Elizabeth d. John and Elizabeth 1 yr. 6 mos. 1710 Mch. 5 Jones Richard Henry s. Samuel and Mary 3 wks. 1712 July 6 1715 Aug. 16 Thomas s. Thomas and Sarah 3 mos. 1717 May 20 Martha d. Thomas and Sarah 1 yr. 3 mos. 18 dys. 1717 June 4 Sarah d. John and Ann -1722 Dec. 12 Susannah d. Gibbs and Jane 1726 July 21 Blaithwait d. Gibbs and Jane 3 mos. 1727 April 24 Ann d. Daniel and Dorothy 8 dys. 1728 July 26 Somerset s. Francis and Mary 3 mos. 1729 Sept. 8 Sarah d. John and Mary 1 yr. 6 mos. 1730 Dec. 20 Daniel s. William and Mary 1 mo. 1731 Feb. 10 Dickinson s. Francis and Mary 10 dys.

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1731 Mch. 16 Jones David s. John and Mary 13 yrs. 4 mos. 1731 Sept. 4 John s. Humphry and Jane 1 wk. 1781 Nov. 17 Elizabeth s. Humphrey and Ann 4 mos. 3 wks. 1783 Mch. 18 Mary d. Griffith and Catherine 20 wks. 1783 Mch. 28 William s. John and Elizabeth 3 wks. 4 dys. 1733 April 18 Alice d. William and Hannah 3 wks. 1734 Dec. 25 Elizabeth d. Rachel 4 mos. 1735 Feb. 2 John s. Griffith and Elizabeth 3 mos. 1785 Mch. 4 Rebecca d. John and Elizabeth 1 mo. Isaac s. William and Mary 3 wks. 1785 Sept. 21 Ellis s. Griffith and Catherine 5 wks. 1785 Dec. 14 1736 Mch. 6 Elizabeth d. John and Elizabeth 1 mo. 1736 May 23 Margaret d. Hugh and Mary 4 mo. John s. Thomas and Jane 9 dys. 1786 Aug. 81 1737 May 28 Anne d. Roger and Elizabeth 1 yr. 5 mos. 1787 Dec. 3 Phœbe d. John and Elizabeth 1 mo. Rebecca d. William and Mary 2 wks. 4 dys. 1739 July 25 Dorothy d. Daniel and Anne 10 wks. 1740 Jan. 6 1740 April 13 Joseph s. John and Elizabeth 2 dys. 1741 Oct. Sarah d. John and Ann 5 mos. 2 dys. 5 1741 Dec. 25 Thomas s. Thomas and Mary 1 mo. Elizabeth d. John and Elizabeth 6 mos. 13 dys. 1748 Oct. 2 1744 Jan. 1 Stephen s. John and Ann 1 yr. 2 mos. 4 dys. 1744 June 18 Thomas s. John and Sarah 19 dys. John s. John and Mary June 15 1747 1747 July 12 1747 July 28 Moses s. John and Anne June 30 1747 1747 Dec. 2 John s. John and Anne Jan. 2 1747 1748 June 6 Gibo s. Blaithwaite and Jane March 5 1748 1751 Mch. 31 Samuel s. Patrick and Anne June 14 1750 Isaac s. John and Mary April 9 1752 1752 May 24 1758 April 2 Elizabeth d. Isaac and Mary Sept. 8 1757 1759 Oct. 14 Thomas s. Isaac and Mary Dec. 20 1758 1736 Sept. 8 Joquiler Albertus s. Henry and Anne 2 wks. 1712 Sept. 28 Jorton Mercy d. William and Mary 8 dys. 1747 Mch. 21 Josiah Margaret d. Emanuel and Anne Feb. 25 1747 1749 June 30 Robert s. Edward and Anne June 9 1749 1751 Oct. 6 James s. Samuel and Anne Sept. 8 1751 Elizabeth d. Emanuel and Anne July 22 1753 1753 Aug. 19 1756 June 27 Lidia d. Emanuel and Anne Jan. 1 1756 1742 June 16 Justice Rebecca d. Maurice and Sarah 17 mos. James s. John and Mary Jan. 24 1747. 1747 Feb. 15 1726 Oct. 19 Kane Sarah d. Abel and Anne Aug. 23 1745 July 22 Karns Robert s. Robert and Lucretia Sept. 8 1740 1739 Oct. 10 Karr John s. John and Sarah 7 mos.

1754 June 28 Katter Elizabeth d. Alexander and Elizabeth Feb. 28 1754



1756 Jan. 18 Katter Catherine d. Alexander and Elizabeth Dec. 28 1755 1749 Mch. 12 Kean Lynam s. John and Ann Jan. 17 1749 1750 Aug. 29 James s. James and Jane April 12 1750 1737 Jan. 18 Keapock John s. James and Elizabeth 3 dys. 1748 Dec. 25 Keappock Mary d. James and Elizabeth 6 dys. 1734 Feb. 18 Keappoke Anne d. James and Elizabeth 7 dys. 1757 Nov. 9 Kearny James s. Edmund and Rebecca Sept. 14 1757 1756 Nov. 17 Keen William s. William and Ann May 23 1756 1759 Dec. 9 Keene Mary d. William and Ann Dec. 28 1757 1759 Dec. Peter s. William and Ann Aug. 31 1759 9 1760 Oct. 6 Grace d. William and Cornelia Sept. 12 1760 1741 Aug. 30 Kees Mary d. Richard and Mary 10 mos. 3 dys. 1745 May 26 Keimer David s. James and Elizabeth May 29 1744 1717 June 19 Keith James s. William born at sea May 10 1753 Dec. 27 William s. Cornelius and Elizabeth Nov. 28 1753 1787 July 20 Kells Francis s. James and Susannah 4 mos. 1737 April 24 Kelly John s. John and Rebecca 1 wk. 1748 Jan. 14 William s. William and Susannah Oct. 30 1747 Ann d. Patrick and Ann May 14 1756 1756 Aug. 7 1756 Aug. 16 Ann d. Patrick and Mary May 24 1756 1758 Nov. 24 Sarah d. Patrick and Mary March 9 1758 1728 May 3 Kempster Joseph s. Jonathan and Jane 3 mos. 1711 Feb. 11 Kendall Richard s. William and Sarah 8 mos. 1717 May 17 John s. Robert and Mary 1 yr. 6 mos. 1717 May 17 George s. Robert and Mary 6 wks. Rowland s. Rowland and Jane 6 yrs. 10 mos. 15 dys. 1743 Aug. 4 1743 Aug. 4 Edward s. Rowland and Jane 4 yrs. 6 mos. 13 dys. James s. Rowland and Jane 2 yrs. 5 mos. 9 dys. 1743 Aug. 4 1743 Aug. 4 Henry s. Rowland and Jane 2 mos. 4 dys. 1757 Sept. 27 Kenny Joseph s. Joseph and Rebecca Aug. 9 1757 William s. Joseph and Rachel Dec. 24 1758 1759 April 6 1746 Dec. 25 Kent Samuel s. William and Sarah May 28 1784 1717 Aug. 10 Kerney Edmund s. Philip and Rebecca 4 dys. 1720 Oct. 3 Key Elizabeth d. Richard and Margaret 1749 Jan. 22 Joseph s. Andrew and Deborah Nov. 23 1748 1736 Jan. 15 Kidder Agnes d. William and Agnes 3 wks. 1736 April 8 Kidman Elizabeth d. Anthony and Elizabeth 4 mos. Elizabeth d. Anthony and Elizabeth 3 wks. 1737 Aug. 16 1714 Oct. 10 Kienholff George s. Casper and Sarah 2 wks. Sarah d. Casper and Sarah 3 yrs. 1714 Oct. 10 2 Kighley Charles Cunningham s. Hugh Basill and Mary 1785 Oct. 5 wks. 1748 Feb. 2 Kilby Mary d. Samuel and Margret Jan. 19 1747 1759 Oct. 14 Killinger Jacob s. George and Judith Oct. 9 1759

1750 June 28 Kinch William s. Thomas and Mary July 2 1749

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1711 Dec. 27 King John s. Thomas and Rebekah -1714 April 25 Esther d. Stephen 1 wk. 1720 Aug. 2 Charles s. Thomas and Rebecca -1726 April 18 Charles s. Thomas and Mary March 25 1729 Mch. 4 Sarah d. William and Mary 9 wks. 1738 April 21 Rebecca d. William and Anne 7 wks. 1734 Feb. 17 Christopher s. Philip and Catharine 2 wks. 1741 Nov. 29 Ann d. Samuel and Ann 2 wks. 1 dy. 1745 Oct. 22 Samuel s. Samuel and Anne July 27 1745 1748 Oct. John s. Samuel and Anne July 4 1748 9 1720 Nov. 20 Kingston Thomas s. Thomas and Ann Nov. 15 1749 Dec. 31 Kirdel Catherine d. James and Elizabeth July 30 1742 1731 Nov. 2 Kirk John s. Thomas and Isabella 11 mos. 1786 Feb. 9 Elizabeth d. Thomas and Isabella 10 hours John s. Samuel and Margaret 8 dys. 1736 Feb. 12 1737 April 4 John s. Samuel and Margaret 8 dys. Mary d. William and Elinor March 21 1748 1748 April 17 1729 Nov. 16 Kirten John s. Edward and Catherine 10 wks. 1728 Nov. 25 Kitchen Ann 28 yrs. 1723 Nov. 21 Kleinhoof William s. Casper and Sarah 24 dys. 1742 Nov. 10 Knapton William s. William and Ann 1 mo. 5 dys. 1715 Sept. 25 Knight Mary d. William and Eliza 2 yrs. 6 mos. 1733 Dec. 16 John s. Thomas and Margaret 2 wks. 1755 May 21 Knoles Catherine d. John and Mary Nov. 17 1751 1755 May 21 Sarah d. John and Mary Nov. 26 1753 1757 Sept. 25 Sarah d. John and Mary Jan. 8 1757 1717 June 23 Knowles Joseph s. John and Ann 1 wk. 1745 Aug. 25 John s. John and Mary Aug. 17 1745 John s. John and Mary July 28 1746 1746 Aug. 29 1748 April 18 Mary d. John and Mary March 12 1748 Elizabeth d. John and Mary Dec. 28 1749 1750 April 22 1751 June 22 William s. David and Mary Nov. 10 1750

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

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THE WELSH TRACT PURCHASES .--- The following is a copy from an original paper endorsed "Rich⁴ Davies Purchase & Alienation of 5000 acres ? Rowle Ellis," in the collection of the Historical Society of Penn-

sylvania: "Richard Davis's purchases 5000 acres as by the originall deed doth apeer, sold & subdivided to ye severall purchasers hereafter named.

Names first purchasers in England :

"To Rowland Ellis, 1100 acres, as by deed apears, whereof, 600 is taken up & setled att Merion; 483 acres att Goshen in ye Welch tract laid out & both entered in y^e Survey^r Generall's Office ; 17 acres Lyberty land.

"To John Roberts, 150 acres, taken up in the Township of Merion, & in's own possession.

"To Richard Humphrey, 156] acres, taken up in ye Township of Radnor-he died, John Humphrey's Executor, did assign right thereto William Tho

"To Evan Jno. William, 156] acres, laid out Goshen in ye Welch Tract-he died by's will bequeathed the same to Evan ab William, by's will bequeathed ye same to's son *Philip Evan*, it being laid out (as by patent doth apear) in ye Welch tract—ye s⁴ Philip died without issue—

brother David Evan possess ye same. "To Lewis Owen, Rowland Owen, Ellis Manrit, Ellis Pugh, 625 acres, sold to Thomas Ellis their title & interest therein—ye sd quantity was taken up together in Merion-he dec'd, Executor's sold y' same to Joh : William.

"To James Price, 300 acres, he sold same to David Price, ye sd David

to Henry Rees, the present possessor thereof—in ye Township of Radnor. "To John Evans, 350 acres—out of's said tract he sold 100 acres to John German now deceased—his widow in possession. Another p⁴ thereof he sold vizt. 100 to John Roberts, the sd John sold the same to John Morgan, who has it in possession—the remaining p⁴ y⁹ s⁴ John Evans hath in's possession all in Radnor.

"To Richard Corn, 50 acres, deceased, his son William Corn convey'd's right therein to John Evans as by deeds doth apear, & being posses'd thereof, lying in Radnor.

"To Edward Jones, 250 acres, one James Morgan purchased's right to y[•] s^d quantity. Late deceased's son & heir John Morgan now possessor. "To Ellis Jones, 100 acres, he assigning's right & title therin to William David, the said William to John Morgan the possessor thereof. "To Barry Kurken 950 acres he colling one meatr thereof with 125

"To Roger Hughes, 250 acres the selling one mostly thereof, vizt. 125 acres to Tho. Parry the s⁴ Parry assigning over's right to Richard Moore, y[•] other half y[•] s⁴ Roger sold to David Merdith [torn] now in his possession.

"To Richard Cook, 100 acres, taken up for him in Radnor.

" To John Lloyd, 100 acres, laid out for him likewise.

"To David James, 100 acres, deceased-his daughter Mary James

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Executrix of y° s^d father sold y° title & interest therin to Stephen ab Evan, present possessor.

"To Margaret James, 200 acres, Samuel James in right of's wife the said Margaret possesseth y' same. "To Richard Miles, 100 acres, settles theron.

"To Thomas Jones, by his heirs the title therof was made to William Davies the possessor.

To Evan Oliver, 200 acres, deceased, his heirs sold ye se quantity to ye sd William Davies the possessor.

"To David Kinsey, 100 acres, the Executers of the deceased Kinsey, sold the sd. tract to James James, & y° sd James to Lewis Walker who

possesseth y° same. "To Petter Edwards, 100 acres: he sold's title & interest to Thomas Parry, and the said Parry to Tho. Rees, ye present possessor. "The whole subdivided among

> 5000 : whereof 2656 accers & 1 is laid [•] above named first purchasers in England comes) out in y[•] Township Radnor, the re-

mainder of y° property hath been laid p' in Merrion the rest where the [torn] lives in ye Welch tract.

"Here followeth some acc more of lands taken up in ye said Township part whereof by purchase & part rent land— "David Mredith, 250 acres, purchased as by patent doth appear.

"Samuel Miles, 100 acres, formerly took up att Rent, sometime after paid for as doth appear. "John Evans, 100 acres, took up att rent, in his possession.

"William Davies, 150 acres, formerly took up att Rent. "Stephen ab Evan, 100 acres, hath taken up likewise att Rent: all by orders in Radnor Welch tract."

A JOURNEY TO PITTSBURGH, PA., BY STAGE, 1N 1808.—" On Wednes-day, September 14, 1808, we left Philadelphia in the mail-stage for Pittsburgh, with one through fellow-passenger, Mr. Bell, of Steubenville, Ohio, and two passengers for Lancaster, which city we reached at 5 P.M. After taking in two more passengers the stage drove ten miles farther and brought us to a stopping-place where we had comfortable quarters

for the night. "Thursday, the 15th, we passed through Elizabethtown, Middletown, and Harrisburg. We crossed the Susquehanna in twenty minutes. After a ride over excellent roads, which led through Carlisle and Shippensburg, we reached Chambersburg by nightfall.

"Before breakfast on Friday, the 16th, we started on our passage over the first mountain-range. For the next fifteen miles our stage-coach was drawn by six horses over rough and steep roads; it was dark when we reached our quarters for the night. "We started at 3 o'clock Saturday morning, the 17th, and after a six-

miles' ride, crossing the Juniata, reached Bedford. Here we met Mr. and Mrs. Zachary Biggs, of Steubenville, on their wedding journey. They were accompanied by the bride's sister, Miss Wilson, of Chester County. All this day our road lay across the Alleghanies, and we often got down from the stage to foot it, at places where the road was steep in ascent and descent. By 5 P.M. we reached Somerset, where we rested over Sunday.

"Monday, the 19th, we made an early start, and by 5 P.M. reached Greensburg. On the road we met Henry Stauffer, in charge of four wagon-loads of 'store goods' for Pittsburgh merchants. It was court

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week, and the town was crowded. An elephant was on exhibition. Here we were glad to meet our friend Mr. Ross, of Pittsburgh.

"In spite of rain and rough roads we reached Pittsburgh by 5 o'clock Tuesday afternoon, the 20th. It is a lively place, and extensive business and manufacturing are carried on. We visited Mrs. Butler and her daughter, Mrs. Mason, and called on Mrs. Addison's family and took tea at her house."

LANCASTER COUNTY EPITAPHS.—In the cemetery of an old church in Donegal Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, I copied the following inscriptions during the past summer :

"The soul of my mother is gone to Heaven, the triumph above. Exalted to Jesus' throne, and clasped in the arms of his Love. Elizabeth Hunter born 1744, died 1804, aged 60 years."

"Matthew Coleshart, died in defence of his country in 1777."

"Verona Leitzelen geboren in September 1703 gestorben in der feierich von Indianern den 18ten tag von Feby. 1772."

"In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ Be it ever so with you all, Amen." A. P. S.

ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION IN 1769.—The Massachusetts Gazette of Monday, September 4, 1769, contains the following "intelligence" from London:

"The bar, till of late years, has been usually reckoned the school for purity of expression and propriety of pronunciation; but at present nine-tenths of the gentlemen at the bar affect a vicious pronunciation, and vicious in the extreme. Whether they run into this mode merely out of compliment to a particular gentleman on the bench, or whether they think it an improvement upon the English language, it is left to themselves to determine. A gentleman of letters, who about four years ago foresaw and foretold that this vicious pronunciation would be imitated and adopted by many of the young students in law, wrote the I a letter, in which he particularly pointed out the bad effect it would have upon the English language, unless he attempted to correct himself of so horrid and cacophonic a pronunciation. This gentleman then very roundly told the great lawyer that he pronounced the words nature, nacher; odious, ojus; creature, creacher; immediate, immegiate; either, ather, neither, neether; were, wor; squadron, squaydron; induce, injuice; due, jew; virtue, virchew; pleasure, pleaher; measure, meaher; endeavour, engever; inveterate, invecherate; righteous, rycheous; fortune, forchune. About thirty more instances of vicious pronunciation were inserted in the same letter, which was so far from giving a real plesher to this great lawyer, that he had the misforchune to give great umbrage and displesher."

THE FIRST STEAMBOAT LAUNCHED AT PITTSBURGH, 1811.—Among Judge Jasper Yeates's correspondence I observed a letter from him from the Supreme Court-room at Pittsburgh to his wife at Lancaster, Pa., describing a visit he had made to the wharf to look at a steamboat Robert Fulton was building, adding, "you will recollect him as attending school at Lancaster," or something to that effect.

The incident refers to the first steamboat launched on the western

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waters of our State. It was built under the superintendence of Nicholas J. Roosevelt, at Pittsburgh, in the years 1810-11. Chancellor Livingston and Robert Fulton supplied the capital and Roosevelt superintended the building of the boat and the construction of the engine; all equally interested in the undertaking. The cost was in the neighborhood of \$38,000.

In the latter part of September, 1811, the "New Orleans" (the name of the first steamboat that ever navigated the western waters of the United States and changed so wonderfully the business relations of our State and the West) began its voyage to New Orleans. Mr. Roosevelt and his wife were the only passengers. (Mrs. Roosevelt, whose maiden name was La Trobe, of the Baltimore family of La Trobes, died in Skaneateles, New York, March 20, 1878, aged eighty-six years.) Andrew Jack was the pilot.

On the second day after leaving Pittsburgh, the "New Orleans" cast anchor opposite to Cincinnati. The earthquakes of that year accompanied the "New Orleans" far on her way down the Mississippi. She arrived at her destination (New Orleans) on the day before Christmas, 1811, and at once entered regularly into the Natchez trade, running between New Orleans and Natchez, until sunk by striking a snag in the winter of 1814-15. The depot of the Pittsburgh and Connellsville Railroad was afterwards built on the ground where the "New Orleans" was constructed at Pittsburgh.

JOHN BLAIR LINN.

Bellefonte, Pennsylvania.

FIGHER'S "OUTLINES OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY."—The Right Hon. Sir Mountstuart E. Grant Duff, G.C.S.I., president of the Royal Historical Society, London, in the course of his "Presidential Address" (Transactions Royal Historical Society, New Series, Vol. VI. pp. 328, 329), says, "The next question which arises is, to what history must the four or five years after the age of fourteen be chiefly given? First, of course, there must be the general history of the world, read in a somewhat fuller compendium than that which will suffice for the wants of children under fourteen. To find such histories in Germany would present no difficulty, but to find such a history in England is a very different affair.

"I really know of none published in this country; but there is an American book . . . quite sufficient for all practical purposes, by Dr. Fisher, a professor at Yale College, called 'Outlines of Universal History." Quoting from the preface of Dr. Fisher's book, he continues, "This is a high aim, and in justice to Dr. Fisher I must say he has worked up to it. It is very curious and very far from creditable that we in England should be obliged to cross the Atlantic to find a proper book to be used as a Manual of Universal History in our higher schools and colleges; but the very idea of history being one long drama seems to be dead in this country. It will be a good piece of work done if this Society can recall it to life."

ELECTION OF OFFICERS, HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA. —At a stated meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, held on Monday evening, November 14, 1892, Vice-President Charles J. Stillé, LL.D., was elected President, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Brinton Coxe, Esq., and Mr. William S. Baker, Vice-President, to fill the place of Dr. Stillé.

RETURN OF THE SHERIFFS OF THE WESTERN DIVISION OF NEW JERSEY, 1726 AND 1738.—This Return of the Sheriffs of the Five Countys of the Western Division of this Province of New Jersey of the number of the People in each of the said Countys, numbered by Order of his Excellency William Burnet, Esq., the then Governour in the year One thousand Seven hundred Twenty Six—

	WHITES.			ANNO. 1726,		NEGROI	ES AND	OTHER	SLAVE	8.	
	Males above six- teen.	Females above sixteen.	Males under six- teen.	Females under sixteen.	Totall of Whites.	Males above six- teen.	Females above sixteen.	Males under six- teen.	Females under sixteen.	Totall of Negroes and other Slaves.	Totall of both.
Hunterdon Burlington Gloucester Salem Cape May	892 1,080 608 1,060 209	743 983 462 861 156	851 965 526 1,015 148	750 844 529 891 141	3,236 3,782 2,105 3,827 654	43 86 32 52 8	45 63 21 38 5	32 53 24 35 1	21 55 27 25	141 275 104 150 14	3,377 4,039 2,219 3,977 668

Monmouth Souls in all .	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		4,879
Kasex Souls in all	٠	•	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	•	4,230
Middlesex Souls in all . Somerset Souls in all .	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	٠	•	•	•	•	2 971
	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	۰.	
Totall	•	•	•	•	•	•		•	•	•		•	•	•	15,892

The Return of the Sheriffs of the Western Division of New Jersey of the number of the people in each County pursuant to an Order of the Board of Trade in England to the Honble John Hamilton Esq^r Presid: of his Majesty's Council, & Commander in Chief of the province of New Jersey AD 1738

		WH	ITES.		1738.	NEGROES AND OTHER SLAVES.							
	Males above six- teen.	Females above sixteen.	Males under six- tean.	Females under sixteen.	Totall of Whites.	Males above six- teen.	Females above sixteen.	Males under six- teen.	Females under sixteen.	Totall of Negroes and Slaves.	Totall of both.		
Hunterdon . Burlington . Gloucester Salem Cape May	1,618 1,487 930 1,669 261	1,230 1,222 757 1,891 219	1,270 1,190 782 1,313 271	1,170 996 676 1,827 211	5,338 4,895 3,145 5,700 962	75 134 42 57 12	53 87 24 56 40	49 58 32 40 9	42 64 24 31 11	195 343 135 184 42	5,533 5,238 3,280 5,884 1,004		

JOHN J. THOMPSON.

MARBIAGE CERTIFICATE, GEOEGE AND SARAH (WALL) SHOEMAKEE, 1694.—Whereas George Shewmaker & Sarah Wall, both of the Township of Cheltenham in the County of phylladelfia Haveing declared theyre In-

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tentions of takeinge each other as husband & wife; before severall publique men & weomans meetings of the people of god called Quakers; accordinge to the good orders used Amongst them; whose proceedings therein After deliberate consideration thereof & consent of parteys & Relations Concerned & beinge Approved by the said meetings: Now these are [torn] to all who it may concern; that for the full determination of theire say'd Intentions This fourteenth day of the tteelf month one thousand Six hundred ninety & four; they the sayd George Shewmaker & Sarah Wall Apeared in A sollemne Assembley of ye Afores'd people mett togeather at the house of Richard Wall in the Towneship of Cheltenham afores'd Accordeinge to the example of the Holy men of god—Recorded in the Scryptures of truth, He the Afores'd george Shewmaker takeinge Sarah wall by the Hand openly declared as followeth: Friends in ye presence of god and you His people I doe take Sarah wall to be my wife promiseinge to be a faithfull Loveinge husband till death doth Seperate us. And then & there in the say'd Assembly the sayd Sarah wall did in the like manner [torn] as follows Ffriends in ye presents of god & you his people I doe take George Shewmaker to be my husband promiseing to be A faythfull Loveinge true wife till death doth seprate us.

And the sd George Shewmaker & Sarah wall as A father confirmation thereof did then & there to these presents set [torn] thereunto & we who were present at the Sollemnizeinge of theire syd Meriage did with our and subscribed our names the day & year above written.

Geobg Shumacheb Sarah Shewmakeb

Peter Schumacher, Johannes Koester, Peter Cassell, Samuel Richardson, Toby Leech, Richard Townsend, John Russell, Samuel Carl, Tho⁴ Canby, Edward Bolton, William Loutledge, Joseph Phips, Powell Richardson,

Sara Schumaker, Sarah Eaton, Susanna Schumakerin, Sara Sumacker, Elizabeth Koester, Elizabeth Lind, Maria Canby.

There are in all thirty-two signatures, but some cannot be made out, and of the number about a third are in German script. The groom signs in German, the bride in English. J.

SANDS FAMILY.—The following is a copy of a paper addressed "To Joseph Sands, a Farmer, Living in Lancashire or Lincolnshire if he can find himself to be a relative To the family of Stephen Sands from Lancashire to Pennsylvania In the year Sixteen Hundred & Eighty Two or to any of name of Sands, that can, In England, these with Care and Speed p^r favour of—"

The seal (a wafer) was unbroken when found a short time ago, and the paper had evidently never been delivered. It is probably a copy of one sent. There is also the draft of another letter, almost identical in terms, and dated June 15, 1790. This has a few variations, as "Abraham Praul that lives in England our Mother Country, a Ship Carpenter by

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Trade," and adds that a copy may be sent to the care of "John Linn Merchant in Market Street Philadelphia, or to the care of Emanuel Heirs Arbuckel Row Front Street, or to John Richardson Lapidary near Market Street Front Do." T. S.

"Pennsylvania Bucks County Middletown Township Cawly Town 23 Miles from the City of Philadelphia We Benjamin & Abraham Sands the Grand Sons of Stephen Sands who came into this province from Lancashire in England In the year of our Lord one Thousand six Hundred and Eighty two with others from the same place viz Henry Wamsly the Name of Wood &c some of Wamsleys Children are yet living These will inform that our Grandfather departed this Life before our Memory & our parents when we were Children also Died But we remember the Spring 1758 a few days before our father's Death there came a Letter from England that Informed that if there was any of the race of Stephen Sands our Grandfather Living that would come or send that they would meet with something Greatly to their Advantage but what went with the Letter after we cannot tell but it was supposed a careless nurse threw it away which leaves us at a loss who sent it or who to Direct these to, but hoping these may meet with some relative of the family that will do us the favour to Speculate & Enquire about it, & let us know by a few lines, We have to remember once that we have heard our Father often say when he was alive & when the letter came, that our Grandfather had left a wealthy parentage behind, & that he came away to this province to Enjoy Liberty of Concience among people called Quakers being one, Henry Wamsleys Children also remembers the like as their Father came with him & knew our Great Grand parents Now as Humble petitioners we beg the favour if these should find any way to any of the family that they would Convey the first opportunity some account to us about it by some way to Philadelphia where it will soon be conveyd to us, if it be sent by the Care of any of the people Called Quakers, to any of that Denomination in Philadelphia, we are Informed by Inquiry of One of the Name near the place, Called Joseph Sands a farmer, And honoured friend, we have made free to direct these to thee, or any of the Name of Sands that Can find they are of the above said family, flattering ourselves that if there was any thing when this letter we mention came, that it may perhaps yet remain for us, And if we can be Informed by any friend that would do us the favour, we shall take it as a favour not soon to be forgotten, & if any thing should turn out in our favour, we shall be very free to retaliate the kindness of the Enquirer we are able to send a Character very Clear of blemish but as yet we think it of little use unless something should turn out in our favour then it may be satisfactory to any that may correspond with by Letter or any way Else we have sent two letters to an acquaintance one Abraham Praul in Rotherhite hoping he would do some Enquiry for us but we are Informed that he is Dead we Conclude ourselves your humble Petitioners

"BENJAMIN & ABRAHAM SANDS."

CIRCULAR LETTER ISSUED BY THE BRITISH FOREIGN OFFICE, 1777. —The London Chronicle of June 17–19, 1777, prints the following Circular Letter delivered by a Ministerial messenger to the different Foreign Ambassadors resident in London.

"My LORD,—It is an incontrovertible fact, that the diminution of American commerce is the increase of the Russian. The Emperor's dominions with the advantage of a most numerous population, may

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supply Europe with tobacco, rice, indigo, coffee, and cotton, which will benefit her subjects three million sterling yearly at least. Labour is so much cheaper in Russia than America, that in profound peace she can undersell the Americans. It appears very obvious to be the common interest of Europe to annihilate America, as not only being a most powerful commercial rival to Russia, in every branch, but also to Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden, in naval stores, iron, &c. She is or will be a rival to France, Spain, and Portugal, as South Carolina is as favourable to the growth of wines, fruits, &c. as those countries. The commercial interests of Europe, North and South America, are diametrically opposite; for a million as America diminishes, Europe increases; and vice versa, if the colonies are ever permitted a free navigation.—It is navigation that creates commerce; annihilating American navigation, is in reality reducing them to their primative state; which at present may be done; but perhaps in a few years hence, not. "The British territory in North America is 1,122,800 square miles;

"The British territory in North America is 1,122,800 square miles; 640 acres to a square mile, is 713,592,000 acres; 5 acres to each person is 145,718,400; according to which North America will support a population of 26,118,400 more than Europe; the inhabitants of this continent being 117,600,000, by which a judgment may be formed of what North America is capable of being if not timely prevented. The millions of money and people North America was possessed of, prior to this rebellion, was European, consequently a loss of so much to Europe. Europe may at this instant be repaid. Now or never is the time; for it is the interest of this, as well as every other maratime and commercial power, to crush America; not only their interest but the peace of Europe, depends upon it; as in a few years America may carry on a marine war against Europe. The common interest of Europe absolutely requires a total annihilation of American navigation, as also the sea-port towns, which will soon be found to be a transfer of millions sterling to Europe. The American, deprived of navigation, the foundation of commerce, will remigrate with their fortunes to this country, Germany, &c. It is impossible to enumerate the many advantages that this continent will derive from a total reduction of America, in the remigration of subjects, navigation, and commerce it must be beyond conception great.

"Every remigrant may be esteemed at 10% sterling a year to Europe, in the common necessaries of life, cloathing, dwelling, etc. There are three millions of people in North America, deprived of navigation; supposing one-third to remigrate, is ten millions sterling yearly. The British commercial capital, instead of being in America, will be employed in Europe, infinitely more to its own advantage, as to the interest of each trading nation. The savings and profits to Europe in general will be immense, by America's total reduction. After a most mature, deliberate consideration, and divested of every prejudice, I find it to be the diminution of America is the increase of Europe's common interest; and that the millions now possessed by America is really, and bona fide, European property; we should this day have been so many millions richer; Great Britain in particular, having been the greatest dupe to transmarine possessions. The produces, navigation, commerce, fisheries, and agriculture of America, are the same as European, which must render the two continents opposite in their common interest.

" N. N.

"P. S.—Tobacco will grow in any part of Europe; it did formerly grow in this country. An act of parliament was passed to prohibit the planting of it, in order to give encouragement to the planters in Virginia and Maryland. The French, Dutch, and Spaniards, for a tem-

porary transient commerce, are sacrificing their own, as well as the interest of Europe in general."

THE BOARD OF HEALTH OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA issued, in 1790, to sextons of churches and cemeteries, the following form for their monthly reports:

HEALIF	H OFFICE.
Bill of	Plortality.
For the Month of	
In the Burial ground of	
Difeafes a	nd Cafualties.
Apopl e xy	Hooping Cough
Aíthma	Lunacy
Bilious Fever	Mortification
Bilious Cholic	Meafles
Childbed	Nervous Fever
Confumption	Old Age
Canc er	Purging & Vomiting
Dropfy	Pleurify
Decay	Palfy
Fits	Quinfy
Flux	Sore Throat
Fever	Small Pox
Hives	Teeth and Worms
	Sexton.

LETTER OF JAMES READ, OF PHILADELPHIA, 1777.—The following extracts are taken from a letter of James Read to his wife, dated from Morristown, New Jersey. Although connected with the naval service, he was granted leave to participate with a company of Philadelphia Associators, of which he was a junior officer, in the Jersey campaign. "... Our fatigues have been great but they ought not to be thought of when compared to the service which has been rendered our country.

"... Our fatigues have been great but they ought not to be thought of when compared to the service which has been rendered our country. As for my own part, my health and spirits always increased as our hardships did and it will be acknowledged we have had our share hitherto.... The materials for writing are exceedingly hard to be procured here and, when got, no place can be found to write in. I am now sur-

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rounded by a room full of people where a constant noise is kept up by talking. . . . As to our two battles, Trenton and Princeton, suffice it to say, that our conduct and success there (particularly the latter) has saved the country for this campaign. O my Susan! it was a glorious day and I would not have been absent from it for all the money I ever expect to I happened to be amongst those who were in the first and be worth. hottest of the fire and I flatter myself that our superiors have approved of our conduct. . . . I do not intend, and I am sure my Susan would not wish me, to quit the service I am now in until I have fully done my duty, and I really think if we stick together but two or three weeks more, with the reinforcements we are daily receiving we shall oblige these invaders to quit our country [that is, as explained by another letter, force them to quit New Jersey]. We understand that they have collected their whole force at Brunswick, which can't be above seven or eight thousand men at most, and they are very short of provisions and we are distributing large parties all around which prevents their getting any supplies, so that they are in an uneasy situation and much frightened. They have got their transports round to Amboy, which is a proof that they wish to retreat if they can effect it. However I hope we shall have it in our power to ruin them one way or the other before Spring. . . . I would wish to say a few words respecting the actions of that truly great man Gen. Washington, but it is not in the power of language to convey any just idea of him. His greatness is far beyond my description. I shall never forget what I felt at Princeton on his account, when I saw him brave all the dangers of the field, and his important life hanging as it were by a single hair with a thousand deaths flying around him. Believe me I thought not of myself. He is surely America's better Genius and Heaven's peculiar care."

A WEDDING IN PHILADELPHIA ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO.—The following description of a wedding which took place in March, 1791, may have some interest to your lady readers. It is contained in a letter from a sister of the bride to her aunt in England.

"You have heard of sister Sally's marriage. I intended to have told the news, but I was too much engaged with the wedding to write at that time, but I can do what nobody else has thought of, I suppose, give a particular detail of the minutic which I know you love. The table was formed and decorated very like my own, the pyramid of glass and silver fabricated in the same way; eight silver candlesticks with spermaceti candles were substituted for our brass and tallow, Mrs. S.'s elegant table china for our queen's-ware, which was all the difference. The company consisted of [various persons named], Mr. Lenox, John Cloyd, Mr. W. Reade, and Chs. Baldwin were groomsmen. The bride was dressed in a white sattin gown and coat trimmed with white crape, which was put on the coat in a deep flounce bound with narrow satin ribbon on each edge, and set on with a bead. This flounce was tucked up in several places with a careless bow of the same ribbon, and above that was a second flounce about one-half the depth, bound and set on in the same manner but not tucked up. Down the sides of the gown was one similar to the last; a long train, short sleeves, blond lace ruffles and tucker, a quilling of which was worn round the handkerchief which was of chambre gauze, and a large bouquet of white flowers. A gold chain as fine as you can conceive thrown loosely over the snowy bosom supported the miniature of Mr. A., and she carried a gold chased watch which she possessed but did not display. Her own chestnut hair was drest in a masterly manner

with maréchale powder, and she wore a very high small cap partaking of the nature of a hat with a bunch of white flowers, and a white feather in it branching into three ears of golden wheat, the grains highly burnished and the beard rough. She wore white satin shoes and very rich set of buckles.

"The groom wore a pearl-colored coat, white satin vest with a silver cord, white cassimeres, white silk stockings, black morocco shoes with brilliant buckles. His hair was well drest, he wore a large cravat (towels they are called), a neat ruffled shirt with three jewels. . . . "A piece of bride case was more than the silver with the silver of bride case."

"A piece of bride cake was presented to me with a strict injunction to send it to you. Upon my expressing a fear that the sea-air would dissolve the charm, destroy its dream-creating faculty, our good Mr. Green (the clergyman), passed it once more through the magic circle, and assured me that it should possess that quality to as high a degree when it reached your pillow as at that moment. I have, therefore, put it into safe hands, and hope it may go safely. Who knows but it will produce a vision in which you shall behold the matchless Swain who is to gain your hand. He may spring from the river Lea, and not prove an 'odd fish' either."

COOPER FAMILY (PENNA. MAG., Vol. X. p. 33, Vol. XVI. p. 874).— At the first of these references the descent from William, the immigrant, is given as follows: son, Joseph (born 1666); grandson, Benjamin; greatgrandson, Samuel; great-great-grandsons, Joseph, William, and Benjamin. Whose son was the "D. Cooper" named below, in a note in the handwriting of George Dillwyn, made, as he says, "from D. Cooper's Mem:"? Partial extracts are as follows:

Jamin. Where some was the 'D' cooper' handed below, in a hote in the handwriting of George Dillwyn, made, as he says, "from D. Cooper's Mem:"? Partial extracts are as follows: "He was born in 1724. His great Grandfather W⁼ Cooper gave Name to Cooper's Creek & the first Fr^{4a} M^a in Glo'cester Co: was held at his House. He came from England with his Wife & 4 Child^a in 1678, 4 years before Philad^a was laid out. D. C's Mother's Name was Ann Daughter of Benj^a Clark of Honeybrook, whose Father built the first House where Amboy now stands, & which D. C. went to see out of Curiosity a few Years back. He married Sybil Matlack D' of Timothy & Martha. His 3^d D' Lizzy likely to be lost in y^a Woods. His Wife died 1^a of 5 mo: 1759 aged 28, leaving 6 small Children. Martha took charge of his Family at 14. Chosen an Assemblyman 1761, served 8 y^m Shews the dangers of that Station strikingly. 1762, His House & Barn burnt, Marg⁴ Haines particularly kind to the Children. 1772, Martha married S. Allinson. 1776, 4 mo. 7, Independence declared, the day after How landed on Stetten Island—he defeated the Americans on Long Island soon after, enterd N. York—came to Trenton &c. 1781—The Free Quakers appear'd at Philad^a. 1785—9 mo: John Storer, Tho^c Colley and John Townsend the first public Fr^{4a} here from England for near 10 Years. 1789—8 mo. 3. James Cooper deceased. 1791—6 mo. 2. S. Allinson dec⁴, leaving a Wife 2 Child^a by his first & 7 by his 2⁴ Marriage: 4 Sons & 3 D^{ra}—Martha herself in 44 Year of her Age." "1795—11 mo. 5. D. C. deceas⁴—aged 71."

GENERAL WASHINGTON'S VISIT TO BETHLEHEM, 1782.—" I received a letter from Mr. Sydrich, of Philadelphia, dated July 81, 1782, in which he states: 'Huebener writes, that last Thursday (July 25) the people of Bethlehem had an unexpected visitor in General Washington. We showed him all attention and respect, and he appeared so natural and sociable that I scarcely know whether he or we had the most enjoyment. He left the next morning with John Ettwein, who accompanied him to Hope in Jersey.'"

COST OF UNIFORM COAT, CAPTAIN JOHN NICE, OF THE PENNSYL-VANIA LINE, 1776.

Capt. John Nice

To John Galloway Dr

1776					
June 3	To making a Coat .				£. 0. 18. 0
	" 11 yds Cloth a. 36/ .		•		3. 3. 0
	" 3 yds Shallon 4/				0. 12. 0
	Sleeve linings .	•	•	•	0. 5.8
	Buckram & Stays .		•		0. 4.0
	Thread & Silk 4/ Twist 2/	•	•		0. 6.0
	48 Buttons & 2/6 per doz		•	•	0. 10. 0
	Pocketts 2/ Hooks & Eyes	6/	•	•	0. 2.6
	Lapells, Cuffs & Collar	•	•	•	0. 15. 0
					£. 6. 16. 2

Recd this 15 June 1776. J. GALLOWAY.

EARLY RECORDS OF NORTHAMPTON COUNTY, VIRGINIA. — The early records of Northampton County, Virginia, are now being copied under an Act of Assembly making an appropriation for that purpose. When the copying is completed the copies are to be removed to the State Library at Richmond, and the originals are to remain at Eastville. Recently a parcel of documents, dating from the year 1608, were discovered in a cupboard in the court-house, and are older than the records heretofore supposed to have existed.

"EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF NATHAN SELLERS, 1776–78."-We have been requested to state, that in the article in the July number of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, under the above caption, the only extracts from the diary are those for the month of August, 1776. The balance of the matter published consists merely of original documents pertaining to the services of Nathan Sellers, and to the exigencies of the times.

BRINGHURST — FOULKE—TYSON—PEARSON—CLAYPOOLE—CHALK-LEY—JAMES.—The Will of "Joseph Bringhurst of the City of Phila-delphia. . . . Gentleman, now sojourning in the Borough of Wilming-ton, in the State of Delaware, being advanced in years" (which will is dated 8th May, 1810), mentions "my Nephew James Bringhurst," "Ann Bringhurst the present Wife of my said Nephew James Bring-hurst," "my Nephew Joseph Bringhurst, Junior," "Deborah Bring-hurst," "my Nephew Joseph Bringhurst, Junior," "Deborah Bring-hurst the present Wife of my said Nephew Joseph Bringhurst Junior," "my Niece Elizabeth Foulke," "my Niece Deborah Tyson," "Mary Pearson daughter of the said Deborah by her former husband William Pearson daughter of the said Deborah by her former husband William Pearson daughter of the said Deborah by her former husband William Pearson," "my late Nephew Doctor John Foulke deceased," "Eleanor Foulke Widow of my late Nephew Doctor John Foulke deceased," "the three children of my late Nephew Doctor John Foulke deceased," mamely Richard, Mary and Eleanor Foulke," "my Grand Nephew Joseph Bringhurst (son of my Nephew James)," "my Grand Nephew James Bringhurst junior (another son of my said Nephew James)," "Harry a Black man whom I formerly set free," "my late Sister Mary Foulke," "my late Niece Mary Foulke deceased." A "Memorandum or Schedule" attached, dated 8th of 5th mo. 1810,

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with a postscript of 8th of 5th mo. 1811, mentions "My great Aunt Deborah Claypoole" (then deceased), "my sister Elizabeth Bringhurst" (also deceased). He leaves, among other things, to his grand-nephew James, a "Silver Seal of Claypoole's Arms." To his grand-niece Sarah Anna Bringhurst, daughter of his nephew James, he leaves, inter alia, a "Metallic pen."

He also mentions "my grand Niece Elizabeth Bringhurst (daughter of my Nephew James)," and "my grand Viece Dilzation Dilgation (daugh-ter of my Nephew James)," Among the gifts to the latter is a "painted Box with King William and Queen Mary on the lid," "a Silver pen," and a "Miniature view of Ackworth School." He also names "my Grand Nephew William Bringhurst (Son of my Nephew Joseph)" and another "grand Niece Mary Bringhurst (daughter of my Nephew Joseph)," as well as "my grand Nephew Joseph Bringhurst (son of my Nephew Joseph)," and "my Grand Nephew Edward Bringhurst (son of my Nephew Joseph)." "My jointed Silver garter Clasps which formerly belonged to Thomas

Chalkley, I give to his grandson, Doctor Thomas Chalkley James of Philadelphia."

The postscript reads, "To my grand Nephew John Bringhurst (son of my Nephew James) who was born since the foregoing part of this Schedule was written, my gold Watch and silver Seal I—B. A painted plug Top which my father brought from England when a youth."

The will was proved 2d November, 1811, and letters testamentary granted to John Morton, Jr., and Thomas Stewardson, executors.

Queries.

PREST-HEST.-Information is wanted by W. H. Pulsifer, Newton Centre, Massachusetts, respecting Elizabeth Prest, born (probably in England) in 1751, and of her family. Elizabeth Prest was married in Boston in 1776. There is a tradition that she came to America from England beith the methane between the she came to America from England with her mother, who was a widow, about 1765. In the archives of the city of Boston there is a list of persons arriving by sea in 1765–1770, and the following records are found therein: "Octo. 3 1766.—Schooner Elizabeth, from Philadelphia brought Elizabeth HEST widow and child." "Octo. 29 1767.—Sloop America, Philadelphia to Boston, passenger Hanneh Prest widow"

Hannah Prest widow."

I. Is there a record in Philadelphia of the departure of the passengers named in the Boston records? II. Is the name of the passenger by the schooner "Elizabeth" HEST or PREST? III. Did a widow Prest and daughter arrive in Philadelphia from England, 1760-1775? IV. Is the name *Prest* found in the Philadelphia records of the period, 1760-1775?

MIS CAMPBELL.-Information is requested concerning Robert Mis Campbell, commissioned a captain of cavalry, October 7, 1792, in the Legion of the United States, commanded by Major-General Anthony Wayne, or any similar use of this prefix to a surname. S.

"MIM."—In examining some old inn bills, dating in 1763, I find the charges of "drams and hot drams of 'mim.'" What was "mim"?_____ W. C. R.

THE FIRST AMERICAN MAKER OF THE SPINET.-The Massachusetts Gazette of September 18, 1769, states, "It is with Pleasure we inform



Notes and Queries.

the Publick That a few Days since was shipped for Newport, a very curious Spinnet, the first ever made in America, the Performance of the ingenious Mr. John Harris, (son of the late Mr. Joseph Harris of London, Harpsichord and Spinnet Maker, deceased), and in every Respect does Honour to that Artist, who now carries on said Business at his House a few doors northward of D' Clarks North End." Was John Harris the first maker of the spinet in the Colonies? W. J. P.

STATE-HOUSE BELL.—Is there any truth in the suggestion that the present State-House bell is composed of Federal and Confederate cannon? W. O. M. D.

New Jersey.

ANCESTORS OF CALEB GRIFFITH.—Information is requested respecting the ancestors of Caleb Griffith, who settled in 1798 in what was then Mifflin County, now Juniata County, Pennsylvania. Also respecting the descendants and ancestors of David Griffith, who settled in the same county the year following. B. L. C. GRIFFITH.

353 North Third Street, Philadelphia.

CLAYPOOLE.—Can any of your readers give information regarding the children or grandchildren of Norton Claypoole (a brother of immigrant James (b. 1634), of Philadelphia), who came to America in 1678, and was settled, in 1682, on a plantation at "New Deal" (now Lewes, Sussex County, Delaware)? I would like copies of family records of all Claypoole, Claypool, and Claypole descendants, also biographies, obituaries, narratives, and incidents that would be of interest to future generations of the family. Please address all correspondence to Edward A. Claypool, Room 8, 112 E. Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill.

PETERSON.—Munsell's "American Ancestry," Vol. III. p. 188, states that Thomas Peterson, of Philadelphia, who married, in 1813, Elizabeth Jacobs, is a descendant of Eric Peterson, who came from Sweden in 1638, and settled on the Delaware. Information is requested as to name and ancestry of Eric Peterson's wife, and the names and dates of births and deaths of their children. The place and date of death of Eric Peterson is also desired. S. P. D.

PRINCIPIO FURNACE.—A business letter, dated at Philadelphia, September 19, 1790, and addressed to a London correspondent, speaks of one Barrabas Hughes, who died on January 2, 1765, "leaving four sons, the oldest was Eighteen, the youngest not born." His estate consisted of lands in Pennsylvania and two-thirds of "a Furnace & Lands in Washington County & some Houses & Lotts in Baltimore Town . . . the $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Furnace was purchased in 1770, 5 yⁿ after the death of B. H., during all which time it had been sinking money; after this purchase S. H. went to England . . . and then assumed the debt of his Father with Interest . . . the works after this made a little profit . . . in 1775 S. H. went to London again with proposals for extending the works & M. & R. advanced as \mathfrak{P} acco¹ £1838 St^a about half of which was expended in bringing over Servants for carrying them on. On his return the War was commencing, he took the American side & the works were soon engaged to cast Cannon, but on tryal proved too small, many of the Servants took advantage of the times, ran away & enlisted. S. H. applied to Congress for a sufficient advance of money to purchase a proper place near the mouth of Susquehanna to cast Cannon, which was granted; a furnace was erected, Negroes purchased, & by the first experiments he lost £2000. Congress supported him with further Sums, it was made to succeed & was profitable for some years . . . as early as the Winter of 1776 he wrote to M. & R. desiring to know if they w⁴ receive their money with Interest, their answer came to hand in 1779, in which they agreed to do it; the Confiscation of British property took place and the Commissioners appointed to discover it reported half the Iron works in Washington as M. & R's. S. H. was then in the Assembly, as well as John Smith of Baltimore, formerly M. & R's agent. . . For some years these Iron works have not been profitable, the ore mine was nearly run out . . . this year they are in hopes they have discovered a freah mine". . . .

M. & R. are the initials of Mildred & Roberts, of London. S. H. stands for Samuel Hughes, son of Barrabas. Was this the furnace of the Principio Company, purchased by Colonel Samuel Hughes (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XI., and Vol. XVI. p. 373)? If so, the above extracts may serve to supplement Mr. Whitely's paper in Vol. XI. of this magazine. S.

Replies.

MARY BECKET AND OTHEE BECKETTS, OF CHESHIEE (PENNA. MAG., Vol. X. p. 481; Vol. XI. pp. 124, 245, 247; Vol. XV. pp. 497, 498).—Mr. Stewardson's interesting articles on Mary Becket's ancestry do not mention the fact which has apparently escaped his observation, of a Rev. William Becket having been church missionary at Lewistown Delaware, from 1727 to 1743, who may have been of this old Cheshire family, as he was born in Cheshire, and came from London to Lewistown in 1721. Watson in his "Annals of Philadelphia," ed. 1857, Vol. II. pp. 568, 569, speaks of a manuscript book of 190 pp. written by him, which he saw in 1838, containing his "notices of sundries, his letters, his poetical compositions, etc.," from which he gives extracts at the above reference. Hildeburn, in his "Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania," mentions the following, of which there is a copy in the New York Historical Society: "The Duty both of Clergy and Laity to each other. A Sermon Preach'd before the Reverend the Commissary, and the rest of the Clergy of Pennsylvania. In Christ Church, Philadelphia, on Wednesday, September 24, 1729, Being the First Visitation held there. By William Beckett, Missionary at Lewes. Annapolis: Printed and Sold by W^a Parks. MDCCXXIX. 8m. 4to. pp. 18." If the original manuscript is still in existence it may give a further clue to the Rev. William Becket's ancestry. We also recommend the original list of matriculates at Oxford, which would give parents' names, etc. The Rev. Matthew Henry, the eminent Non-Conformist divine, who settled in Chester in 1686, married there in 1690, and had much association with clergymen in that county, had among his friends a Rev. Mr. Becket, whose Christian name is not given, who was buried at Wrenbury, in Cheshire, in 1685. He died March 15 in that year, aged twenty-five years, of consumption, and the minister of that place preached his funeral sermon. It is stated he was "chaplain to that great patroness of religion, the Lady Sarah, daughter of the Earl of Chesterfield (widow London, 1829, pp. 336, 337. The registers of Wrenbury, Cheshire, should be examined. If the above-mentioned funeral sermon on the Rev. Mr. Becket was printed, it may give other particulars and perhaps be found in the library of "The Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London," which contains a large collection of funeral sermons with a special catalogue. The Williams Library, in London, so full of rare Non-Conformist works and manuscripts, is also another source worthy of examination. W. J. P.

"MIM."—An abbreviation of Mimbo, a drink prepared from rum, water, and loaf-sugar, as appears from the "rates in Taverns," fixed " for the protecting of traveners nom the creative contraction of the protecting of traveners nom the creative contraction of the protecting of travellers from the extortions of inn-holders," in coun-

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STATE-HOUSE BELL.—The bell is composed of a mixture of seventyeight per cent. Atlantic mine, Lake Superior copper, and twenty-two per cent. of tin. With these was fused the metal of two cannon used in the War for Independence, one by the Americans and one by the British, at the battle of Saratoga; and of two cannon used in the late Civil War, one by the army of the nation and the other by the Confederates, at the battle of Gettysburg,—one hundred pounds was used of each cannon. It is a fact of great interest that the first subscriber to this bell was Abraham Lincoln, for the work was started by private subscription, but the bulk of the cost was defrayed by the late Henry Seybert. CHARLES S. KEYSER.

PAUL-ROBERTS, ETC.—Partial answer to query on p. 249 of Vol. XV. PENNA. MAG.: "Paul-Roberts-Heath," etc. At the Recorder of Deeds' office, Philadelphia, there is recorded the following conveyance of land, Book C 2, Vol. 3, pages 1, 2, 3, 7 mo. 10, 1685. "Edward Blin-man of the Parish of Shepton Mallett in the County of Somerset, clothier to Joseph Paul of Ilminster in County aforesaid sergemaker, for 250 acres of land in Pennsylvania." This, I believe, refers to the Joseph Paul of Oxford Township, Philadelphia County, and care should be taken not to confound his descendants with those of Henry Paul, from Cheltenham, England, who settled in Frankford, Philadelphia, about the same time. L.

J. W. J. DESHLER.-David Deshler was buried March 23, 1792.

PETERSEN (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XVI. p. 882).—The Boston Public Library contains the following works, in which it is reasonable to suppose a biographical notice of Laurence Petersen, a Swedish arch-bishop, and possibly Erick Petersen, may be found. This biographical dictionary is especially valuable for its footnotes to each sketch, referring in some instances to Swedish newspapers, rare tracts, sermons, etc., sometimes connected with the American colonies, and forming a useful bibliography: "Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon Ny Följd Forsta Bandet a-Berg Örebro NM Lindhs Boktrycheri, 1857-8." This, I think, comprises above twenty volumes (I examined thirteen), and is, I suppose, the same mentioned in "Appletons' American Cyclopædia," first edition,

under "Sweden (Language and Literature), The Biographiskt Lexikon, a biographical dictionary of celebrated Swedes, edited by Palmblad, and subsequently by Wieselgren, is a colossal work of great worth and research in twenty-five volumes."

The following work is a list of papers to be found in either the Royal Library at Stockholm or the respective universities in Sweden, in which the "disputations" by the graduates were delivered. They are sometimes on American subjects. This book, which is very rare (no copy was in the British Museum or Bibliothèque Nationale in 1881), has the following title: "Catalogus Disputationum in Academiis et Gymnasiis Svecie Habetarium, Quotquot Huc usque reperiri potuerunt; Collectore Joh. Henr. Lidén, Prof. Reg. Sectio III. Continens Disputationes, Aböenses 2819. Upsaliæ. Apud Joh. Edman, Direct. et reg. Acad. Typog. MDCC,LXXIX." I found in this a reference to one hundred and forty-four papers written by Peter Kalm, the Swedish traveller in America, some of them on American subjects which were not mentioned by Sabin. It is more than likely that some of the Swedish clergy who were in America published papers in this out-of-the-way manner which have never been examined or even noted by any bibliographer. The following title from Vallée's Bibliographie des Bibliographies ap-

The following title from Vallée's Bibliographie des Bibliographies appears to be the same as the foregoing, only perhaps another edition with additions:

"J. H. Lidén. Catalogus disputationum, in academiis et gymnasiis Sueciæ, atque etiam, a Suecis, extra patrium habitarum, quotquot huc usque reperiri potuerunt. Upsalæ, typis Ednanianis, 1778–1779, 2 vols. in 8vo."

Another valuable source of information as to papers published by Swedish graduates is the following rare work, not in the British Museum or Bibliothèque Nationale in September, 1881.

or Bibliothèque Nationale in September, 1881. "Register öfver Kongh. vetenskaps—Academiens Handlingar, ifrau deras början år 1739 till och med år 1825; Sammanfaltadt af A. J. Ståhl Med. Doct. och Professor. Stockholm, Tryckt Hos. P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1831, 8vo, pp. 502."

""The Bodleian Library appears to be exceedingly rich in "Academic Dissertations." A very large collection, published in Germany, was bought for that library, amounting to about 43,400, at Altona for 3321. 16s., in 1827. Of these a folio catalogue was published in 1834. In 1828, 160 volumes of the same character were added, and other large additions were made in 1836 and 1837, but particularly in 1846, when no fewer than 7000 were purchased." WILLIAM JOHN POTTS.

Camden, New Jersey.

HOWELL—WHEELER.—In part answer to the queries of "G." (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XVI. p. 383), I would state that Courtland D. Howell married, September 14, 1847, Elvina Williamson, of Wilmington, Delaware, whose father was formerly a mayor of that city. They had five sons,—Eugene Nulty, Williamson, Courtland, Charles, and ——. After the death of her husband the mother of Courtland D. Howell married Professor Eugene Nulty, mathematician of the Navy Department. J. H. M.

THE FIRST AMERICAN MAKER OF THE SPINET.—Gustavus Hesselius manufactured spinets in Philadelphia as early as 1743, several specimens of his work being known to the

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Book Sotices.

"THE YORK ROAD, OLD AND NEW," is the title of the new work of Rev. S. F. Hotchkin, now going through the press. It will be liberally illustrated.

MAJOR-GENERAL WAYNE, AND THE PENNSYLVANIA LINE IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMY. By Charles J. Stillé, LL.D. Philadelphia, 1893. 8vo. J. B. Lippincott Co. Price, \$3.00.

Major-General Anthony Wayne was the most distinguished soldier ever given by Pennsylvania to the national service. He commanded during the Revolutionary War the Pennsylvania Line, which, in all the campaigns of that war, from the battle of the Three Rivers, in Canada, in 1776, to the evacuation of Savannah, in 1782, gained for themselves, under their intrepid leader, the reputation of a corps d'élite. No full and satisfactory biography of General Wayne has ever been printed, while even the names of his gallant comrades in the Pennsylvania Line --William Irvine, Harmar, Richard and William Butler, Walter Stewart, and many other gallant men who served in it, not to speak of their achievements-are scarcely known to this generation. Dr. Stillé has been animated by a genuine love for his work, with

Dr. Stillé has been animated by a genuine love for his work, with every evidence of great labor and industry, and with no superfluous wordpainting, for which, indeed, many a pen-picture would have been heartily excused. He has had access to Wayne's voluminous correspondence with the principal personages of the Revolution, and has based thereon a biography which will revive and perpetuate his memory and achievements, as well as those of his gallant companions-in-arms. In addition to the biographical character of the work, it is a valuable contribution to the history of Pennsylvania and of the United States, and supplies a want long experienced by all who are engaged in historical research. The mechanical execution and style of the book is almost faultless, and it is embellished with a portrait of Wayne, after Trumbull, a view of his ancestral home, Waynesborough, and St. David's Church, with the monument which covers his remains, and a reproduction of the Stony Point medal awarded by Congress for his gallant service.

MEETINGS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1892.

A stated meeting of the Society was held January 11, 1892, Vice-President Charles J. Stillé, LL.D., in the chair.

Mr. William S. Baker was introduced and read a paper on "Washington's Encampment at the Falls of Schuylkill in 1777," at the conclusion of which a vote of thanks was tendered.

Librarian Frederick D. Stone read extracts from the unpublished letters of Sir Henry Clinton to Lord George Germain, regarding the treason of Arnold.

The following presentations were made: By the children of the late Edmund Claxton, autograph letter, General Washington, 1796; and from children of the late Strickland Kneass, a painting of Christ Church on Second Street, painted in 1818 by William Strickland.

A special meeting was held February 23, Vice-President Charles J. Stillé presiding.

Professor Gregory B. Keen, Corresponding Secretary of the Society, delivered the first of the series of lectures on the different historical epochs in the Provincial history of Pennsylvania, entitled "The Swedish and Dutch Settlements on the Delaware."

A special meeting was held February 29, Vice-President Charles J. Stillé in the chair.

Librarian Frederick D. Stone delivered the second of the series of historical lectures, his subject being, "William Penn and his Holy Experiment, or the Settlement of Pennsylvania."

Mr. William S. Baker, on behalf of Mr. Charles S. Odgen, presented to the Society the first portrait in oil of Washington, painted by Charles Willson Peale at Mount Vernon in 1772; it being the original study for the "Arlington picture;" also a portrait of Bill Lee, Washington's favorite military servant during the Revolution, by the same artist. A vote of thanks was tendered to the donor.

A special meeting was held March 7, Vice-President Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker presiding.

476 Meetings of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Charles J. Stillé, LL.D., a Vice-President of the Society, delivered the third of the series of historical lectures, his subject being, "The Proprietary Government under Penn's Successors."

A stated meeting of the Society was held March 14, Mr. Charles Roberts in the chair.

Mr. John W. Jordan read a paper, entitled "Jacob Hiltzheimer and his Diary," describing life in Philadelphia, 1768-1798.

William Brooke Rawle, Esq., read a paper, entitled "A Loyalist's Account of Certain Occurrences in Philadelphia, upon the Occasion of the Surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown."

Nominations for officers of the Society to be voted for at the next stated meeting being in order, Mr. Crawford Arnold nominated the following:

President. Brinton Coxe.

brinton Coxe.

Vice-Presidents (to serve for three years). George de B. Keim, Horatio Gates Jones.

> Corresponding Secretary. Gregory B. Keen.

> Recording Secretary. William Brooke Rawle.

Treasurer. J. Edward Carpenter.

Members of Council (to serve four years). William G. Thomas, John C. Browne, Oswald Seidensticker.

Trustees of the Publication and Binding Funds (to serve six years). Brinton Coxe.

No other nominations being made, the chairman appointed tellers to conduct the election on May 2.

The Librarian announced that Mr. Henry Pemberton had presented to the Society an exceedingly interesting collection of family manuscripts, consisting of the Pemberton, Clifford, Rawle, and Shoemaker papers; also that Mr. Charles P. Hayes, on behalf of the surviving members of the Club of United Bowmen, had presented the banner of that society. Mr. Stone also reported that a portrait of Judge John Joseph Henry from Mrs. Aubrey H. Smith, and one of Baron de Kalb, from Mrs. Thomas Balch, had been received. The thanks of the Society were tendered to Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Balch, Mr. Pemberton, and Mr. Hayes, for their respective gifts.

A special meeting was held March 21, Vice-President Charles J. Stillé in the chair.

Mr. Howard M. Jenkins delivered a lecture on "Pennsylvania during the French and Indian Wars," it being the fourth of the series of historical lectures.

A special meeting was held April 4, Vice-President Charles J. Stillé in the chair.

Professor John Bach McMaster delivered the fifth of the course of historical lectures, his subject being, "The Rise of the Revolution in Pennsylvania."

A special meeting was held April 18, Vice-President Charles J. Stillé in the chair.

The Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker delivered the sixth of the series of historical lectures, "The German Element in Pennsylvania."

The annual meeting of the Society was held May 2, Vice-President the Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker presiding.

J. Houston Merrill, Esq., delivered the sixth lecture of the course upon epochs of Provincial history of Pennsylvania, his subject being "The Scotch-Irish Element."

The annual report of the Council for the past year was read by its Secretary, Professor Gregory B. Keen.

The tellers appointed to conduct the annual election reported that the gentlemen nominated at the last stated meeting had been unanimously elected.

A stated meeting was held November 14, 1892, Vice-President Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker presiding.

The Chairman introduced Mr. Francis Howard Williams, who read a paper on the "Pennsylvania Poets of the Provincial Period."

On motion of Crawford Arnold, Esq., a vote of thanks was tendered to Mr. Williams.

The Recording Secretary announced the death of Brinton Coxe, Esq., President of the Society, and read the minute adopted by the Council.

On motion of Charlemagne Tower, Esq., the report of the Council with regard to the vacancy in the office of President was approved, and he nominated Charles J. Stillé, LL.D., President for the unexpired term of Brinton Coxe, Esq., deceased. Dr. Stillé was thereupon unanimously elected.

Hampton L. Carson, Esq., nominated Mr. William S. Baker for Vice-

478 Meetings of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

President for the unexpired term of Dr. Stillé, who was unanimously elected.

Librarian Frederick D. Stone announced the presentation by the late Brinton Coxe, Esq., of two manuscript volumes, containing signatures of citizens of Philadelphia who took the oath of allegiance to the State of Pennsylvania between 1778 and 1785; also a collection of papers from the descendants of John Hughes, the Stamp Master, including letters of Franklin, Wayne, and others.

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STATED MEETINGS.

January 9, 1893.		May 1, 1893.
March 13, 1893.		November 13, 1893.
	T 0 1004	-

January 8, 1894.

Annual membership.	•	•	•	•	•	•	\$5.00
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Publication Fund, life s	ubsc	riptic	on.	•	•	•	25.00
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EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE TO THE COUNCIL.

Statement of Finances, December 31, 1891.

DR.

 The Treasurer and Trustees charge themselves with the following:

 To Real Estate
 .
 .
 .
 \$181,701
 41

 To Investments
 .
 .
 .
 .
 80,918
 67

 To Cash
 .
 .
 .
 .
 .
 6,217
 11

CR.

The Treasurer and Trustees claim credit for:	
General Fund, Capital Invested	\$5,500 00
" " Loan Account to Real Estate	5,500 00
" " Interest Account	292 55
Binding Fund, Capital Invested	5,300 00
" " Interest Account	121 15
Library Fund, Capital Invested	16,000 00
" " Interest Account	304 55
Publication Fund, Capital Invested	32,111 78
" " Uninvested	1,802 97
" " Interest Account	1,891 17
Endowment Fund, Capital Invested	22,001 89
" " Uninvested .	1,200 03
Balance Donation for Harleian Publications	58 00
Investments of Real Estate	126,201 41
Balance in hands of Treasurer, Real Estate	
Account	193 42
Church Records Fund	100 00
Sundries	253 27
\$218,832	2 19 \$218,832 19

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Report of Finance Committee to Council.

General Fund.

Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1891		•	•		\$44 0 77
Annual Dues, 1891	•		•		6,185 00
Interest and Dividends .					927 98
Trustees Endowment Fund .	•	•	-	•	980 00
Donations	•	•	•	•	806 00
					\$9,289 75
Disbursements: General Expenses, Taxes,	, and	Sun	dries	for	•
1891	•	•	•	•	8,997 20
Balance in hands of Treasurer .	•	•	•	•	\$292 55
Binding Fund.					
Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1891					\$276 29
Interest and Dividends	•	•	•	•	236 00
	•	•	•	•	
Disbursements for Binding, 1891					\$512 29
	•	•	•	•	391 14
Balance in hands of Trustees	•	•	•	•	\$121 15
Library Fund.					
Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1891	•		•		\$124 04
Interest on Investments .				•	1,219 46
					\$1,343 50
Disbursements: Books purchased in 1891					1,076 45
Balance in hands of Trustees .		•		•	\$267 05
Publication Fund	,				
	•				
Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1891	•	•	•	•	\$2,638 97
Interest, Dividends, and Rents Subscriptions to Magazine, etc.		•	•	•	1,666 28
Subscriptions to Magazine, etc.	•	•	•	•	982 25
					\$5,287 50
Disbursements for 1891	•	•	•	•	3,396 33
Balance in hands of Trustees	•	•	•	•	\$1,891 17
Endowment Fund	d.				
Receipts: Interest and Dividends					\$980 00
Disbursements: Paid to Treasurer of Gener	ral F	und	•	•	980 00
Church Records Fu	nd.				
Cash on hand, December 31, 1891.					\$100 00
	•	•	•	•	***** W



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President for the unexpired term of Dr. Stillé, who was unanimously elected.

Librarian Frederick D. Stone announced the presentation by the late Brinton Coxe, Esq., of two manuscript volumes, containing signatures of citizens of Philadelphia who took the oath of allegiance to the State of Pennsylvania between 1778 and 1785; also a collection of papers from the descendants of John Hughes, the Stamp Master, including letters of Franklin, Wayne, and others.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE TO THE COUNCIL.

Statement of Finances, December 31, 1891.

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Dr.

 The Treasurer and Trustees charge themselves with the following:

 To Real Estate
 .
 .
 .
 \$181,701
 41

 To Investments
 .
 .
 .
 .
 80,913
 67

 To Cash
 .
 .
 .
 .
 .
 6,217
 11

CR.

The Treasurer and Trustees claim credit for:		
General Fund, Capital Invested	\$5,500	00
" Loan Account to Real Estate	5,500	00
" " Interest Account	292	55
Binding Fund, Capital Invested	5,300	00
" " Interest Account	121	15
Library Fund, Capital Invested	16,000	00
" " Interest Account	304	55
Publication Fund, Capital Invested	32,111	78
" " Uninvested	1,802	97
" " Interest Account	1,891	17
Endowment Fund, Capital Invested	22,001	89
" " Uninvested .	1,200	03
Balance Donation for Harleian Publications	58	00
Investments of Real Estate	126,201	41
Balance in hands of Treasurer, Real Estate		
Account	193	42
Church Records Fund	100	00
Sundries	253	27
\$218,832 19	\$218,832	19

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Report of Finance Committee to Council.

General Fund.

Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1891	1.	•			\$44 0 77
Annual Dues, 1891			•		6,135 00
Interest and Dividends .	•				007 00
Trustees Endowment Fund .	•		•		980 00
Donations		•	•		806 00
					\$9,289 75
Disbursements: General Expenses, Tax	es, an	d Sun	dries	for	
1891	<i>.</i>	•	•		8,997 20
Balance in hands of Treasurer .					\$292 55
					•
Binding Fun	d.				
Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1891	ι.			_	\$276 29
Interest and Dividends				•	236 00
				•	
Disbursements for Binding, 1891					\$512 29
	•	•	•	•	391 14
Balance in hands of Trustees	•	•	•	•	\$121 15
Library Fun	d.				
Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1891					
Interest on Investments		•	•	•	\$124 04
interest on investments .	•	•	•	•	1,219 46
					\$1,343 50
Disbursements : Books purchased in 1891	•	•	•	•	1,076 45
Balance in hands of Trustees	•	•	•	•	\$267 05
Publication Fu	nd.				
	-				•• •• •
Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1891 Interest, Dividends, and Rents	• •		•		\$2,638 97
Subscriptions to Magazine, etc.	· ·		•	•	1,666 28
Subscriptions to magazine, etc		•	•	•	982 25
				:	\$5,287 50
Disbursements for 1891	•	•	•	•	3,396 33
Balance in hands of Trustees	•	•	•		\$1,891 17
Endowment Fu	md				
					-
Receipts: Interest and Dividends Disbursements: Paid to Treasurer of Ger		Fund	•	۰.	\$980 00
2. Sale and a second of the		- 444	•	•	980 00
Church Records 1	Fund.				
Cash on hand, December 31, 1891.	-		•	_	\$100 00
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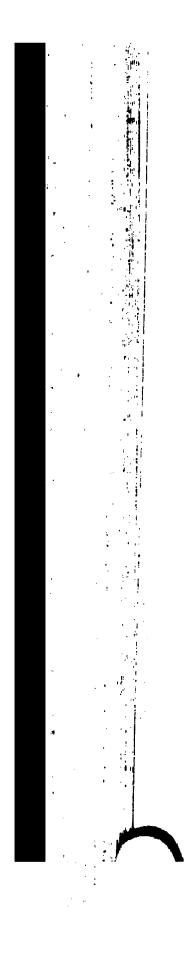
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