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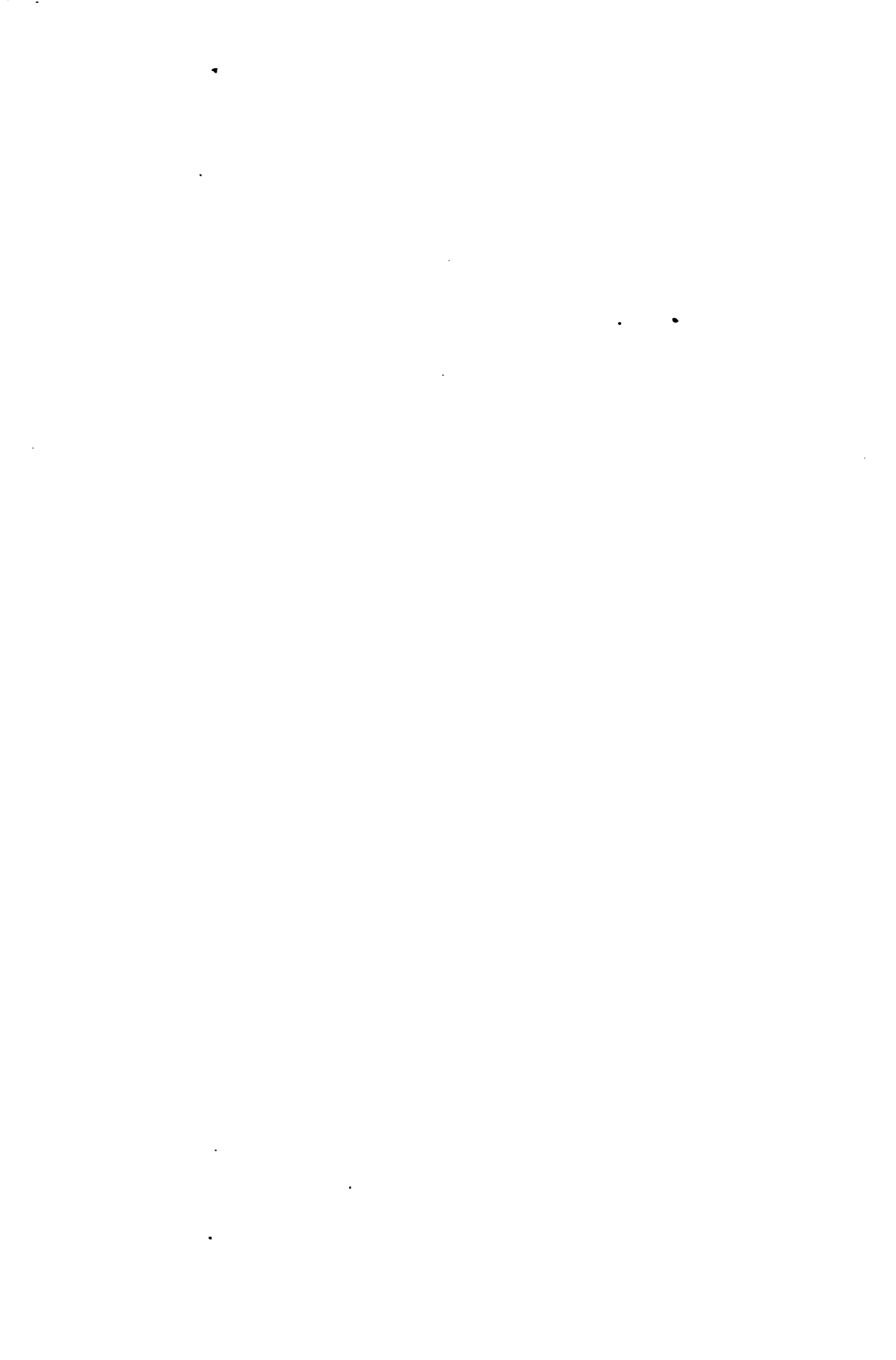
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The
Pennsylvania
Magazine

OR

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Vol. XXXVIII

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PUBLICATION FUND OF
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
No. 1300 LOCUST STREET.

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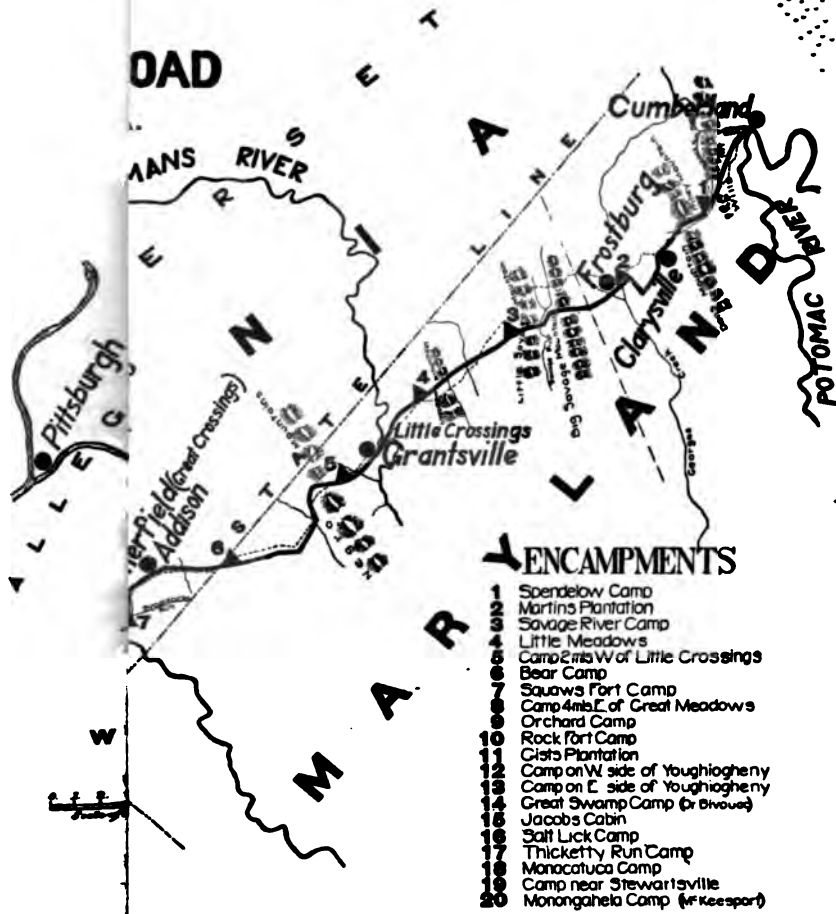
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captain-general of the British army, to the command of the British troops to be sent to Virginia, with the rank of generalissimo of all his Britannic Majesty's forces on the American continent. Before the expedition could start, however, many weeks had to be spent in extensive preparations, a delay which became so irksome to Braddock that he determined to wait no longer on the tardy movement of the transports. Accordingly, on December 21, 1754, accompanied by Captain Robert Orme, one of his aides, and William Shirley, his military secretary, he set sail for Virginia with Commodore Augustus Keppel, and on February 20, 1755, anchored in Hampton Roads. It was not till January 14, 1755, that the rest of the ships were actually under sail, and not till about March 15 that the entire fleet arrived at Alexandria, Virginia, where the troops were disembarked and temporarily quartered.³

Meanwhile General Braddock had been busy making

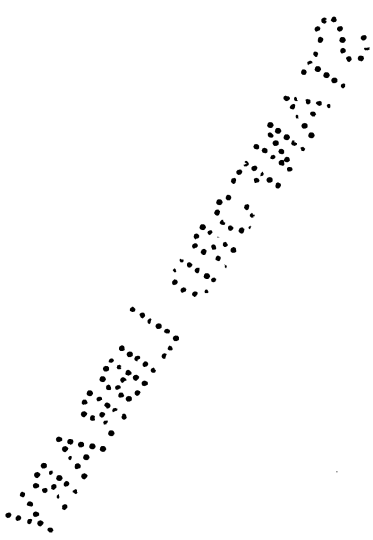
debt of gratitude to Miss Addie F. Rowe of Cambridge; and for practical help at every step of the way he again offers his hearty thanks to the scores of persons who have given him valued and appreciated assistance, some of them at great expense of time and labor.

The accompanying map, made on the ground, but afterwards drafted under the supervision of J. Sutton Wall, chief draughtsman, and William A. Moore, assistant-chief draughtsman of the Interior Department, Harrisburg, Pa., gives a pretty clear idea of the course of the road and the location of the encampments. Of Middleton's map (originally published in *Olden Times*, II. op. 528) Lowdermilk says, "The map as now given may be confidently accepted as perfectly accurate in every respect" (Lowdermilk, *History of Cumberland*, 137). To one who has followed the course of the road for himself, however, the fallacy of such an assertion is apparent; for, though Middleton's map may fairly be regarded as altogether the best yet published, it does not show the route through the Narrows of Wills Creek at all, nor does it indicate all the deviations from the Cumberland (National) Road. Not that any sweeping claim to absolute accuracy is made for the accompanying map. The writer may be permitted to say, however, that he has exercised great care in laying down the road on the topographic sheets, and that from many trustworthy sources he has gained information which has helped to fix definitely points long since obliterated.

³ Charles C. Coffin, *Old Times in the Colonies*, 377.



ROBERT ORME
AID-DE-CAMP



the necessary preparations for the expedition against Fort Duquesne. As a matter of first importance, he had written to the governors of the several provinces asking them to meet him in council at Alexandria; and to the five who responded to his invitation on April 14 he submitted various proposals, to which they in turn made formal answer.³

Already, however, two days prior to the conference with the governors, the advance column of the army, after much delay caused by the lack of horses and wagons, had set out from Alexandria. The first objective point was Wills Creek,⁴ to which the two regiments of the army proceeded by different routes, Sir Peter Halket's through Virginia via Rock Creek and Winchester, Colonel Thomas Dunbar's through Maryland via Fredericktown and thence across the Conogogee and into a road five miles north of Winchester. From this point both divisions seem to have marched over the same road to Fort Cumberland.⁵ Still further delays

³The five governors were William Shirley of Massachusetts, James De Lancey of New York, Robert Hunter Morris of Pennsylvania, Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia, and Horatio Sharpe of Maryland. The council was held at the Carlisle House, often called the Braddock House, which is still standing. For the answers of the governors, see *Documentary History of New York*, II. 648-651.

⁴Fort Cumberland, situated on the west side of Wills Creek, was erected and garrisoned during the winter of 1754-5 under the supervision of Colonel James Innes, who called it Fort Mount Pleasant. The name was changed to Fort Cumberland in 1755 by order of General Braddock. Today the Emanuel Episcopal church occupies part of the ground of the old fort, which was situated on a bluff rising from the creek.

⁵See Winthrop Sargent, *History of an Expedition against Fort Duquesne*, 306-373. This monograph was published in the United States in 1855 by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The first 280 pages contain an introductory memoir by Sargent; pages 281-358 include the journal of Robert Orme, one of Braddock's aides-de-camp (this is the only American edition of Orme's record), and pages 359-389 the journal of a naval officer which is very frequently referred to as the Seaman's Journal. Of this second journal there seem to be two texts, one preserved in the Royal Artillery Library at Woolwich, England (printed in Hulbert's *Historic Highways of*

were occasioned by the want of wagons and horses for transportation, as well as by the lack of provisions; but by the 19th of May practically all the forces were encamped at the fort, a total of some 2100 men. It had thus taken twenty-seven days to march from Alexandria to Fort Cumberland, a distance of 180 miles; and, one may remark in passing, all the delays up to this point had been occasioned by circumstances over which Braddock had practically no control. He did not reach Fort Cumberland himself till May 10.⁶ Then he lost no time in giving his attention to the three matters which were of greatest significance to the success of his expedition,—(1) the Indian question, (2) the arrangements about wagons and provisions, (3) the construction of a road through Pennsylvania to serve as a means of connection with the base of supplies.

Of Braddock's relations with the Indians there are many conflicting stories; but a careful examination of the most trustworthy accounts will convince an impartial investigator that there is no basis in fact for the charge, often made, that his conduct toward them was impolitic and unjust. On the contrary, it is difficult to find a single fair criticism that can be made against him on this score. However one may account for the circumstance that but eight of them accompanied the expedition, it seems to be practically certain that this small number was not due to the fact that the Indians had not received every reasonable consideration from the English general.

America, IV. 83-107), the other in the possession of the Rev. Francis-Orpen Morris of Newburnholm Rectory, Yorkshire, to whose father it was given by Captain Hewitt. The second text is the one published by Sargent, but the variations between the two manuscripts are unimportant for the present purpose. This paper will refer to the Sargent edition of the second journal under the caption of *Seaman Journal*; and in citing the *Orme Journal* it will also use the pagination of Sargent.

⁶ On this day Washington was appointed an aide-de-camp to Braddock.

In providing the horses, wagons, and supplies necessary for the undertaking, Braddock was ably assisted by Benjamin Franklin, whose extraordinary efforts, tact, and courage called forth his warm appreciation. "I desired Mr. B. Franklin, postmaster of Pennsylvania, who has great credit in that province," he wrote on June 5, "to hire me one hundred and fifty wagons and the number of horses necessary, which he did with so much goodness and readiness that it is almost the first instance of integrity, address, and ability that I have seen in all these provinces."⁷

In the solution of his third problem, that of constructing a road through Pennsylvania in order to have an adequate avenue for securing supplies, Braddock was less successful. He quickly recognized the importance of having the road cut west of the Susquehanna in order to intersect with the route of the army at a place called indifferently Turkey Foot, Crow Foot, or the three forks of the Youghiogheny (at what is now Confluence⁸); and he had the satisfaction of seeing the work of building this road prosecuted with great diligence by Governor Morris of Pennsylvania. Unfortunately for Braddock, however, it proved to be impossible to complete the road in time for it to be of any service to him in the expedition.⁹

From Fort Cumberland westward Braddock had to

⁷ Braddock to Sir Thomas Robinson, *Olden Time*, II. 237. See also Hulbert, *Historic Highways*, IV. 63; and Franklin, *Works* (Bigelow ed.), I. 251, 257.

⁸ *Orme Journal*, 315; see also Thomas Balch, *Letters and Papers relating to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania*, 34-45.

⁹ See *Burd Papers* (Mss.) in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. At the time of Braddock's defeat this Pennsylvania road was completed to the summit of the Alleghany mountain, some 20 miles beyond Raystown, now Bedford, Pa. (see *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, VI. 484-485). In 1758 General Forbes constructed a road (now commonly known as the Forbes Road) from Bedford to Fort Duquesne. This route runs about parallel to the Braddock Road, though many miles north of it.

make a road for his troops across mountains divided by ravines and torrents, over a rugged, desolate, unknown, and uninhabited country. The history of the construction of this road and a description of its course it is the purpose of this paper to set forth; for the growing interest with which the routes of celebrated expeditions are coming to be regarded, and the confusion that attends the tracing of such routes after a lapse of years, make it altogether fitting that the road by which the unfortunate Braddock marched to his disastrous field should be surveyed, mapped, and suitably marked while it is yet possible to trace its course with reasonable definiteness.

In any discussion of this subject three things should be borne clearly in mind: (1) the irregular topography and mountainous nature of the country through which the road had to be built, for there were as many as six ranges of the Alleghanies to be crossed, besides other mountain elevations and passes that presented as great and serious difficulties; (2) the wooded character of the country; (3) the fact that the road had to be constructed by the soldiers of the army. It is noteworthy that the road which Braddock made followed very closely the course of the so-called Nemacolin Indian trail,¹⁰ and that it was used as a pioneer road as far west as Jumonville until late in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

On May 30 a detachment of six hundred men commanded by Major Russell Chapman set out to clear a road twelve feet wide from Fort Cumberland to Little Meadows, twenty miles away; but in spite of some work previously done on Wills Mountain, just west of the fort, they had so great difficulty in passing the elevation

¹⁰ Hulbert, *Historic Highways*, II. 89-91. In 1753 the Ohio Company had opened up this path or trail at great expense; and in 1754 Washington had repaired the road as far west as Gist's Plantation (Mt. Washington). See Washington, *Writings* (Sparks ed.), II. 51.

that on the first day they got but two miles from the starting-place. In the process, moreover, three of their wagons were entirely destroyed and many more shattered.¹¹

Of the road from old Fort Cumberland to the foot of Wills Mountain no trace can be found today, but it seems probable that its course lay along what is now Green Street in Cumberland. There is, however, just as good and as direct a route from the camp by way of Sulphur Spring Hollow, past the present Rose Hill cemetery, with an easy, ascending grade to the ridge of the spur of Wills Mountain, and so on to a point at or near the intersection of the Sulphur Spring, Cresap-town, and Cumberland roads.¹² Something might be

¹¹ *Orme Journal*, 323-324.

¹² The construction of the Cumberland Road was authorized by an act of Congress, approved March 29, 1806, and entitled "An Act to regulate the laying out and making a Road from Cumberland, in the State of Maryland, to the State of Ohio" (United States, *Statutes at Large*, II. 357). By the provisions of the act the President was required to appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, three discreet and disinterested citizens to constitute a board of commissioners to lay out the road. The men selected were Thomas Moore and Eli Williams of Maryland, and Joseph Kerr of Ohio.

In their second report, under date of January 15, 1808, the commissioners show that the new road followed only a very small portion of the Braddock Road. "The law," runs the document, "requiring the commissioners to report those parts of the route as are laid on the old road, as well as those on new grounds, and to state those parts which require the most immediate attention and amelioration, the probable expense of making the same *passable* in the most difficult parts, and through the whole distance, they have to state that, from the crooked and hilly course of the road now traveled, the new route could not be made to occupy any part of it (except an intersection on Wills Mountain [Sandy Gap], another at Jesse Tomlinson's [Little Meadows], and a third near Big Youghloughana [Somerfield], embracing not a mile of distance in the whole) without unnecessary sacrifices of distance and expense" (*Executive Document*, 10 Cong., 1 sess., Feb. 19, 1808, 8 pp.).

On November 11, 1834, the new road through the Narrows was opened for travel, the citizens of Cumberland, Frostburg, and the vicinity celebrating the occasion in an enthusiastic and elaborate manner (Lowdermilk, *History of Cumberland*, 333).

said in support of this route. Nevertheless, the former was the direct way to reach the fording at Wills Creek, the old trading-post at this point; and it was the way best known to the Indians.

At the foot of the mountain the road proceeds west-erly, parallel to the Cumberland Road but ninety feet north of it, to a point opposite the old Steel House.¹³ At this spot the first depression or scar of the Brad-dock Road can be seen today.

A short distance farther on, the road enters the wooded part of Wills Mountain. At a distance of about four hundred feet westward it veers away to the north from the old Cumberland Road, following to the top of the mountain a succession of absolutely straight lines, no one of which varies more than five degrees from the preceding line. Thence the course bears to the south and joins the Cumberland Road opposite the old Steiner House (now owned by Frederick Lang) in Sandy Gap,¹⁴ about a mile and a half from the junction with the Cresaptown road. To this point the route may be traced with very little difficulty. From Sandy Gap it follows the present course of the old Cumberland Road for about seven-tenths of a mile,¹⁵ crossing the

¹³This was formerly the building of the Mount Nebo School for Young Ladies.

¹⁴This point of intersection may be further verified by reference to the first report (of December 30, 1806) made by the commissioners who laid out the Cumberland Road: "From a stone at the corner of lot No. 1, in Cumberland, near the confluence of Wills Creek and the north branch of Potomac River, thence extending along the street westwardly to cross the hill lying between Cumberland and Gwynn's Six Mile Houe, at the gap where Braddock's Road passes it" (*Execu-tive Document*, 9 Cong., 2 sess., Jan. 31, 1807, 16 pp.).

¹⁵It probably follows the turnpike here in order to avoid a very deep hollow. This conclusion of the writer is confirmed by the re-survey of Pleasant Valley patented to Evan Gwynne on October 5, 1795, which calls for "a water oak standing above the three springs that break out in Braddock's Road" (Deed from Evan Gwynne to Joseph Everstein, May 27, 1834, recorded in Liber R, folios 96-98, in the office of the clerk of Alleghany County, at Cumberland, Maryland).

George's Creek and Cumberland Railroad and the Eckhart branch of the Cumberland and Pennsylvania Railroad, to the house now occupied by Edward Kaylor, 380 feet from the latter railroad crossing. Here the line leaves the old Cumberland Road and runs due west four-tenths of a mile, passing under the front or southwest corner of the new house recently built by William Hendrickson, then fording Braddock Run in Alleghany Grove south of Lake View Cottage, thence running through Alleghany Grove to the Vocke road 440 feet south of its intersection with the National turnpike and 700 feet north of the now abandoned part of the old Cumberland Road, and keeping on still in the same straight line 1100 feet westward to the turnpike.

So great was the difficulty experienced by the advance party in passing this mountain that General Braddock himself reconnoitered it, and had determined to put 300 more men at work upon it when he was informed by Mr. Spendelow, lieutenant of the seamen,¹⁶ that he had discovered a pass by way of the Narrows through a valley which led round the foot of the mountain.¹⁷ Thereupon Braddock ordered a survey of this route to be made, with the result that a good road was built in less than three days, over which all troops and supplies for Fort Cumberland were subsequently transported.¹⁸

These springs are a few rods west of James H. Percy's tenant house, which is on the old Cumberland Road.

¹⁶The Honorable Augustus Keppel, commodore of the fleet, had furnished Braddock with a detachment of thirty sailors and some half-dozen officers to assist in the rigging, cordages, etc. These seamen proved of valuable aid to the expedition in getting the wagons and the artillery down the mountain.

¹⁷*Orme Journal*, 324.

¹⁸*Orme Journal*, 324; also *Seaman Journal*, 381-382. For reasons not easy to understand, the Cumberland Road was laid out along the more westerly deflection over Wills Mountain by the way of Sandy Gap, instead of by the natural and more favorable route through the Narrows of Wills Creek. In 1834, however, it was changed to the latter location, and remains the line of the present National turnpike.

Every endeavor of the writer and his party to locate this new road through the Narrows and round Wills Mountain proved fruitless. Of approaches from Fort Cumberland to the Narrows over which an army with baggage trains could pass, four, and only four, were possible.¹⁹ (1) One could cross Wills Creek at the ford or bridge near its mouth,²⁰ and then go up the left or eastern bank of the stream;²¹ (2) one could pass down the decline back of the present Alleghany Academy to the creek, and then follow the shore on either side, fording at the most convenient point; (3) one could go down the sloping ground northward from the fort, reaching the creek about where the cement mill now stands, and then go up the creek as in the second route;²² (4) one could follow Fayette street and Sul-

¹⁹ The writer has interviewed many of the reliable and trustworthy citizens of Cumberland on this point. To Robert Shriver and J. L. Griffith, respectively president and cashier of the First National Bank of Cumberland, and to the late Robert H. Gordon, one of the leading attorneys of the town, he owes special thanks for their painstaking interest, given at the expense of much valuable time, in aiding him in his attempt to discover the route of the army out of Cumberland. Mr. Shriver, who has made an extensive study of the course of the road from Fort Cumberland to the Narrows, thinks that the weight of evidence favors a route from Fort Cumberland along the gradually sloping ground northwestward to a point on Wills Creek about where the cement mill now stands. From here the road would have been easy, comparatively short, and almost level for the greater part of the distance to the eastern end of the gap, where there would evidently have been a favorable opportunity to ford Wills Creek near the mouth of one of its tributaries. Much might be said in favor of this contention; but, unfortunately, it has thus far failed to yield any results that look toward a definite and authoritative identification of Braddock's line of march.

²⁰ It is worthy of note that the bridge was in course of construction at least twelve days before the road through the Narrows was completed (*Seaman Journal*, 879).

²¹ See Shippen's manuscript draft of 1759, in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; map in Orme's *Journal*, op. 282; and a map in Hulbert, *Historic Highways*, IV. op. 20. These maps, though necessarily drawn on a small scale, give color to the theory of this route.

²² See Washington's manuscript sketch of Fort Cumberland made in 1758, in E. M. Avery, *History of the United States*, IV. 207.

phur Spring valley to the cemetery, and thence turning abruptly to the right go down a little valley to the Narrows, where a crossing of the creek would be immediately necessary. A high bluff, or "stratum," running down to the very water's edge of the creek on the right bank of the stream at the eastern entrance to this gap makes it almost unquestionable that the beginning of the pathway through the Narrows was on the left, or eastern, bank of Wills Creek.²³ The question is, did this pathway follow the left bank of the stream through the entire length of the gap, recrossing the creek near the mouth of Braddock Run; or did it recross it in the Narrows near the present location of the bridge over Wills Creek on the National turnpike, and thence follow the course of the turnpike to the western terminus of the Narrows? Judged by present conditions, the latter view seems the more probable; but it is impossible to do more than make a shrewd guess, for the construction of three separate railroads through this narrow valley has completely altered the banks of the creek and obliterated all traces of the road. In favor of the former contention it should be said that, within the memory of some of the older and more trustworthy citizens of Cumberland, there has been opportunity for the easy construction of a road on the left, or eastern, bank of Wills Creek.²⁴ Furthermore, at the entrance of the Narrows from the western end the stratum of hard white sandstone formerly extended to the waters of the creek.

Although the ground between these two obstructions

²³ In 1868 Mr. Robert Shriver made a most excellent photograph of this point, which shows the stratum in its primitive condition.

²⁴ See Lowdermilk, *History of Cumberland*, 137; also Searight, *The Old Pike*, 64, 71 ff. G. G. Townsend of Frostburg, road engineer for Alleghany County, Maryland, has an old blue print, made before the railroads were built, which shows on the left, or eastern, bank of Wills Creek a wagon road running through the Narrows and crossing the creek near the mouth of Braddock Run.

to the Narrows on its right bank might have afforded a good roadbed, yet undoubtedly they proved to be obstacles that Braddock's engineers, with the appliances which they had at hand, could not easily surmount. It is well known to the older residents of Cumberland that as late as 1873 the mass of boulders at the eastern end of the gap, lying along the right bank of the stream, were in their primitive condition when a wagon road was constructed by George Henderson, Jr., to join the Cumberland road on that side of Wills Creek. On the contrary, the left bank presented no such difficulties in the way of road-building; and a careful examination of the ground through the entire length of the gap cannot fail to convince one that in Braddock's day there was opportunity for the easy construction of a road on that side.

After leaving the gap the road turned into the valley of Braddock Run; but the difficulty of finding present traces of it at this point seems almost insuperable on account of the character of the valley itself. The methods employed by Braddock's engineers in laying out the road indicate that its course was probably that afterwards followed by the National turnpike to a point near the northwest corner of the Alleghany Grove Camp Ground,* just beyond which and south of the turnpike is a distinct hollow or trench. The neighborhood of Alleghany Grove was unquestionably the place of the first encampment, Spendelow Camp.*

* The three engineers who accompanied Braddock's expedition (*Seaman Journal*, 364) made striking use of a series of absolutely straight lines in laying out the road, except where the fording of a river required a tortuous route, or where the topography of the country was such as to render their plan utterly impracticable. This device, which impressed itself upon the writer and his party as they were crossing Wills Mountain, afterwards proved of great value to them in their efforts to pick up the road where traces of it were completely obliterated for rods at a time in cultivated fields.

* *Orme Journal*, 327. In fixing the several encampments the writer has been aided to some extent by the maps already published, but

From the point of intersection with the National turnpike, one-fourth mile west of Alleghany Grove, the Braddock Road keeps north of the turnpike on somewhat higher ground to escape swampy land; thence, in order to avoid the point of a hill (or perhaps it would be more accurate to say a spur of Piney Mountain), it crosses the turnpike to the southward, and after running parallel to it for about 150 yards recrosses it to the northward at or near the point where the present trolley line intersects it. Here there is a well-preserved ear for almost a mile to the point where the road joins the National turnpike near the six-mile post. The route then follows along the north side of the turnpike, crossing Braddock Run, a little to the north of the bridge;²⁷ thence running westerly north of the Six Mile House, it recrosses Braddock Run, and a few rods beyond passes between the house and barn of Charles Laber. On this farm there is a copious spring of excellent water, locally known as Braddock Spring,²⁸ situated about 175 feet south of Braddock Road, and according to local tradition marking the site of Spendelow Camp. That this theory is altogether unlikely, however, is shown not only by the fact that the tradition does not harmonize with the best authorities, but also by the topography of the country and the lack of sufficient and suitable ground for an encampment. That an advance party may have spent the night at or near this fine spring is not improbable, but the natural place for

chiefly by Orme's journal, which records the number of miles of each day's march with great accuracy, and by the topographic sheets, without the aid of which neither the road nor the encampments could have been so definitely located.

²⁷ From this point to Clarysville the route is through a gap between Dans Mountain and Piney Mountain.

²⁸ This spring is about one-third of a mile west of the tollgate on the National turnpike.

the camp was in the neighborhood of Alleghany Grove Camp Ground.²⁹

Less than a quarter of a mile west of Charles Laber's house Braddock Road again crosses Braddock Run; thence turning almost due south in order to avoid a rocky ascent over which no road could be built, it comes into the National turnpike about a mile west of the old toll-house. From this point it coincides with the turnpike for 225 feet; then it veers away to the north for some rods and turns west, crossing the county road known as the Short Gap road about fifty yards north of its junction with the turnpike, and passing the house now owned by John Laber. A short distance west of this point it crosses the turnpike and the Eckhart branch of the Cumberland and Pennsylvania Railroad in order to avoid a very deep hollow, and joins the pike again four hundred feet farther on. After following the old turnpike for about one hundred feet it veers away again to the north of it at Spruce Bridge for about three-quarters of a mile, passing Smith's Big Rocks, and joining the turnpike again less than quarter of a mile east of Clarysville. From Alleghany Grove Camp Ground to Clarysville there are only a few short stretches where traces of the road cannot be distinctly seen, and in some places the scar is nearly ten feet deep.

At Clarysville the road turns into the valley of Flaggy Run, apparently following the west bank of the stream,³⁰ along which there is a deep depression formed by an old mill race that might easily be mistaken for the road itself. About half a mile southwest of Clarysville the road turns almost at a right angle, keeping approximately the course of the present county road for

²⁹ Although many misstatements and untenable notions as to the location of the road, the places of encampment, etc., are prevalent in the country adjacent to the line of march, yet local tradition is in many cases surprisingly accurate.

³⁰ See Middleton's map.

three-quarters of a mile up Hoffman Hollow. Here again, running parallel to the present road, is an old tramway roadbed which might readily be taken for Braddock's path. A short distance beyond the Hoffman coal mines, on the north side of the road, is a very deep scar, which is probably a part of Braddock's roadbed. At the top of the hill the road turns northward at almost a right angle in order to avoid what was formerly a very wide swamp, and then passes over the ridge and down through Layman's orchard, where there is a deep scar. Near the end of this ridge, overlooking Frostburg and about five miles from Spindelow Camp, is the site of the second encampment, Martin's Plantation.²¹

From here the road crosses first the headwaters of the eastern branch of George's Creek, next the Cumberland and Pennsylvania Railroad, and then runs southeast of Frostburg into the premises of James Grose, and on through the Sheatz, Taylor, and William Tiley properties to Braddock Park. About 350 feet north of this park is an old milestone, which is supposed by some writers to have been set up by Braddock.²² Leaving Braddock Park the line follows the Midlothian road for about four hundred feet; but, soon entering a lane, it crosses the western branch of George's Creek east of an old spring-house standing near the ruins of the old Musselman farmhouse, and bearing the inscription "C. & S. Musselman, May 30th, 1806." At this point, one-fourth mile west from Braddock Park, the ascent of Big Savage Mountain begins.

²¹ *Orme Journal*, 333.

²² See Lowdermilk's *History of Cumberland*, 257. This stone, sometimes designated Braddock's Stone, bears the following inscription: "11 mile To F^t Cumberland 29 M^e To Cap^t Smyth's Inn and Bridge Big Crossings & The Best Road To Redstone Old Fort 64 M." This is fairly legible. The other side reads, "Our countrys rights we will defend." There is no reason for supposing that this stone was erected by Braddock's command.

Although there are some level spots on the western slope of the mountain, the ascent of more than two miles is very steep and rocky, and the cut is several feet deep in places.³³ The descent for a half mile or more is also very rugged and in places extraordinarily steep.³⁴ On the east and west slopes the traces of the route are very distinct.

At the foot of the mountain the road unites with a highway a little to the east of Andrew Jackson Moore's stone house, and continues with it for nearly half a mile, when it apparently turns into a private or secondary road for about another mile to a point where there is a favorable place for fording Savage River, the last water that empties itself into the Potomac.³⁵ Near a schoolhouse on the north bank of Savage River and a short distance west of the mouth of Carey Run the road begins a very steep ascent of Little Savage Mountain. From this point to the Henry Blocher farm, a little over a mile westward, the course of the road follows closely that of a private way, on either side of which there are for short intervals very clear signs of the location of Braddock Road. From various indications it seems reasonable to conclude that the farm of Henry Blocher, with the adjoining one of George Blocher, marks the location of Braddock's third en-

³³ On the summit of the mountain, a few hundred yards to the north of the road, is St. John Rock, 2980 feet above sea level, from which a magnificent view of the surrounding country is to be had.

³⁴ Three wagons were entirely destroyed in passing this mountain, and several more were shattered (*Orme Journal*, 335).

³⁵ It is an interesting fact that throughout the route the fording of a stream was in every case at or slightly below the mouth of a tributary. At such a place there is usually a riffle caused by the formation of a bar of sand, gravel, and mud, the crest of which offers a very practical opportunity for fording. Some of the apparent deviations of the road from what would seem to have been the natural course may have been made for the sake of avoiding a depth of water which might have rendered the streams impassable except by bridging. In other instances a circuitous route may have been the most practicable way of passing a swamp or a bog.

campment, Savage River Camp.* There is a local tradition that about five hundred yards west of the Henry Blocher farm a skirmish with the Indians took place, and that near a clump of trees east of Blocher's house some British soldiers were buried.†

From the Henry Blocher farm the line follows the general course of a private road westward for about a mile, crosses Mudlick Run to Read Anderson's house, and thence leads up a rather formidable hill, on which Braddock's engineers appear for the first time to have made use of a winding path as a means of ascent. From this hill the road runs by very favorable ground in a nearly straight line to the corner of a wood, and then on through the woods to a township road, which it crosses at a point about a quarter of a mile from the National turnpike. Proceeding in the same straight line westward less than quarter of a mile, it reaches and crosses the turnpike to the north. It was at or near this intersection that the first brigade probably encamped on June 15.‡

From this point to some woods less than a quarter of a mile westward there is no trace of the road, but through these woods there is a well-marked scar for over half a mile to Two Mile Run. Near this stream are the renowned "Shades of Death," once a deep forest the tops of whose towering trees intertwined.§

* *Orme Journal*, 335.

† Orme mentions no encounter with the Indians at this place of encampment.

‡ According to Orme, the first brigade encamped about three miles west of Savage River (*Orme Journal*, 335), a location which corresponds with that suggested above. This spot, furthermore, is the only advantageous ground in the vicinity.

§ Dense forests of white pine formerly covered this region, which, from the deep gloom of the summer woods and the favorable shelter that the pines gave to the Indian enemy, came to be spoken of as the "Shades of Death." The writer's party was told that the old wagoners who used to drive from Baltimore to Zanesville dreaded this locality as the darkest and gloomiest place along the entire

From the "Shades of Death" the road passes up Red Ridge, crossing another road a few rods to the north of a house now occupied by Henry Meerbach;⁴⁰ thence it runs to Wolf Swamp and Red Run,⁴¹ and on to the foot of Meadow Mountain.⁴² On the east and west slopes of this mountain the cuts, from six to ten feet deep, are for long distances clearly perceptible. On the western slope the beautiful estate of Little Meadows, now owned by D. F. Kuykendall, of Cumberland, marks the location of the fourth encampment.⁴³

A short distance from Little Meadows the road crosses Chestnut Ridge. Thence proceeding westwardly, it intersects the National turnpike about one mile east of the Little Crossings bridge over the Castleman River, runs through the farm of Eli Stanton,

route. Of the former gloomy forest, however, nothing now remains except the stumps. The trees were cut down years ago, sawed up, and shipped to market.

⁴⁰ From Mrs. Henry Meerbach the writer secured two English pennies bearing date of 1724 and 1753 respectively, which, she said, were picked up on Braddock Road on the eastern slope of Meadow Mountain.

⁴¹ This is doubtless the bog to which Orme refers as having "been very well repaired by Sir John St. Clair's advanced party with infinite labour" (*Orme Journal*, 335).

⁴² This mountain, it may be noted, constitutes the dividing ridge between the waters that flow into the Atlantic and those that enter the Gulf of Mexico."

⁴³ *Orme Journal*, 335. The Little Meadows farm at present consists of over 1200 acres. At the time the National turnpike was laid out Jesse Tomlinson owned the land at this point and kept a tavern on Braddock Road. The Tomlinson estate was, indeed, one of the objective points for the turnpike as specified in the first report of the commission appointed to lay out the National road, then uniformly known under the legal name of Cumberland Road (*Executive Document*, 9 Cong., 2 sess., Jan. 31, 1807, 16 pp.). On June 15, 1755, the entire force had reached Little Meadows, where at a council of war it was determined that General Braddock and Colonel Halket, with a detachment of the best men of the two regiments (in all about 1400, lightly encumbered), should move forward. Colonel Dunbar with the residue (about 900), and the heavy baggage, stores, and artillery, was to advance by slow and easy marches.

where there is a very clear scar, and then crosses the Jennings Brothers' railroad." A quarter of a mile farther westward it intersects the National turnpike near Stanton's old mill; but, after following the turnpike very closely for a few rods, it veers off to the south, crossing the Castleman River about three hundred yards above the Little Crossings bridge, near a point locally known as Hickory Hole. On the west side of the river the road veers away to the southwest, and a few rods from the fording enters some woods, in which the scar is well marked. Thence turning westward it passes about a quarter of a mile south of Grantsville, and continues in an approximately straight line to Shade Hill, which shows a scar as deep as any on the mountain ranges previously mentioned.⁴⁵ At the foot of the western slope of this hill the road crosses Big Shade Run; and a short distance westward, near Little Shade Run, it passes the house and barn now owned by John P. Miller. This was the place of the fifth encampment.

At this point, in plain view of the National turnpike, the road begins the ascent of Negro Mountain. Following a distinct trace for about a mile, the traveller reaches the farm now owned by G. W. Shaw. The road passes north of his house; and, at a point a quarter of a mile to the westward and about the same distance south of the National turnpike, it intersects a country

⁴⁵At this point it may be well to clear up an obscurity likely to arise from a confusion of the following names: Little Meadows is at the western slope of Meadow Mountain, twenty miles from Cumberland; Great Meadows, which marks the site of Fort Necessity, is about thirty-one miles farther west; Little Crossings is a ford of the Castleman River just east of Grantsville and two miles west of Little Meadows; Great Crossings is the passage of the Youghiogheny about half a mile above Somerfield and sixteen miles west of Little Crossings.

⁴⁶This is the only region on the entire route in which pine trees in any considerable quantity still remain.

road which extends northward to the turnpike. Continuing from this point in the same straight line, it crosses the turnpike one-fourth of a mile west of a milestone which bears the inscription "104 to Wheeling To Frostburg 16." Up the mountain for a distance of less than a mile the scar of the road is clearly seen, as far as the north fork of Spiker Run on the eastern slope. From this point, again, the line is easily followed westward for more than half a mile, until it passes immediately south of the Oak Grove or Menonite church; but from here to the place at which it intersects the National road on the eastern slope of Negro Mountain, at a lane east of the house of H. C. Butler, there are but slight traces.

Along this lane for half a mile through slightly rolling depressions the road runs on to Puzzley Run, and after fording the run passes with a distinct scar north of a vacant log house over a very difficult pass to a lane east of William Augustine's house, and thence along this lane for several rods to the house, which is built on the very roadbed itself and less than one hundred yards from the National turnpike. From Augustine's house the line runs parallel to the turnpike, but a few rods south of it, for over two miles to Coon Spiker's house, showing here and there traces of the road that are more or less distinct. Apparently passing south of this house and on through a lane to the south of Stephen Spiker's house, it presently, a little to the westward, enters a stretch of woods, through which it proceeds over Keyser Ridge, where, although there is a very luxuriant growth of underbrush, the trace of the road for a little over two miles is so distinct as to leave no doubt in regard to its course over this rocky and very difficult pass. From the woods it emerges into the bottom of the north fork of Mill Run, less than half a mile from the Pennsylvania and Maryland boundary

line at Oakton, Maryland.⁴⁶ Here, in one of the most picturesque places for an encampment along the entire route, was Bear Camp.⁴⁷

Leaving Bear Camp, the road, after crossing Mill Run, intercepts the Pennsylvania boundary line, and a few rods farther on crosses the National turnpike less than one-fourth of a mile west of Oakton. It then continues its course over Winding Ridge, on which the traces of it are especially well marked. On the west side of this ridge the line passes north of an old milk house and of a stone house owned by William Miller. About half a mile westward it joins the National turn-

⁴⁶ Orme very accurately and tersely describes this day's march over Keyser Ridge: "We could not reach our ground till about 7 of the clock, which was three hours later than common, as there was no water, nor even earth enough to fix a tent, between the great Mountain and this place" (*Orme Journal*, 338).

⁴⁷ At this camp, Washington, prostrated by a violent attack of fever, was left under a guard to await the arrival of Dunbar with the rest of the army. That it was really here, and not, as is usually asserted, at Little Meadows or Little Crossings that Washington was left, is clear from his own words. "We set out [from Little Meadows]," he wrote to his brother on June 23, "with less than thirty carriages including those that transported the ammunition for the howitzers, twelve-pounders, and six-pounders, and all of them strongly horsed; which was a prospect that conveyed infinite delight to my mind, though I was exceedingly ill at the time. But this prospect was soon clouded, and my hope brought very low indeed, when I found that, instead of pushing on with vigor, without regarding a little rough road, they were halting to level every mole-hill, and to erect bridges over every brook, by which means we were four days in getting twelve miles. At this camp I was left by the Doctor's advice, and the General's positive orders" (Washington, *Writings*, Sparks ed., II. 82-83).

What Washington says about the length of time spent in marching from Little Meadows helps to fix the location of the camp; for it agrees with Orme's assertion that they left Little Meadows on June 19 and marched from the camp on June 23 (*Orme Journal*, 336-340). Even in the matter of distance there is a difference of only a mile between the two accounts, and this difference may be accounted for by the fact that Orme always uses the phrase "we marched about" so many miles. See also *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 3, 1755.

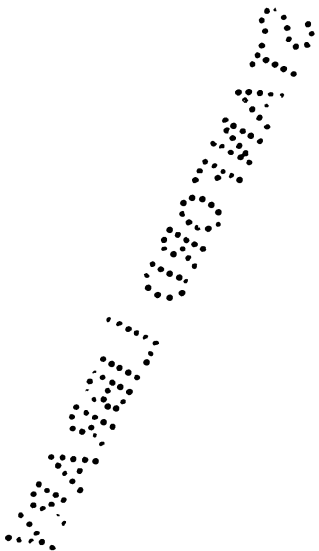
ingly difficult, but with plainly marked scars. At the western foot of this ridge was situated the camp of the Twelve Springs, which Orme designated as "the camp on the east side the Great Meadows."⁵³

From this point the road, after passing through some woods for over a mile and a half, crosses the Haydentown road near the house of Isaac Savage. About a quarter of a mile west of this place there is a large bog or swamp, a hundred or more yards across, which, if one may judge from present conditions, the expedition probably skirted to the north, and then went on westward in almost a straight line for about a mile and a half till it came to the present township road. From the camp of the Twelve Springs to this place one has very little difficulty in following the old road; but from this point onward for a little over a mile no distinct traces can be found. The most probable inferences, however, support the local tradition that the line coincides with the township road for a few rods, then crosses it north of an old burying-ground, to the east of which formerly stood an old hotel, and then, immediately rejoining it, coincides or closely parallels it for a distance of less than half a mile. At this point the road enters the farm of W. H. Hansel, and, proceeding in a northwesterly direction, presently enters a strip of woods, passes the old Bishop house (unoccupied), and then runs down Hager Hill south of James Bishop's, a quarter of a mile south of Fort Necessity.⁵⁴ For a mile and a half from the James

⁵³ *Orme Journal*, 341. This camp was about four miles east of Great Meadows, on land now occupied by Albert Landman. Formerly one Job Clark kept a hotel at Twelve Springs on Braddock Road, one mile south of the National turnpike.

⁵⁴ *Orme Journal*, 341. Although the day was fast waning when the cortege passed Fort Necessity,—the place where Washington had the previous year capitulated with the honors of war to Coulon de Villiers,—no stop was made there. This fort, of which some of the outlines still remain, is situated on Meadow Run in Great





Bishop house the road can be very accurately followed to the point at which it intersects the National turnpike, — a point, it may be noted, about a stone's throw south of the spot where lie the mortal remains of General Braddock.⁵⁴ At this intersection the road leaves the turnpike never again to rejoin it, and turns somewhat to the northwest in order to gain a favorable pass over Chestnut Ridge, the last mountain ridge to be crossed. About a quarter of a mile northward from Braddock's grave was "the camp on the west side of the Great Meadows," the Orchard Camp.⁵⁵

A short distance from this camp the road runs south of Nemacolin's Wigwam,⁵⁶ and a few rods northward near a schoolhouse enters the wooded part of Chestnut Ridge, on the eastern slope of which it passes the spot called Peddler's Rocks. On the western slope a sort of transverse road, the traces of which are easily followed except for about a quarter of a mile, was cut to join a township road near the house of John Henry Bankin, three miles and a half from Braddock's grave. A few rods distant on the west side of the township

Meadows, a few hundred yards south of the National turnpike. In 1767 Washington acquired, under the name of Mt. Washington, a tract of 834 acres embracing Fort Necessity. That portion of Great Meadows which includes the old fort is now owned by Lewis Fazenbaker. On July 4, 1908, a very suitable marker was erected to commemorate the battle there.

⁵⁴The grave is enclosed by a board fence, within which are a number of beautiful pine trees. A marker was erected at this point on July 4, 1908. In 1909 a number of spirited citizens of Uniontown, Pa., organized an association known as "The General Edward Braddock Memorial Park Association." They have purchased twenty-four acres of land, including Braddock's grave, and, in order to preserve to posterity this historic spot, they propose to erect a suitable monument to his memory and otherwise embellish the grounds.

⁵⁵*Orme Journal*, 343. This orchard, situated about two miles from Fort Necessity and referred to by many writers, must have consisted of crab apple trees at that time. In this camp Braddock died, July 13, 1755.

⁵⁶Owned by Henry Harrison Wiggins.

road are the Half King's Rocks, better known as the Great Rock, where the old camp of the Half King was located; and close by these rocks and south of the road is "Washington Springs," the place of Braddock's tenth encampment, called Rock Fort,⁸⁷ two miles south of Dunbar's camp.

From Washington Springs the line follows the course of the present road for about a mile, with distinct marks at intervals along the sides; it then continues in a northerly direction eastward of the present road to a point east of Jumonville and of Jumonville's grave.⁸⁸ From here it keeps its northerly course along a very narrow crest of the mountain, past the Honey Comb Rock, and thereafter in the main follows the dividing line between North Union and Dunbar townships to a point about one mile south of the old Meason house on the Gist Plantation, when by a slight deflection northwestward it crosses Cove Run and the Pennsylvania Railroad to Gist's Plantation, the place of the eleventh encampment.⁸⁹ Between the tenth and eleventh encampments the traces of the road are so plain that one does not have to rely on inference.

The last mountain barrier had now been passed. Along this narrow road, cut but twelve feet wide and with the line of march often extending four miles at a

⁸⁷ "This Indian camp was in a strong position, being upon a high rock with a very narrow and steep ascent to the top. It had a spring in the middle, and stood at the termination of the Indian path to the Monongahela, at the confluence of Red Stone Creek" (*Orme Journal*, 843). By the aid of this description the writer was able to identify the Half King's Rocks even to the minutest detail.

⁸⁸ Jumonville marks the northernmost point reached by Dunbar's regiment. Near the grave is the ledge of rocks on which Washington and the Half King took position in their attack on Jumonville, May 28, 1754, in what proved to be the initial battle of the French and Indian War. As Francis Parkman tersely puts it, "This obscure skirmish began the war that set the world on fire" (*Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe*, 1905, I. 156).

⁸⁹ *Orme Journal*, 844.

time, the army had toiled on day after day, crossing ridge after ridge of the Alleghany Mountains, now plunging down into a deep and often narrow ravine, now climbing a difficult and rocky ascent, but always in the deep shadow of the forest. On such a thoroughfare, running between heavily-wooded forests on either side of the road and made still narrower and often several feet deep by usage, it was of course impossible for a vehicle coming in the opposite direction to pass; but on nearly all the mountain ranges, and especially in the low grounds, there were wider places where by some kind of signals or by some preconcerted understanding the packtrains and wagons, which frequently moved in caravans, could meet and pass one another. Thenceforward, however, the character and general aspect of the country were noticeably different. The land of active coal developments, including coke ovens, had been reached. For many miles to the northward the traveller passes over a vast extent of country from under which the coal has been taken, and from which the props have given way in many places, leaving deep and treacherous holes. Such crevices are especially frequent from Prittstown to a point east of Mount Pleasant, a circumstance which in some places materially interferes with the relocation of Braddock Road.

Leaving Gist's Plantation the line runs abruptly to the northward, evidently keeping the higher ground to a point about a quarter of a mile east of Leisenring, where it turns into the valley of Opossum Run and follows the stream to its mouth in the Youghiogheny. On the west side of the Youghiogheny, near Robinson's Falls, was the place of the twelfth encampment.*

* *Orme Journal*, 344. James Veech says in his *Monongahela of Old* (p. 60) that this encampment was "a short half mile below New Haven," on land then (1858) owned by Daniel Rogers; but Judge Veech is confused by Orme's entry of June 28, which says, "The troops marched about five miles to a camp on the east [west]"

Although no trustworthy scars of the road from Gist's Plantation to this point are discernible, there can be little doubt that this was the line of march.⁴¹

Braddock forded the Youghiogheny at Stewart's Crossing, below the mouth of Opossum Creek, to a point on the opposite side of the river above the mouth of Mounts Creek, half a mile below Connellsville.⁴² His next encampment, which was on the east side of the fording, a mile north of the mouth of Mounts Creek, cannot be definitely fixed; but most probably it was on Davidson's land, southeast of the Narrows.⁴³ Between this point and the battleground there were still some highlands to be crossed, which, though trivial in comparison with the mountains already traversed, were yet rugged enough to present serious difficulties to the troops, already worn out with previous labors and exertions.

From the camp the road passes through the Narrows, evidently along the present township road, until it strikes the boundary line between Bullskin and Upper Tyrone townships. This it follows in a northeasterly

side of Yoxhio Geni" (*Orme Journal*, 344). It is worthy of note that Orme uses the term "the troops marched" and not his customary phrase "we marched," a circumstance from which it seems reasonable to infer that the advance column halted a day at this encampment, and that on June 29 the officers and the rest of the army at Gist's Plantation joined it here.

⁴¹ See Shippen's drafts, to which reference has already been made. Through the courtesy of J. Sutton Wall, chief draughtsman of the Interior Department, Harrisburg, Pa., who has made a draft connecting a number of tracts lying southward from Stewart's Crossing along the line of Braddock Road to Gist's place and the foot of Laurel Ridge, the writer has been greatly aided in the preparation of his own sketch. In the connected draft a few of the tracts do not show the road; but a sufficient number do show it to corroborate the conclusions reached by him relative to the course of the road from Gist's place to Stewart's Crossing, and hence to enable him, on the accompanying map, to lay down the road between these two points with greater accuracy.

⁴² *Olden Time*, II. 543; Veech, *The Monongahela of Old*, 60-61.

⁴³ *Orme Journal*, 345; Veech, *The Monongahela of Old*, 61.

direction for a distance of some mile and a half, with a few noticeable deflections from the present township road, to a point about half a mile east of Valley Works. Here the course veers away to the northeast in almost a straight line to Prittstown, either paralleling or coinciding with the line between Bullskin and Upper Tyrone for the last mile or so. Then, continuing in the same direction beyond Prittstown for a mile and a half, it reaches the John W. Truxell farm (recently purchased by Elmer E. Lauffer⁴⁴), where on the night of July 1 the army seems to have bivouacked in order that a swamp which extended for a considerable distance on either side of Jacob's Creek might be made passable. From the Truxell farm the line turns almost due north through the swamp, crossing Green Lick Run, and thence keeping a straight line west of the Fairview church to a point a short distance west of Hammondville. Here, at a place called Jacob's Cabin, still on the east side of Jacob's Creek, the army encamped. It must be admitted that very few reliable traces of the road from Connellsville to this point were found by the exploring party; but the topography of the country, the course of the road as shown on the earlier maps, the testimony of Orme's journal and of local tradition, all lead the writer to believe that the route between these two points as here laid down is correct in the main.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Mr. Truxell writes to me, under date of November 30, 1908, that this farm has been owned by the Truxells since 1808, and that in the course of his life he has ploughed up at least a quart of bullets, sometimes as many as a dozen at a single ploughing.

⁴⁵ In regard to Braddock's movements on July 1st and 2d, the writer desires to offer a plausible solution of some statements in Orme's journal that have led to no little confusion and inaccurate assertion on the part of those who have written on the subject.

"On the first of July," says Orme, "we marched about five miles, but could advance no further by reason of a great swamp which required much work to make it passable." This bivouac, as has already been said, is undoubtedly on the farm of John Truxell. The

Braddock appears to have crossed Jacob's Creek a short distance west of Pershing Station, on the Scott-

army, which was close at the heels of the advance or working party, had to halt there till a corduroy road could be thrown across the swamp, a process that required time.

"On the 2d July," continues Orme, "we marched to Jacob's Cabin, about 6 miles from the camp." Notice the words "from the camp." The preceding stop was then a *bivouac*, not a camp. The camp referred to was the encampment one mile on the east side of the Youghiogheny, at Stewart's Crossing. This day's march would be about one mile, and the place of encampment Jacob's Cabin. The two halting places were evidently both on the east side of Jacob's Creek. What is commonly known as the Great Swamp Camp was only the bivouac to which reference has been made.

This view of the matter seems, however, not to have been taken by any of the cartographers; but in estimating the value of maps one must, of course, consider whether the author's first-hand knowledge, as well as his borrowed data, be trustworthy or not, and must also take into account the purpose for which the map was made. Professor Channing has pointed out among other things that, while "a lie in print is a persistent thing," one on a map is even less eradicable, and for three reasons: (1) because the historical evidence on maps is liable to error, and an error once made is copied by other cartographers, with the result that a false impression frequently continues through centuries; (2) because the topography is often wholly wrong, especially on the earlier maps, a fact that is too commonly overlooked by historians; (3) because, as our own national history has abundantly proved, boundaries are frequently delineated imperfectly, inaccurately, and without basis in fact. In a word, Professor Channing thinks that maps are often taken too seriously, that the historical information given by them is liable to error, and that they simply raise a presumption.

It is certainly true that, judged by the exceedingly accurate and reliable journal of Orme, the map accompanying Sargent's *History of an Expedition against Fort Du Quesne* (op. 282) is in almost every instance wholly inaccurate in regard to the location of Braddock's camps, which it represents as scattered promiscuously along the route. In scarcely a single respect, indeed, whether as to route or as to location of camps, mountains, rivers, or anything else, can it be depended upon. To cite a single instance, it puts Camp 6 (Bear Camp) on the Youghiogheny, when this, as we have seen, is the location of Squaw's Fort (see p. 23). No clue to the authorship of this map or to any authority for it can be discovered. Similar fallacies occur in the work of one of our latest historians, E. M. Avery, who in his *History of the United States and its People* (Cleveland, 1904, IV. 67) also prints a beautifully-colored but inaccurate map. Judge

dale branch of the Pennsylvania Railroad near the spot where Welshonse's mill formerly stood.⁶⁶ On this side of the creek the road follows the township line a distance of one and one-half miles to Eagle Street in Mount Pleasant, and while still within the limits of the town crosses the Pittsburg and Mount Pleasant pike. From Mount Pleasant the course for the next few miles is quite evidently that of the township line between Mount Pleasant and Hempfield townships on the east and north and East Huntingdon and South Huntingdon townships on the west and south respectively. A portion of this line coincides with the road now in use. About a mile north of Mount Pleasant is a very deep scar in an old orchard on the John McAdam farm, a trace which continues to be visible for some rods farther north on the same farm. A little way beyond the point where the Braddock Road leaves the McAdam farm there is also a marked depression for over five hundred yards on the property of the Warden heirs. Extending a mile westward from the intersection of the Mount Pleasant, Hempfield, and East Huntingdon township lines is a great swamp of several hundred acres,⁶⁷ which the road skirts to the eastward and then keeps on to the Edwin S. Stoner farm, near Belson's Run, a tributary of Sewickley Creek. According to local tradition, this farm is the site of the Salt Lick Camp, a view in support of which there is much to be said.⁶⁸

Veech, too (in his *Monongahela of Old*, 61), recognizes an apparent inconsistency in Orme's journal at this point; but, like the others, he only adds more fuel to the flame of confusion.

⁶⁶ Veech, *The Monongahela of Old*, 61. Only a small part of the foundation of this mill is now to be seen.

⁶⁷ Jacob's Swamp. This is not to be confused with the swampy land along Jacob's Creek.

⁶⁸ It is only fair to say, however, that there is much difference of opinion in regard to the location of this camp. On July 3 Orme records, "The swamp being repaired, we marched about six miles

About a quarter of a mile from the Stoner farm the line crosses Belson's Run southeast of Combato's store to a private or secondary road known as Braddock's Lane, which it follows for three-quarters of a mile till it meets a township road. From this point it keeps the present township line to Sewickley Creek, at the point of intersection between Hempfield and South and East Huntingdon townships, half a mile southwest of Hunkers.* After crossing Sewickley

to the Salt Lick Creek." Many of the later maps and later accounts of the period identify Jacob's Creek with Salt Lick Creek (see Sargent's *History*, 346; Veech's *Monongahela of Old*, 61; Scull's map, 1770, etc.); but there is no real authority for holding that the Salt Lick Creek mentioned by Orme is Jacob's Creek. A small tributary of the Youghiogheny, now known as Indian Creek, was, it is true, formerly called Salt Lick Creek, whence came the name of Salt Lick township; but the well-known salt licks and Painter's Salt Works were located along the banks of Sewickley Creek near Hunkers. Here salt wells used to be drilled to a depth of about five hundred feet; and to these wells stock was driven from miles around, and people came from far and near to boil down the salt water in order to secure salt for domestic use. In the absence, therefore, of any authoritative evidence that the Salt Lick Creek mentioned by Orme is Jacob's Creek, it seems to the writer that the most probable location of Salt Lick Camp is on the Edward Stoner farm, about two miles east from the fording of Sewickley Creek. Among other indications that point to this farm as a favorable place for encampment one notes the fact that a short distance west of the Stoner house, under a large oak tree, there was formerly an excellent spring (now filled up), and that there is also a run near by. Mr. Stoner showed me a one-pound cannon ball which he found in a stump less than a quarter of a mile from the road, and said that other bullets had been picked up on the farm.

* Eugene Warden, Esq., of Mount Pleasant, Pa., has aided the writer very materially in the location of the road through Westmoreland County by calling his attention to the following document, which establishes definitely the fording of Jacob's Creek and the course of the road to Sewickley Creek.

"The Commissioner of Westmoreland County, pursuant to the directions of an Act of Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, entitled 'An Act for laying out competent Districts for the appointment of Justices of the Peace, passed April 4, 1803,' laid out the said county into the following districts, to wit:

"Huntingdon South:—Beginning at the mouth of Big Sewickley;

Creek⁷⁰ the road veers away northwest, showing a slight depression a little farther on, south of David Beck's house. Continuing in practically the same straight line, it apparently joins the boundary line between Sewickley and Hempfield townships, and thence runs westward along this line to the D. F. Knappenberger farm,⁷¹ which offers all the requirements favorable for a camp, and is probably the place of the sixteenth encampment, Thicketty Run.⁷²

From this place, which is about a mile southeast of old Madison, the road seems to follow the township line northwestward; for southwest of Madison there are some well-marked scars, and a short distance beyond the town, near the fording of a run on the higher ground approaching the Little Sewickley, there are more traces. After fording the Little Sewickley it passes, still northwestward, through the John Leisure farm,⁷³ showing on the top of the hill beyond and westward toward the John C. Fox farm some trustworthy scars. At this point, about a mile northwest of the Little Sewickley, it crosses a township road over some

thence up the river Youghiogheny to the mouth of Jacob's Creek; thence up said creek to Braddock's Fording; thence along Braddock's Road to Mt. Pleasant District line to a corner of Hempfield District; thence along said line to Big Sewickley; thence down said creek to the place of beginning." (Court of Common Pleas of Westmoreland County, Pa., *Continuance Docket* No. 5, p. 443.)

⁷⁰ This fording was called Goudy (or Gowdy) Ford.

⁷¹ See *Orme Journal*, 346.

⁷² On July 4 Orme writes, "We marched about six miles to Thicketty Run." This day they would cross Sewickley Creek a short distance west of Hunkers, and their most likely place of encampment would be on the D. F. Knappenberger farm, about two miles south of the fording, on Little Sewickley Creek or Thicketty Run. This solution, which makes Salt Lick Creek the Sewickley Creek and Thicketty Run the Little Sewickley Creek, is no mere whim of the writer, but has been reached from a knowledge of the country supplemented by the topographic sheets and by a reasonable interpretation of Orme's journal. If he is correct in his reasoning, there is no inconsistency in Orme's account.

⁷³ Now owned by a coal company.

falls between John C. Fox's house and barn, and thence with very perceptible traces keeps on in the same straight line to the William B. Howell farm. From a point one-fourth of a mile southeast of the Howell house it follows the present clay road to a point as far beyond, and thence continues westward to the Hezekiah Gongaware farm.¹⁴ After leaving this place the line is unquestionably that of the present township road for about a quarter of a mile; then, going on in the same direction, it passes about a quarter of a mile south of Byerly's schoolhouse. At less than half a mile beyond the schoolhouse it joins the present township road again, and thus continues to Circleville, except for one short stretch of a few rods to the east of the road, where there is a very clear depression. In Circleville the road seems to pass east of Long Run church, and a few rods northwest of it crosses the Pittsburg and Philadelphia turnpike. Here, in the neighborhood of Circleville and Stewartsville, the army encamped again.

At this point General Braddock, after causing an examination of the country between the camp and Fort Duquesne to be made, abandoned his design of approaching the fort by the ridge route, being deterred by the deep and rugged ravines of the streams and by the steep and almost perpendicular precipices to the eastward of Circleville and Stewartsville.¹⁵ Turning

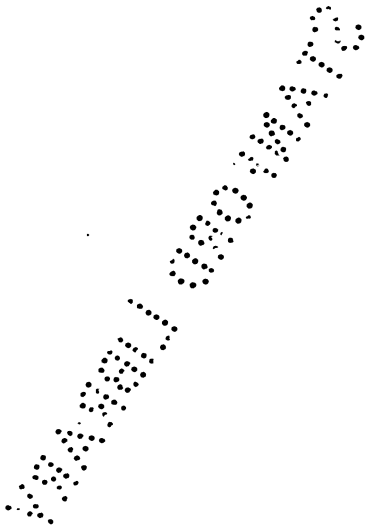
¹⁴ According to the distance travelled from the preceding camp, the seventeenth encampment, or Monacatuca Camp, would be on this farm; but, according to local tradition it was on the William B. Howell farm, a mile away. This is the one camp as to the location of which the writer has been unable to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. Considering the lay of the land, however, he sees no good reason why the army should not have made the distance mentioned by Orme.

¹⁵ Judge Veech is in error when he says that the road "crossed the present tracks of the Pennsylvania Railroad and turnpike west



BRADDOCK'S BATTLEFIELD
FROM PAINTING BY PAUL WEBER, 1864

BRADDOCK'S BATTLEFIELD





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The route
Monongahela

(62). The rail-
Orme Journal, 351.
on of the old mill.

Mrs. Elizabeth **Bennett**,
ett Avenue and **Braddock**
at Bear Camp, joined **Brad-**

of Harrisburg communicated to
July 29, 1828, on "Application
the road down Crooked run (**Brad-**
la and across it to a point a **short**
ing of the river is often designated

through what is now Duquesne, fording the river a second time a short distance west of Turtle Creek. Here, on the eastern bank of the Monongahela, the battle took place.

From a point about a mile southeast from Circleville to Braddock's Field there are no trustworthy scars of the road; but the topography of the country is such that the line between these two points can be readily determined. Some of the older citizens pointed out to the writer the place at which Braddock forded the Monongahela, for marks of the passage have been visible until within a few years.* Recently, however, the whole complexion of the ground on the west side of the river has been changed to so great a degree, not only by the erection of steel works with their large deposits of slag along the banks, but also by the improved methods of navigation, that all traces of Braddock's movements are forever obliterated. On the eastern side of the Monongahela and west of Turtle Creek, at what is now Braddock, where the battle occurred, encouraging efforts are now on foot that promise to lead to a satisfactory settlement of the point at which the fording actually occurred, as well as of the location of the route through the battlefield and of the ground on which the British and the French troops took position.**

* On file in the Department of Interior Affairs is a "Map and Profile for a slackwater navigation along the Monongahela River from the Virginia Line to Pittsburg as examined in 1828 by Edward F. Gay, Engineer," which shows Braddock's Upper Riffle at the mouth of Crooked Run, and Braddock's Lower Riffle at the mouth of Turtle Creek.

** G. E. F. Gray, chief clerk of the Edgar Thomson Steel Works at Braddock, Pa., wrote to me under date of December 9, 1908, that their chief engineer, Sydney Dillon, had already done some preliminary work toward locating the original banks of Turtle Creek and of the Monongahela River, and toward fixing the place of Frazer's



BRADDOCK'S GRAVE
FROM PAINTING BY PAUL WEBER, 1854

In the hope of finding some signs of the path through the battlefield, the writer made a somewhat careful examination and study of the place; but the contour of the ground over which the line of march extended was found to be so much altered that even the slightest traces of its course were not perceptible. From a study of the Mackellar maps,²¹ however, it would appear that from a point a few rods west of Turtle Creek, eastward and northward of Frazer's Cabin, the road veered away to the northwest,²² evidently crossing the Pennsylvania Railroad at or near Thirteenth Street (where there was formerly a hollow way or ravine, it is said), and thence more than probably following the course of the railroad to Robinson Street, and on to a point northward of the old Robinson burying-ground. From here the line would seem to have kept east of the Pennsylvania Railroad and station until it reached a point about six hundred yards beyond the station, between Jones Avenue and Sixth Street. This street may be identified as the second ravine, through which Frazer's Run flowed

Cabin and of the road through Braddock. The steel works are located on a part of the battlefield, along the river.

On February 11, 1909, Mr. Dillon communicated to me the results of his labors based on a study of the ground in connection with the two maps made by Patrick Mackellar, Braddock's chief engineer (Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, 1905, I. op. 214-215), supplemented by the plan in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, V. 449, and by the Carnegie McCandless Company's property map of 1873. This is by far the most able and careful study of the battlefield that has been made in modern times. Mr. Dillon's plans enable one to follow the course of the road through the battlefield, and to form an idea of the action with a distinctness that has not been possible heretofore. In order to comprehend the nature of the fight, however, and to understand the conditions that made Braddock's defeat almost inevitable, one must see the field for himself.

²¹ On the two plans of the battlefield drawn by Patrick Mackellar, see Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe* (1905), I. 229, n. 1.

²² See maps, *ibid.*, op. 214-215, and in Sargent's *Expedition against Fort Du Quesne*, op. 219.

and in which the advance column of Braddock's army was attacked by Captain Beaujeu²³ and his party.²⁴

²³ Hyacinth Mary Liénard de Beaujeu.

²⁴ If the course of the road as thus indicated be correct, then the thickest of the fight would have been east of the Pennsylvania Railroad between Thirteenth and Sixth Streets, the location of the Hollow Way and of Fraser's Run respectively. The writer was told that when the Pennsylvania Railroad built its roadbed through the battlefield it unearthed a great number of human skeletons, a circumstance which, if true, would seem to confirm his conclusion as to the ground on which the principal fighting took place. Mr. Dillon seems to think that the Hollow Way was between Ann and Verona Streets, and that the farthest point reached by Braddock's party was across the ravine near Corey Avenue. Another view is that the course of the road never extended above or east of the Pennsylvania Railroad, but stopped a few rods short of it in the Robinson burying-ground.

THE LETTERS OF JUDGE HENRY WYNKOOP,
REPRESENTATIVE FROM PENNSYLVANIA
TO THE FIRST CONGRESS OF THE UNITED
STATES.

EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTORY SKETCH, BY
JOSEPH M. BEATTY, JR.

Judge Henry Wynkoop,¹ one of the distinguished jurists of Revolutionary Bucks County, son of Nicholas Wynkoop and Ann Kuipers, was born on his father's estate, "Vredens Hof," near Newtown, on March 2 (o.s.), 1737. He was of Dutch ancestry. His grandfather Gerardus, or Gerrit Wynkoop, born in Kingston, N. Y., 1665, married Hilletje, daughter of Gerrit Folker and his wife Jacomyntje, daughter of Cornelius Barentson Slecht and Tryntje Boz. Gerardus Wynkoop took the oath of office to the British in Ulster County 1689, and in 1700, was ensign of a foot-company in Ulster and Dutchess Counties, New York, under Captain Conraad Elmendorf. He removed to Bucks County, Pennsylvania, about 1720 and died there 1745. The father of Gerardus Wynkoop was Cornelius Wynkoop, who came from Utrecht, Holland, to the New Netherlands about 1640, and who married Maria Janse Lange Dyck.

¹In preparing this introduction, I have referred largely to the Wynkoop Record, by Richard Wynkoop and for the details of Judge Wynkoop's life, to a paper written by John S. Wurts, and read by him before the Bucks County Historical Society October 7, 1902. For the life of Doctor Reading Beatty, I have referred to the Beatty Genealogy (Steubenville, 1873) and to the Record of the Reading Family by J. Granville Leach. The originals of the series of letters were presented by Doctor Beatty's descendants to the Bucks County Historical Society, by whose courtesy I was permitted to examine, verify, and print them. I have in some places omitted passages which were of interest only to the family but have endeavored throughout to retain the exact form and spelling.

Henry Wynkoop spent his youth in Bucks County, receiving a classical education in preparation for Princeton, but he finally decided not to go to college. His public career began early. When only twenty-three years old, in 1760, he was elected to the Provincial Assembly of Pennsylvania and re-elected in the following year. On September 10, 1761, he married Susanna, daughter of John Wanshaer and Christina Egberts, granddaughter of Jan Wanshaer and Susanne Nys, great-granddaughter of Jan Wanshaer and Baertje Hendricks Kip, of the famous Kip family of New York. In 1764 Henry Wynkoop was made a Justice of the Peace of Bucks County; he was re-appointed in 1770 and in 1774, and served as Associate Judge of the County Courts in 1765, 1766, 1767, 1771, and 1773.

In the summer of 1774, when Boston harbor was closed, a Committee of Safety for Bucks County was chosen which sent Henry Wynkoop, John Kidd, Joseph Kirkbride, John Wilkinson and James Wallace to the Provincial Conference to meet in Philadelphia July 15, 1774. Somewhat later in the year Judge Wynkoop was one of a committee of five to act as a Committee of Correspondence. He was at the same time appointed Treasurer of the Committee of Safety for Bucks County and as such received the relief funds for the besieged people of Boston.

Although the duties of Henry Wynkoop were for the most part legislative, he nevertheless was enrolled in the Fourth Associated Company, First Battalion, Captain Henry Lott. At one time he held the title of Major, but his commission is not on record. The Associated Companies were formed in order to give the citizens the military training necessary in case of war. In a letter to Colonel Daniel Roberdeau, quoted by Mr. Wurts, Judge Wynkoop says:

“I have received some of the Association rules, but

am afraid that the signing will go heavy, chiefly arising from the Quakers and others who chuse it staying at home and doing nothing." In 1776 all the arms in Bucks County were ordered to be placed in Henry Wynkoop's charge. Major Wynkoop was one of the Delegates from Bucks County to the third Provincial Conference June 18, 1776. He was not a member of the Convention which formed the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776, for at that time he was both Judge of Election of the delegates, and clerk and treasurer of the Committee of Safety. He was, however, appointed by this convention as the only delegate from Bucks to serve on the State Council of Safety.

It was about this time that the death of Mrs. Wynkoop occurred. A detachment of Hessian soldiers sent out by the British to capture Judge Wynkoop, broke into the house at night and, although they did not find the Judge at home, they so terrified the family that Mrs. Wynkoop rushed out of the house and in the darkness fell into an open well and was drowned. On her tombstone is the inscription, "An unfortunate victim to the calamities of America."

In 1779 Judge Wynkoop was elected to succeed Edward Biddle in the Continental Congress, and in this body he served until 1783, attending its sessions at Philadelphia, Princeton, Annapolis and New York. On November 18, 1780, the Honorable Joseph Reed, President, and the Supreme Executive Council, issued a commission to Henry Wynkoop appointing him to the office of President Judge of the Bucks County Courts, which office he held until 1789.

In February, 1780, a Superior Court was established in Pennsylvania to hear appeals from the Supreme Court, the Registers Court and the Court of Admiralty. It was to consist of the President of the Supreme Executive Council, the Judges of the Supreme Court and "three persons of known integrity and

ability." On November 20, 1780, Henry Wynkoop was commissioned a Judge of this court as one of these "three persons."

In 1789 Judge Wynkoop was elected as a Representative to the First Congress of the United States. During his term of office he wrote to his son-in-law, Doctor Reading Beatty, the series of letters which now are published for the first time. Following his election to Congress Judge Wynkoop resigned the offices of President Judge and of Justice of the High Court of Errors and Appeals. Upon the adjournment of Congress March 3, 1791, he was appointed by Governor Mifflin an Associate Judge of the Bucks County Courts, and served in this capacity until 1812.

On March 25, 1816, Judge Wynkoop's long life came to a close. For fifty years his services had been given for the good of the Province, the State, and the Nation. He was buried in the cemetery at Richboro, Bucks County, and the stone has but a simple inscription: "In Memory of Henry Wynkoop, who died March 25, 1816, contented and grateful in the 80th year of his age."

Captain William Wynkoop, of Bucks County, tells the following incident about Judge Wynkoop. (*Bucks County Historical Society Publications*, vol. III: 156.):

"At one time General Washington, who was in favor of styling the President, 'His Mightiness,' asked General Mughlenberg for his opinion concerning it; General Mughlenberg replied: 'If all the incumbents were to have the commanding size and presence of yourself or of my friend Wynkoop here, the title might be appropriate, but if applied here to some lesser men it would provoke ridicule.'" It is said that General Washington did not appreciate the humour of the reply.

Judge Wynkoop was on familiar terms with the leading men of the nation in his day. Washington in his diary under dates January 14, March 11, May 6 and

July 8, 1790, records that Henry Wynkoop dined with him, on the latter occasion Mrs. Washington being present. There is a story given by both Captain Wynkoop and Mr. Wurts, that one day he was walking in Philadelphia with Alexander Hamilton, when Hamilton began to advocate a measure to which Mr. Wynkoop was strongly opposed. To divert Hamilton's attention the Judge remarked upon the beauty of two Philadelphia belles who were passing. The next day Mrs. Wynkoop received a message from Hamilton that her husband was in a dangerous condition, that she should come at once. Upon her arrival, Judge Wynkoop sent a similar message to Mrs. Hamilton which resulted in the two families having a pleasant visit together.

Judge Wynkoop was married three times: (1) 1761, to Susanna Wanshaer, (2) 1777, to Maria Cummings, and (3) 1782, to Sarah Newkirk. Susanna Wanshaer was the mother of seven of his children: (1) Christina, who married Doctor Reading Beatty; (2) Ann, who married James Ragnet; (3) Margareta, who married Herman Joseph Lombaert; (4) Doctor Nicholas, frequently mentioned in the Judge's letters to Doctor Beatty. He married (a) Francenia Murray, (b) Sarah Donaldson; (5) Mary Helen, who married Christian Wirtz, Jr.; (6) John Wanshaer, who died unmarried; (7) Jonathan, who married Ann Dick. By Sarah Newkirk Wynkoop the Judge had one daughter, Susannah, who married Jan Lefferts. Of these children there are now living over three hundred descendants.

Doctor Reading Beatty, to whom the following letters were written, was born December 23, 1757, son of Rev. Charles Beatty, A.M. (Princeton), and Ann, eldest daughter of John Reading, President of the Council of New Jersey, and for a time Governor of the Province, by his wife Mary, daughter of Judge George Ryerson of Bergen, New Jersey. Rev. Charles Beatty was the only son of John Beatty and his wife Chris-

tiana Clinton, whose great-grandfather Sir Henry Clinton of Kirkstead, Lincolnshire, was son of Henry, 10th Baron Clinton, 2d Earl of Lincoln.

Doctor Reading Beatty studied medicine first with his brother John (afterwards Colonel) and then with Doctor Moses Scott, of New Brunswick. The war, however, interrupted his studies. He first enlisted as a private and was at once appointed sergeant. Through his brother Colonel John Beatty's influence he was commissioned August 10, 1775, as Ensign in the Fifth Pennsylvania Battalion. On February 6, 1776, he was appointed Lieutenant. He was taken prisoner at the surrender of Fort Washington November 16, 1776, and was confined with great harshness on the Jersey prison ship. He was shortly admitted to parole to reside at Flatbush, where he continued his study of medicine. He was exchanged May 8, 1778, and studied medicine, though probably acting as Surgeon's Mate at Morristown, and attending lectures under Doctor Shippen of Philadelphia.

In June, 1780, he was appointed a Surgeon in the Eleventh Pennsylvania Line Regiment and his appointment was confirmed by Congress in a commission November 8, 1780. On February 10, 1781, he received a commission as Surgeon of a Regiment of artillery, in which he served until the end of the war. He became a member of the Society of the Cincinnati in which he has been succeeded by his son John, and his grandson Reading Beatty.

After the war Doctor Beatty practiced medicine at Hart's Cross Roads, Bucks County. April 20, 1786, he married Christina, daughter of Henry Wynkoop. James Monroe, afterward President, wounded at the battle of Trenton, and was taken care of at Judge Wynkoop's house. Tradition has it, that when he returned some years later, he asked Christina to be his wife but she preferred Doctor Beatty.

After his marriage Doctor Beatty moved first to Red

Hill, then to Falsington, where he lived until he retired from active practice to Newtown. Here he died October 29, 1831. Christina Wynkoop Beatty, his wife, died April 18, 1841. They had several children and many descendants. The daughter "Nancy," so frequently mentioned in the letters, became the wife of Rev. Alexander Boyd of Newtown.

Dear Sir,

I send you by Billey, Archy's & your Certificates, with £13. 6s 7d inclosed, 10/ of this is the surplus on Crissey's gown, and the rest additional interest over what I paid you.

I came from Town yesterday where the leading Conversation is the Success of the Federal Government, Connecticut hath adopted it by a Majority of 127 to 20, the Convention of Massachusetts is sitting. Governor Clinton made a very short stay at Pokepsey at meeting the Assembly, owing, as is supposed on account of the popularity of the proposed Government, Mr. Chase in Maryland, & Richard H. Lee in Virginia are said both to have yielded opposition to the popular current, and the Nabobs on James River are becoming apprehensive that their Influence in their State Government will no longer prevent the payment of their European debts.

The Debates of the Convention are not yet printed.

Our family all well, and join in love to you & Crissey, which accept likewise jointly from

Yours affectionate

Humble servant

Henry Wynkoop

Vredens Hoff

26th Jan: 1788

Doct'

Reading Beatty

Dear Sir,

I am well pleased with the Beeff you sent me and thank you for the trouble you have had with it.

Last evening was a meeting of the Library Directors. I had forgot taking your books with me, but mentioned your proposal & believe any or all the Books you mentioned will be acceptable; if you are willing to deposit them in the Library for the purpose of discharging your Entrance money & laying in an advance of stock towards your future annual payments, you will please to send me the Volumes by the first opportunity or leave them at Newtown with Linton, together with an Account of their Prices & the whole will be laid before the Directors at their next meeting, which will be agreed upon at the ensuing Election.

* * * * *

When I see Linton again, who is appointed Secretary shall request him to make out a Catalogue of the Library Books & Deposit it in his Office, from which the Members may take Coppies or procure them from him.

The Success of the Lancaster ticket for Electors is of the utmost Importance to our country; I hope therefore no Endeavors will be wanting to induce the People to support it at the ensuing Election.

Kiss little Anney for us all, whose best Compliments await you & yours,

With the greatest Affection,

I am

Yours &c.

Doctor
Reading Beatty.

Henry Wynkoop
21st. Dec: 1788.

Newyork, Monday morning

Dear Sir,

9th March 1789.

Came her on Wednesday last, am happily situated near the North River in a convenient House where both Master & Mistress are my first Cousins, with Mr. McClay^a as my room Mate. No Quorum of Senators &

^a *William McClay*, United States Senator from Pennsylvania, who in his "Journal" under date, New York, April 28, 1789, says: "I had

Representatives had yet come forward on Saturday morning, what this day may produce is uncertain, the Departure of the Mail prevents my Opportunity of knowing, probably by Wednesday or Thursday Business may commence. much Attention is paid to the Members of the new Government, the inhabitants particularly seem to omit nothing that can tend to render the place agreeable; the Federal Hall is a superb Edifice, in elegance & convenience perhaps unequalled in this Country.

Have broached the Matter I spoke to you of, to Mr. McClay, who is too modest and reserved to say much about it, shall take an early Opportunity of pursuing it with Mr. Morris,³ & shall consult them on the propriety of your personal Solicitation & give you Information. John Bayard,⁴ Thomas Barclay⁵ & Sharpe Delaney⁶ are Solicitors.

dressed and was about to set out, when Gen. Washington, the greatest man in the world, paid me a visit. I met him at the foot of the stairs. Mr. Wynkoop just came in. We asked him to take a seat. He excused himself on account of the number of his visits. We accompanied him to the door. He made us complaisant bows—one before he mounted and the other as he went away on horseback.”

³ *Robert Morris*, the financier and United States Senator from Pennsylvania.

⁴ *John Bayard*, born Cecil County, Md., 1738; died New Brunswick, N. J., 1807. Member and for some time Speaker of Pennsylvania Assembly, member of Pennsylvania Committee of Safety, Major of the Second Battalion Philadelphia Volunteers. He was a delegate to the Continental Congress, 1785-87, and later, Mayor of New Brunswick.

⁵ *Thomas Barclay*. In a grove of pine trees crowning a ridge overlooking the Delaware, opposite to Trenton, stood “Somerset,” a mansion of Thomas Barclay of Philadelphia, an active patriot of the Revolution. Generals Stirling and Wayne were quartered there when the two British spies, Mason and Ogden, surrendered by the “Board of Sergeants” of the revolted Pennsylvania Line, were tried by court-martial and condemned, and the day following hung between “Somerset” and Calvin’s Ferry house. Mr. Barclay was a member of the Committee of Correspondence of Philadelphia, 1774-1775; and a member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick.

⁶ *Sharpe Delaney*, born Ireland, 1739, died Philadelphia, 1799. Member of General Assembly of Penna., 1775; of the Provincial Conference,

Have directed Mamma to send to you every Wednesday afternoon to bring & receive my letters. You will please to see them properly directed to me & deposited at Mortons, have spoke to the Boy Sears who atends the mail to take them in Care. You will I hope write often. Kiss the little Popet for gran: pa: my best Compliments to Crissey & Nicholas which you will accept likewise from

Yours &c Affectionately

Henry Wynkoop.

Doc' Reading Beattie.

Newyork, Monday morning,
23^d March 1789.

Dear Sir,

Not having received anything from you am apprehensive my Letters have gone on to Philadelphia, have therefore requested Cousin Girardus to enquire at the Post Office to send them back, this you may likewise do if you have an Opertunity, as sundry other Letters are included, shall write by every monday's Post, to be left at Morton's where you may receive them & deposit Letters for me on Wednesday afternoons.

No busyness done yet, owing to the Gentlemen from the Southward having calculated upon saving the time between the counting the Votes & the Arival of the President & Vice D^o a Circumstance which hitherto hath defeated everything.

Got Mr. McClay, who is my room-mate, to mention your Application for an Appointment to Mr. Morris, who mentioned one Circumstance which would operate as a Barrier against you, which was the Clamour which would be raised by the Citizens in Appointing a

1776. Captain of Militia, 1776; Major of the City Battalion, 1777; later Colonel of the Second Battalion of the Philadelphia Militia. Member of Assembly, 1782; Collector of the Port of Philadelphia, 1784; also Pension agent for Pennsylvania.

Person out of Philadelphia, but Mr. McClay observed that tho' this might not succeed, something else might offer where such Difficulties would not operate, having been in Service & intimately acquainted with your Father, he is much disposed to favour your being brought forward.

Six Representatives and two Senators are yet wanting, four from Jersey at the former and two from Philadelphia probably will be here in a day or two.

My compliments to Chrissey & Nicholas, kiss Miss Anney for gran: pa

I am your's &c affectionately,

Doctor Henry Wynkoop.
Reading Beattie

Newyork monday, 30th March, 1789.

Dear Sir,

Am sorry to find my Letters miscarried, I hope that will not be the Case for the future, to make the Matter sure let Morton give the Boys who have the Custody of the Mail some little compensation now & then to induce their Attention to take the Care of my Letters to you from the Stage office in Trenton to Morton's, the same of your Letters to me from Morton's to Trenton. No House was made on Saturday as was expected, wether it will be done this day is yet uncertain; I spent yesterday on Long Island very agreeably; If you have not yet received my back letters, you had better send to the Post Office in Philadelphia where they must lay, unless taken out by Cousin Girardus; Polliticks here are barren. everything is yet in Embryo & scarcely that, shall attend to your Clover Seed.

The passing thro' of the President is yet uncertain, it is not probable that Mr. Thompson,' who is to be the Messenger will get off before the latter end of this Week, he will travel in a Post Chariot, to be supplied

¹ Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress.
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with Stage Horses, so that when once a going their will be no Delay on his part, & as to his Excellency there can be no doubt but he will be as expeditious as possible.

I shall be in Bucks as soon as Matters here are got in Train, probably soon after the Dispatch of the messenger & compleat Organization of the Representative Body, until then it is impossible for any Member to be away, such is our Situation here at present & yet unable to do anything.

My Compliments to Crissey & Nicholas. Kiss Miss Nanney for Gran: pa: I am

Yours affectionately

Doctor Reading Beattie.

Henry Wynkoop.

Newyork, thursday morning,

2^d April 1789.

Dear Sir,

I have the pleasure at length to inform you that by the accession of Messrs Scott⁹ & Schurman,⁹ the Representative Branch of the federal Legislation was yesterday formed & that its Organization was as far proceeded on as the Election of Speaker & Secretary. Mr. Mughlenberg¹⁰ for the former & Mr. Beachley¹¹ from Virginia the latter, the competitor of Mr. Mughlenberg was Col. Trumbull¹² from Connecticut, a gentleman well known for his singular Merrit & Respectability; Mr.

⁹ *Thomas Scott*, Representative from Pennsylvania to Congress, 1789-91 and 1793-95.

¹⁰ *James Schureman*, of New Jersey, who served as an officer in the Revolution; was a member of the Continental Congress, Representative in Congress, 1780-91, 1797-99, 1813-15, and U. S. Senator, 1799-1801.

¹¹ *F. A. Muhlenberg*, of Pennsylvania, and brother of General J. P. G. Muhlenberg.

¹² *John James Bickley*, not Beachley, was elected Clerk of the House, April 1, 1789, and served to 1797, and again from 1801-1807.

¹³ *Jonathan Trumbull*, Paymaster in Continental Army; A.D.C. to Washington; Member of Congress, 1780-1795; Speaker of House last four years of his service. Became U. S. Senator in 1795, but resigned the following year, and Governor of Connecticut, 1798.

Samuel Stockton²³ from Trenton was in Nomination with Mr. Beachley, but the Majority preponderated in favour of the latter, that in favour of Mr. Mughlenberg was very considerable.

Already do we experience the Difficulty of advancing the Ground entirely new & untrodden before, every step demands the utmost Circumspection.

* * * * *

The Senate yet wants one Member to form a Quorum & enable them to proceed with the Representatives to the Declaration of the President & Vice President, this Delay in the attendance of Members must necessarily have a very injurious effect on the National concerns to savour too much of the remains of Monarchical Government, where those promoted to public office consider themselves as clothed with Majesterial Dignity instead of confidential servants of the People. I hope however, before we rise those Matters may be placed upon a more proper footing & be better understood.

My compliments to Crissey, Nicholas & Miss Nancy, which likewise accept from

Yours &c.

Henry Wynkoop.

Doctor

Reading Beattie

Newyork 8th May, 1789.

Dear Sir,

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipts of yours of y^e 28th April & 5th May with their inclosures, am happy to find you have got over your last Removal & that Crissey finds things more convenient than she expected, am likewise glad to find that the Measures respecting the federal Territory are stil in agitation.

²³ *Samuel Witham Stockton*, Secretary of the American Commission to the Courts of Austria and Russia, 1774; Secretary of the Convention of New Jersey to ratify the Constitution of the United States, 1787; Secretary of State of New Jersey, 1794. He lost his life by being thrown out of his carriage in 1795.

Send you y^e two first Numbers of Mr. Loyd's Registers one of which is your own & the other you will send on to my family together with the Letters & Newspapers, from these together you will receive more full information respecting the Transactions of the national Legislature, than can be comprised within the Compass of a Letter. You will perceive by a Report brought in by Mr. Benson¹⁴ y^e 4th or 5th instant respecting Titles, if a similar one be adopted by the Senate & I understand one hath been reported to that Body this day, but lies on the table for consideration & not adopted at once unanimously as we did, that all those little Badges of Royalty called Titles will be entirely abolished: The President will be addressed this day at 12 o'clock by the House of Representatives, in answer to his Speech to both Houses, by the simple plain & republican Title of George Washington, President¹⁵ &c. This Address will please you. I must not communicate it before it is delivered but will send you a copy by mondays Post.

My best compliments to Crissey & Nicholas. Kiss the little Poppet for gran: pa: I am

Yours &c.

Henry Wynkoop.

N. Was at Newark & Achquechenonk last saturday & Sunday. all Friends were well.

Doct^r Reading Beattie.

¹⁴ *Egbert Benson*, of New York City; Member of First and Second Congress, 1789-93.

¹⁵ The "Journal of William Maclay, United States Senator from Pennsylvania, 1789-1791," contains many references to Henry Wynkoop of a social and political character while he was a member of the House of Representatives, when Congress held its sessions in New York City. Under date of March 31, 1789, he records "Yesterday Mr. Muhlenberg accosted me *Your Highness of the Senate*. On my pausing he said, Mr. Wynkoop has been Christened by them *His Highness of the Lower House*." In the debate connected with the removal of the "Federal residence" from New York City, Mr. Wynkoop was active in the interests of Pennsylvania.

Dear Sir,

Sunday morning, 10th May 1789

Agreeable to my promise on fryday I send you a Newspaper containing the Address of the House of Representatives to the President, & his Answer: This I doubt not will please the people of Bucks, & the more so as exemplifying that Simplicity, which I trust will ever be a leading Characteristic of the People of the United States of America.

In my last I congratulated you on the Abolition of Titles, but am sorrey to find this Busyness is not yet compleated. A committee hath yesterday been appointed to confer with a Committee to be appointed by the House of Representatives, on the Title to be given to the President in addition to that mentioned in the Constitution; as the report of a former Committee on this Subject hath been unanimously adopted, I can scarcely have a Doubt but the Proposal of the Senate will to-morrow be as firmly negatived:

This fondness for European feathers in some Gentlemen of the Senate, I have some reason to believe is not at all agreeable to our beloved President. Billets sent to particular persons from him this day had no other Address but M^r.

This I send you by Mr. Lombaert. You will forward the enclosed papers, after reading the Newspapers, by the first Opertunity.

My best compliments to Crissey, Nicholas & a kiss for Miss Nancey

Doctor
Reading Beattie.

I am
Your affectionate
Henry Wynkoop.

Newyork 15th May, 1789.

Dear Sir,

Rec'd yours of y^e 12th yesterday morning, am happy to find the Survey of the Territory as forward, think the prospects here in its favour are good. respecting the Time for bringing it forward that must be left to

future Contingencies, the Senate have agreed to address the President in the mode of the Representatives, for the present, & thus I hope the Difficulty respecting Titles is got over, the arguments on this Subject you will see in the enclosed paper: Loyd's Register for this week can not be delivered until to-morrow, owing to difficulties in getting them printed, shall send them to Morton's on Tuesday.

The Impost Bill was got thro' yesterday & will receive its third reading this day, the duty on Molasses at 5 Cents y^e Gallon, is very obnoxious to the eastern Gentlemen, & the Discriminations on the Shipping in favour of American Bottoms, together with sundry other protecting Dutys in favour of American Manufactories, is equally so to the Gentlemen from the Southward, so that we of the Middle States find it utterly impracticable fully to satisfy those of the extremities in doing equal Justice to the united interests of this Country.

Am happy to find you are as well settled, tho' your not having all those conveniences which might be wished may be temporarily disagreeable yet generally those Deficiencies to People setting out in the World, have a beneficial Effect by introducing that Attention, Care & Economy which by perseverance will surmount every Difficulty.

A Ball was given last evening by the French Ambassador in favour of the President, which was elegant & agreeable in the highest Degree, the Dance was introduced by eight young Gentlemen, four of whom were in French & four in American national Uniforms, & ladies with Sprigs of black & white flowers in their Hair, the Gentlemen with black & white cockades in their Hatts.

My Compliments to Crissey, Nicholas & Miss Nancey, which accept likewise from

Yours affectionate

Doctor Reading Beattie.

Henry Wynkoop.

N. after reading send forward the newspaper with the enclosed.

Newyork, 18th May, 1789.

Dear Sir,

I have the pleasure to inform you that the Impost Bill hath at length passed the House of Representatives & stands limited to seven years, by which time an ample experience may be made of its operation & effects on the different parts of the Continent, this subject, like all others, underwent a severe debate, as you will perceive by the Newspapers & for the first time produced a Call of Yeas & Nays.

The Bill for regulating the Collection of this Revenue, which has been for some time the Order of the Day, but still postponed to give way for the former, will be taken up this Day, & altho' introduced as a temporary System will probably now be changed into a general one.

The Senate are labouring at the Judiciary Department, as that you may thus see, that altho' the old Proverb, that large Bodies move along slow, is verified here, yet we are doing something & not eating the Bread of Idleness.

Dining at the House of an old Acquaintance yesterday, an old respectable Gentleman there hit upon a thought respecting Titles, so near & singular that I cannot refrain mentioning it, that every succeeding President should be honor'd with the Title of Washington, thus the Name & Virtues of this great Man to be perpetuated in his official Successors as that of Cæsar became a Title to the Roman Emperors, & Pharaoh that of the Egyptian kings. But thus for Posterity, I hope the Title of the present President is fixed so as not to be adulterated during his continuance in Office.

You will forward the enclosed papers, except your Register, by the first Opertunity.

I think Mr. Boudinot⁶ was wrong in not having the Territorial Matters brought forward as early as possible. I want to have the whole Matter settled before the Adjournment, so that Materials may be collecting yet this season for the erection of the public Buildings early in the Spring, the foundations ought to be laid this Fall, I am

Yours &c.

Henry Wynkoop.

[May 20, 1789]

Dear Sir,

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the Receipt of yours of y^e 17th. Spoke to Loyd respecting his Register being so far behind, he lays it to Difficulties in getting them Printed, the second Number not out yet, but send you the Newspapers which generally afford the Substantial parts of the Transactions of each day.

Attended the Levee of the President on tuesday last for y^e first, the Company was numerous, respectable & agreable.

The temporary Bill for collecting the Revenue hath been set aside for the purpose of adopting a permanent System, which hath been for this long time forming in Committee, but not yet reported.

Coll: Bland⁷ was day before yesterday siezed with an apoplectic of which he is again happily recovering, several Gentlemen are complaining of their want of Health, the weather is perpetually cold, damp & chilly, so that our fires are as regularly attended to as in the middle of Winter, indeed one Gentleman who has resided here some years gives it as a disputable Subject wether summer comes at all to this place; The eastern Gentlemen all wish to be permanently settled

⁶ *Elias Boudinot*, Member of Continental Congress, and of the First, Second and Third Congress of the United States.

⁷ *Col. Theodorick Bland*, of Virginia, entered the Continental Army and rendered distinguished service in the Cavalry. Member of Continental Congress, elected to First Congress and died during its session.

on the Falls of the Delaware, & some of them express an Uneasiness at the Proposals not coming forward, I believe if the Pennsylvania Delegation be unanimous in that Spott it will carry by a considerable Majority.

Mr. Ogden's Plaister is too dear for my purse, must therefore do without this Season.

Mean to apply for leave of Absence this day fortnight, so as to gratify myself with a sight of the people of Bucks at the Court.

My Compliments to Crissey, Nicholas & Miss Nancey, with Miss Peggey Cummings if with you yet, & accept the same from

Yours &c.
Henry Wynkoop.

Doctor Reading Beattie.

Direct to H. Wynkoop

Representative in Congress, Newyork.

Newyork, 26th June, 1789.

Dear Sir,

My wishing to be some time in the Neighborhood of Trenton, prevented my calling at your House on my Return, an Omission which must be made up to Crissey in some other way.

The President is recovering, the Disorder terminated in an Ulcer in the Thigh, which hath been opened & is said to be in a fair Way of doing well.

A melancholy Accident befell Mr [Pierce] Butler of the Senate & Mr [Daniel] Huger of the Representatives, both from South Carolina, who riding in a Chair on wednesday evening, the Horse took fright, ran off & shattered the Chair Mr. Butler was much hurt but M^r Huger has one of his legs so fractured that it must be taken off to save his Life, which it is said will yet be doubtfull.

The Impost Bill now lays with the Senate, & a Committee of Conference is Appointed from both Houses

on the Differences which have occurred on that Subject, the Collection Bill is recommitted to a special Committee, the Bills for establishing the Department of foreign affairs & War have passed the Representatives, & that of the Treasury was taken up yesterday.

The unprecedented establishment of leading Principals proves the Cause of great Delay in bringing forward the Operations of the new Government. Happily great Harmony continues to prevail, tho' Individuals differ in Sentiment on particular Subjects, the National Good is the leading Object.

My Compliments to the family which likewise accept from

Yours affectionate

Henry Wynkoop.

Doctor Reading Beattie

Newyork, 3^d July, 1789.

Dear Sir,

I do not wonder that People are surprised at the slow Movement of the New Government, for my own part I had no Conception of it, altho' I was well aware that much time would be requisite for the establishment of those Precedents & Principals, which are to give the leading Ton to the Operations of the Government, yet did not expect so great a consumption of time. The Impost Bill hath at length passed both Houses, & also that on Tonnage, those for the establishment of the three great Departments, of Foreign Affairs, War & the Treasury, have passed the House of Representatives, that for the Collecting the Revenue is yet under Debate.

Great military Parade is expected to-morrow. An Oration will be delivered by one of the Cincinnati half after 12. Tickets have been presented to us by the Baron Steuben.

The President is getting better, but some time will probably elapse before he will be perfectly recovered.

My Compliments to Crissey & a kiss for Miss Nancey. I am

Yours &c.
Henry Wynkoop.

Doct^r
Reading Beattie

Newyork, 31st July, 1789.

Dear Sir,

Came here about eight in the evening after leaving you at Trenton.

The Bill for the Collection of the Impost went to the President yesterday & probably will be returned this day, to-morrow is the first of August, so that the Collection of this Revenue must necessarily take place at such times as the Officers in the different Ports shall receive Information of their Appointments, which will not be an equal Commencement but can not be avoided.

Loyd yesterday promised to send your Registers in arrear, but they have not come in yet.

The Registering of the Shiping & regulating the Coasting Trade is at present the Business before the House, the establishment of the Judiciary probably will be the next Object, that of the Wages and Civil List together with the Disposal of the Lands in the Western Territory, as well as sundry other Concerns, appear to press equally hard upon the Attention of Congress.

My Compliments to Crissey & Nicholas, which likewise accept from

Your affectionate
Henry Wynkoop.

Doctor
Reading Beattie

Newyork 7th Aug. 1789.

Dear Sir,

Having nearly got over the discussion & establishment of general Principles, the Business of Legislature now proceeds as fast as could be expected, the

power of removability by the President is yet in dispute between the two Houses, on the Bill for the establishment of the Treasury Department, The Senate, I believe, in this instance, will have to yield or the Bill will be lost, the Sense of the President on this Subject has already been fully expressed in the Commissions issued to the Revenue Officers, by fixing their tenures during pleasure.

The papers from Trenton have come forward & that Business is put into train of operation, & if possible will be determined before the Adjournment, which Gentlemen are in hopes will take place by September.

The final Question respecting the Compensation of the Members was yesterday taken which terminated in favour of the Report of the Committee six Dollars y^e day.

You will please to forward the enclosed. My Compliments to Crissey, Nicholas & Miss Nancey, which likewise accept from

Your affectionate

Henry Wynkoop.

Doct^r

Reading Beattie

Newyork 12th Aug. 1789.

Dear Sir,

I have received yours of y^e 3^d & 10th, the first not until after I had wrote on Fryday last, have requested Mamma to furnish you with Indian Corn.

The papers respecting the Federal Territory are here, [Thomas] Fitsimmons, [George] Clymer, [Thomas] Hartley & Gen. Mughlenberg are a Committee of Pennsylvanians to attend to it and sound the Eastern Members who are to have a Meeting upon the Subject, which for some time has been deferred on Account of the absence of Mr [Roger] Sherman, who is now return'd, the only Difficulty in the Way is the Scituation being too far eastward of the Centre,

some of y^e Virginia & some of the Maryland Gentlemen have shown a Disposition to meet us on the Susquehanna, how far a Relinquishment of the Potomack will affect the Falls of the Delaware time only can discover, the Susquehanna will certainly loose Newyork and Jersey, who, if they would unanimously fall in with us, would far overballance the Number which can be gained from the two first mentioned States, but the NewYorkers are very silent & nothing can be drawn from them, their predilection in favour of their own Metropolis renders them exceeding cautious.

Have sundry of Loyd's Numbers in possession, but expecting soon to be in Bucks myself, wish not to incumber the Mail with them, the papers inclosed will afford you the Proceedings of Congress except yesterday, which was spent on the Subject of Amendments & establishing the Mode of procedure, this day expect the Merits will be entered upon.

My Compliments to Crissey & Nicholas which likewise accept from

Your affectionate

Henry Wynkoop.

N. A kiss for Miss Nancey.

Newyork Aug. y^e 28th.

Dear Sir,

Yesterday was brought on by Mr. Scott the important Motion, agreeable to previous Notice, for fixing the permanent Residence of Congress, it was opposed generally by the eastern Gentlemen as premature & terminated by fixing it the Order of the day for Thursday next, this was carried by 28 against 21, from present appearances am induced to believe it will be in Pennsylvania somewhere, & from confidential Communications there is a strong probabillity, at the Falls of the Delaware. The discussion of this Subject engrossed the attention of the Cittizens exceedingly, the Galleries were more crowded than I had seen them.

The papers accompanying will afford Information respecting the Proceedings of Congress, the time of adjournment you will perceive is extended to y^e in 22^d Sep^r. by which my Attendance at the next Court will be rendered very precarious, for should the permanent residence be undetermined, my absence from Congress would be very unpopular in Bucks generally, & at the Falls utterly unpardonable.

My best Compliments to Crissey & Nicholas & accept the same from

Your affectionate

Henry Wynkoop.

Doct^r

Reading Beattie.

Newyork Sep^r 4th, 1789.

Dear Sir,

The permanent Seat of Government is at length likely to be fixed & by a much greater Majority than could have been expected, a Situation hath been selected by the Eastern Gentlemen on the East bank of the Susquehannah, which adds to their Strength three Votes from Maryland & probably some more from the Southward. The Debates of yesterday will afford you Information respecting this interesting Subject: since my last to you, when the probability was in favour of the Falls, this Business has been continually wavering & uncertain, one day, the Conclusion might have been in favour of the Delaware, and the next the Potomack, am well aware this will be a Disappointment to the people about you, it is so to me, but as Friend to the general Interests of our Country, we may derive satisfaction from the probability, as things stood yesterday, that a place is fixed upon more generally agreeable to the various Parts of the Union than could have been expected; Virginia indeed appears mortified & chagrined & afforded every Opposition in her Power yesterday, which probably will be brought forward with

renewed Vigour, this morning, the House was ripe for the Decision, but sitting until 4 O'clock yesterday, at length yielded to the Solicitations of the Southern Gentlemen & rose without Determining on the Question.

For my own part, considering the very disagreeable Situation this Subject hath been in for some time past, am happy in the Prospect of its terminating so much to the general Interest of Pennsylvania & Acquiescence of the Union. My Compliments to Crissey & Nicholas & accept the same from

Your affectionate

Henry Wynkoop.

Doctor Reading Beattie.

N. Drank Tea with Aunt Sukey on Wednesday evening.

Newyork 7th Sep' 1789.

Dear Sir,

Having missed the Post on Fryday morning was obliged to put my letters in the Care of Mr. McCann, who may have forgot leaving them at Morton's. The Resolutions for fixing the federal Town at the Susquehannah have been carried in Committee of the whole by a small majority & are now before the House, where it meets with violent Opposition from the Southern Delegation. Consider it now as entirely lost to the falls of the Delaware, tho' Mr. Morris is not wholly disheartened; this Measure has taken a most unaccountable turn, ten Days ago should scarcely have considered it as any Risk for a Man to have staked his life in favour of the Delaware, & at present it would be imprudent to risk a shilling; Should the Susquehannah fail, it goes either to Germantown or the Potomack, most probably to the latter.

• • • • •

See no probabillity of being able to attend our Court at Newtown the week ensuing.

64 *Letters of Judge Henry Wynkoop.*

My Compliments to your little family which likewise
accept from

Your affectionate
Doctor Reading Beattie. Henry Wynkoop.

Newyork 11th Sep^r 1789.

Dear Sir,

Have the pleasure to acknowledge the Receipt of yours of y^e 6th & 9th. I feel very sensibly for the People of the Falls, to have been so nigh gaining a great Object & missing it at last, ever tends to increase the Disapointment. You will readily perceive by the Votes that had the Eastern Members fixed on the Delaware, it would have been carried by at least three Votes more than Susquehannah, for you would have gained Jersey & Delaware 5, & lost two in Maryland, which would have left a Ballance of three.

The place on the Susquehannah will be selected by the Commissioners, who on viewing the Ground will be enabled to decide with propriety.

The bill for allowing Compensation to the Members & Officers of Congress, was lost yesterday, owing to a Principal of Discrimination in favour of the Senate, the establishment of which was refused by the Representatives, this was introduced by proposing 7 Dollars y^e day to the Senators & 6 to the Representatives, so that as matters now stand, we shall have to find our Way home with Purses pretty well emptied.

Am this day for the first time to dine with the Vice-President.

The establishment of the Judiciary is yet undetermined, together with so many matters of great Importance that the adjournment will with great difficulty be accomplished by the time proposed.

My Compliments to Crissey & Nicholas which likewise accept from

Your affectionate
Doctor Reading Beattie. Henry Wynkoop.

(To be continued.)

DIARY OF THE REV. JOHN HENRY HELFFRICH, SEPTEMBER 6, 1771—JANUARY 14, 1772.

Translated from the German, by PROF. WILLIAM J. HINKE, Ph.D.

John Henry Helffrich was the son of John Peter Helffrich, a saddler in Mosbach, a town in the Palatinate, and of his wife, Ann Margaret Dietz. He was born October 22, 1739, at Mosbach. His father died soon after the birth of his only son. Sometime afterwards his mother married the Rev. Peter Helffenstein, pastor at Sinsheim, in the Palatinate. John Henry grew up in the family of his stepfather. On February 2, 1758, he matriculated as student of theology in the University of Heidelberg. In September, 1761, he was licensed as candidate of theology. Then he preached several years as assistant to his stepfather in Sinsheim and Rohrbach. Later he was for several years vicar at Reyen, Kirchhard and Steinfurt. On July 4, 1771, he was commissioned by the Synods of Holland as missionary to Pennsylvania. With him went also his half-brother, John Conrad Albert Helffenstein and a third native of the Palatinate, John Gabriel Gebhard. All three became German Reformed ministers in Pennsylvania. They landed in New York on January 14, 1772. On his arrival in Philadelphia, Mr. Helffrich was sent to the Maxatawny charge, consisting of congregations in Lehigh and Berks Counties, namely Weisenburg, Lowhill, Heidelberg, Long Swamp, Kutztown and others. These he served till his death, Dec. 5, 1810.

Diary.

On September 6, 1771, in the morning, after nine o'clock, we set sail from Amsterdam. At twelve

o'clock we struck ground and needed help, that is, a lighter ship had to take our larger ship in tow. At four we ate our dinner. At eight we drank coffee and nine o'clock we cast anchor in the Zuyder Zee and went to sleep.

On the 7th, in the morning at 5 o'clock, the anchors were weighed. We had a strong wind so that we could not stand erect. My cousin and his wife,¹ as well as my brother, were seasick in the morning, when they wanted to get up and hence had to stay in bed. Mr. Gebhard² and I kept well till two o'clock, when we, too, felt a touch of seasickness, but there was no outward eruption. At twelve o'clock we came to [the island of] Texel, where we cast anchor with great difficulty. It is very dangerous there because of the many sand bars. We passed very close to a stranded ship. The wind blew very strongly till night and the ship was in continual motion. At two o'clock we ate two chickens, but they did not taste well. At 4 o'clock we drank coffee. At 8 o'clock we ate ham and eggs and slept quietly.

On the 8th, Sunday, we intended to weigh anchors, but the wind was so strongly set against us that we kept anchored. Towards evening it stormed so fiercely that the topmost masts had to be taken down. We could make no fire on the ship and the captain cooked the soup for the child³ over candle light. At night, at

¹ As mentioned later, under date November 9th, the name of this cousin was Mr. Doll. What became of him is unknown, cf. Wm. A. Helffrich, *Geschichte verschiedener Gemeinder in Lecha und Berks Counties*, etc. Allentown, 1891, p. 74.

² John Gabriel Gebhard was born February 2, 1750, at Waldorf, in the Palatinata. He matriculated in Heidelberg University in January, 1768. He was commissioned for Pennsylvania in August, 1771. Traveled to America with Helffrich and Helffenstein. He was pastor of Witpen and Worcester, Montgomery County, 1772-1794. Left the Reformed Coetus of Pennsylvania and entered the Dutch Reformed Church. Was pastor of the German Reformed Church in New York City, 1774-1776, at Claverack, N. Y., 1776-1826. Died August 16, 1826, at Claverack, N. Y.

³ This was probably the child of Helffrich's cousin, Mr. Doll.

11 o'clock, another ship passed us and tore away our anchor; another anchor was cast out immediately. We went asleep during a very violent wind.

On the 9th the wind blew strongly. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon it blew so fiercely that three anchors had to be cast and the sails had to be taken down. Mr. Gebhard was compelled to stay in bed most of the day, but he could not find relief. It rained most awfully.

On the 10th the wind died down somewhat but it was contrary. To-day we had great fun with our captain on account of the language.

On the 11th the wind became stronger again. Another ship, which was unable to make use of its anchors, circled around our ship and once rammed into us hard.

On the 12th the wind calmed down, but it was still contrary. The cabin boy wanted to dry a pillow to-day for the child, but threw it into the sea.

On the 13th we at last got south wind. The anchors were weighed, the sails were hoisted and we left the dangerous Zuyder Zee. After 8 o'clock we sailed into the Texel [Stroom] and at 12 o'clock we were in the ocean. In the afternoon there was a calm, hence we could not get very far. At night the wind rose again with a continuous rain till

The 14th, towards evening, but it was contrary wind for us.

On the 15th the wind was still contrary till evening, when we got good wind. During the whole night we were unable to sleep because of the awful rocking of the ship. This continued

The 16th till noon, when we reached the harbor of New Castle. But, because of the contrary wind and the tide, we could not enter port before evening.

On the 17th we went to the wall with the sloop. Here we were met by a large number of people who kissed the child and wanted us to kiss their children.

On the 18th we went to New Castle. Here we had the same experience.

On the 19th we went to the wall with the captain.

On the 20th and the 21st we stayed on the ship. During these days we got two more passengers.

On the 22d we went to the wall.⁴

On the 23d Mr. Gebhard went to the wall together with cousin's wife to make purchases. The mate and a sailor came to blows.

On the 24th we went to the other side of the wall and looked at the glass works.

On the 25th we went to the wall.

On the 26th we stayed on the ship.

On the 27th likewise.

On the 28th, 29th and 30th we went to the wall.

On the first of October we went to the wall and took up another passenger.

On the 2d we wanted to go to sea, but the wind was contrary, hence we went to the wall.

On the 3d to the 5th we remained in the harbor. During this time Mr. Gebhard fell deeply in love with Mad. Wirth, and she with him.

On Sunday, the 6th, at noon, after 1 o'clock, in company with many ships, of which two bumped into ours, we left the harbor, with the rising tide and made for the ocean. Towards evening, all of us, except my brother,⁵ became violently seasick.

On the 7th the seasickness continued. The wind was contrary to us and the waves in great number swept into the ship.

⁴The wall referred to is probably Hadrian's wall, which touches the River Tyne at Wallsend, four miles east of New Castle. See "Hadrian's Wall" in *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

⁵This was his half-brother, John Conrad Albert Helffenstein. He was born at Mosbach on February 16, 1748; matriculated at Heidelberg University, May 7, 1765; commissioned for Pennsylvania, July, 1771; pastor at Germantown, 1772-1776, at Lancaster, 1776-79; at Germantown again, 1779-1790. Died May 17, 1790. Two volumes of his sermons were published after his death.

On the 8th the seasickness left us. The wind was still contrary. The waves were constantly dashing on deck. The sailors had to stand in water on the deck up to the calves of their legs. Mr. Gebhard attempted to go on deck, but a wave came and made him wet through and through.

On the 9th and 10th the wind continued.

On the 11th we saw Holland and [the island of] Texel; but, because of the contrary wind, we could not enter the channel. We had to stay in bed constantly, had no appetite, did not smoke, and at night slept hardly at all. But to-day we ventured on deck and smoked a pipe of tobacco.

On the 12th the wind was strongly opposed to us. We were tacking all this time. This morning a wave came through a window into the cabin of a passenger. He nearly drowned in bed. Towards evening we had a severe storm. For two days only few sails could stay up.

On the 13th we had a terrific storm. The sails were taken in, the uppermost masts had to come down, the rudder was tied fast and the ship was surrendered to the storm and waves. The waves came rolling like mountains, now we were high up, now deep down, now lying on one side and then again on the other. We passed a sleepless night, the waves dashing into our cabin.

On the 14th the storm continued. Shutters were tied against the windows that the waves might not break them. The whole day we had a light in our cabin. Many chickens and ducks, which were on deck, perished because of the quantities of sea water there. In general, since we left Amsterdam, 80 chickens have perished. We were thrown back by the storm so far that it will take us two days to get to the place where we were. Two masts and the forecastle of the ship were damaged. It is fortunate that our ship is so strong

and that we were on the open sea, where we have little to fear from sand banks and rocks. The roaring of the wind and the raging of the waves was terrible to hear. When the waves struck the ship it sounded like the roaring and rattling of cannons. We surrendered ourselves to the divine providence. During the night the storm subsided somewhat, but the sea still raged furiously. My brother became very seasick.

On the 15th, towards noon, the sails were hoisted. Towards evening we had a right good wind, and sailed a little more steadily, although the ship tossed badly.

On the 16th the cabin-boy had a disagreeable breakfast, for the captain thrashed him soundly, because, by his silly talk, he brought about disagreements between the captain and the first mate. The wind was favorable till night, when it became contrary again.

On the 17th we had another storm. The sails were taken in, the rudder was fastened and the ship was given over to the storm. At night, when we were just eating our cold meat, left over from noon, we were frightened not a little. The cabin-boy shouted, full of alarm, to the captain. He jumped from the table and rushed to the deck. He called to a passenger and the light was taken away from our table and carried on deck. I also left the cabin to see what had happened, because we could not understand the French, but I could not see anything and returned to the cabin, yet I was frightened because of the alarming shouts on deck. When the captain came down into the cabin, we were relieved from our fright. I asked him what had happened. Then he told us that a large ship had been heading straight for us with full sails, which because it had the wind in its favor, might easily have run our ship down. My brother had to give up his meals twice.

Through the first storm, on the 13th, we were carried adrift close to Hamburg, but the second storm, on the 17th, did not drive us back so far.

On the 19th the wind was still contrary. The distance which we covered in two weeks we could have traveled in three days with a favorable wind.

On the 20th we got at last good wind.

On the 21st we saw France and England. At 11 o'clock we reached the [English] channel. During the night the wind changed and we met a southwester. This contrary wind lasted till

The 22d.

The 23d and 24th we had largely west wind, which was also contrary for us. Toward evening there was a calm, which continued till

The 25th, towards noon, then there was a violent storm from the west. Towards evening we were off Cowes.

On the 26th, in the afternoon, we entered the harbor. We had ourselves at once transported to the land, where we stayed till

The 30th at night about 11 o'clock. Here we learned that during the last storms more than a hundred ships had been wrecked. Our cousin here recovered from his dangerous illness.

On the 31st, in the morning at 2 o'clock, the anchors were weighed and we sailed with a good but light wind till

The 3d of November, then it became contrary. Towards evening we got a strong northwest wind. This was very good and continued until

The 4th, at night, when it subsided. At this time we left the channel.

On the 5th we had southeast wind, but it was not strong.

On the 6th it blew stronger.

On the 7th we had very strong wind from east north-east. In twenty-four hours we covered 132 English miles.

On the 8th we had a strong east wind. We traveled

130 English miles. During this time the waves repeatedly dashed over the ship and it tossed very much.

On the 9th we had a very strong east wind. The ship covered 150 English miles in twenty-four hours. During the last night a rat tried to take the comforter away from the child, and, as it did not want to give it up, it was bitten in the finger, which bled very profusely. The child screamed, the mother awoke and the rat ran off, without accomplishing its purpose. In the afternoon the wind veered about and we got south wind. After 1 o'clock we were greatly alarmed. Around us black clouds had gathered, it thundered and lightened, all sails were taken in during a heavy down-pour. We passengers helped to haul the sails in, but as they were very heavy, several ropes broke. Twice we met a whirlwind. Fortunately the sails had all been taken in. A wave struck against a window and broke it, so that the whole wave dashed into the cabin. Mr. Gebhard, who was not far from the window, was covered with water, so that nothing was visible of him any more. My brother also got wet, the rest of us retired upon boxes and trunks. The bed of one passenger was filled with water. Our terror was still more increased when the captain called to us to load our rifles. Cousin Doll had a double-barreled gun. I had an ordinary gun. Mr. Gebhard's was covered with grease, hence he could not use it. These are all the firearms on board, we do not even have a cannon. We loaded the double- and single-barreled guns quickly with heavy charges, then we went on deck to learn the cause of the trouble. There we saw that all our sails had quickly been hoisted to escape our danger. The danger was this, the water around us here and there was drawn up in the form of an arrow. When it falls, it comes down with such force that, if it hits a ship, it breaks it to pieces, and even if it touches the ship but slightly, it smashes the deck. It follows the ships.

The English call it a water spout, in Latin it is called *cataracta e nube*, or *rapidus ex aere nimbus*. The only means to scatter the rising water is to break it up by shooting. Towards evening we escaped from this danger as the clouds scattered somewhat. At eight o'clock at night a wave hit the window again, and threw it down, but did not break it. My brother and Mr. Gebhard were again drenched pretty well. I sat at the table upon a trunk and, as I did not lift up my feet quickly enough, the water ran into my shoes. We are to-day not far from the Azores, between them and Lisbon. At night the shutters were tied on.

On the 10th we had northeast wind. This morning a fight took place between the first mate and a sailor. The captain was called, who seized a rope and lashed him thoroughly with it. From twelve o'clock yesterday till twelve o'clock to-day we sailed only 98 English miles. Towards evening we encountered a strong south wind. A passenger had hardly made his bed with great difficulty, when a wave splashed again through the window and drenched everything.

On the 11th we had little east wind. It was as warm to-day as it is on St. John's day [June 24] in the Palatinate.

On the 12th we had north wind. We traveled only 42 English miles. During the last night we could not move for six hours, for we had no wind. At night northeast wind.

On the 13th we had little north wind. We sailed 68 English miles. In the afternoon the captain, first mate, cabin-boy and three sailors dived into the ocean head first. They swam about for some time, either on their stomachs, their side or their back, stood up straight in the water, one even turned a somersault.

On the 14th the wind was contrary, southwest, and hence we had to go northwest. We did not make more than 37 English miles. The night before we stopped altogether for six hours, because we had no wind.

On the 15th the wind was still strongly southwest. We sailed W.N.W. We made 84 English miles. During the night we sailed 14 miles S.E.S. Deducting these 14 miles, which we went back, 70 miles still remain. During the night a rat bit six holes in the finger of the child. It bled profusely. Brother got seasick.

On the 16th the wind was northeast. We went S.W. by W. We made 58 English miles.

On the 17th the wind was south. We made 115 English miles. During the night we got S.W. wind.

On the 18th we had very violent S.W. wind. We sailed towards N.W. The storm raged so furiously that only two sails could stay hoisted up. One sail was torn by the wind, several ropes broke and the rudder was tied fast. Towards evening and during the night the storm was most severe. When the shutters had just been fastened on the windows, a wave broke through a window. We took refuge on trunks and boxes. A passenger, who was lying in bed, jumped out in great haste, but he was drenched all through. The waves broke the stove, a very necessary article. We were no longer troubled by the rats, which before annoyed us frequently. During this storm the wind roared more violently than on the 12th and 13th of August. The sea also was very boisterous. The waves were like the highest mountains. The cook, when before the stove, was almost thrown overboard by a wave. The western sea is not as dangerous because of its wide extent, as the north sea. On the latter the waves follow each other more rapidly and often dash against each other. We made 86 miles towards W.N.W.

On the 20th the wind was W. We sailed W. by S. We made 55 English miles.

On the 21st the wind was S.W. We went W. and N.W. We made 65 miles.

On the 22d we had almost no wind. We made only 19 miles.

On the 23d but little wind. We made only 4 miles towards S.W. by W. This afternoon the captain dived again into the sea, almost three stories high.

On the 24th we had little east wind. We made 52 English miles towards S.W. by W.

On the 25th the wind was contrary, S.W. and W. Since 12 o'clock noon yesterday till 4 o'clock this morning we sailed 30 miles S.W., and till 12 o'clock 32 miles W.N.W. and N.W.N.

On the 26th we had contrary S.W. wind. We sailed most of the time southward and made 89 miles.

On the 27th the wind was still S.W. We sailed 104 miles, partly S. by W., partly south. This morning one of our hogs, weighing 20 [!] pounds was slaughtered. Now we have still another hog of about 35 pounds. For eight days we have had no beef, nothing but some sides of bacon and peas. All the flour, which we intended to save up, has been spoiled by the rats. What will become of us? But God will help us.

On the 28th the wind was largely N.E. We made 96 miles, 72 towards south by west, and 24 miles W.S.W.

On the 29th wind E.N.E. We sailed 80 miles W.S.W.

On the 30th the wind E.N.E. We went 66 miles towards W.S.W. In the afternoon and evening we had no wind. The captain, first mate and several sailors took a dip [in the ocean]. A passenger and a sailor had themselves tied to the ship with a rope, in order to be able to bathe. This was an amusing sight, for they swallowed a good deal of salt water. They did not dare to go far away from the ship because of the large fish in the neighborhood. A few days ago one was very close to the ship. He lashed the water surprisingly high. He was from ten to fourteen feet long, according to the mate. This kind of fish have the mouth under the body. They have not only long teeth and can bite off a human arm or leg, but they can swallow a man whole.

On December 1st, the wind was N.W. We sailed 33 miles southwest by west. Towards evening the wind blew strongly.

On the 2d wind N.E. We went 108 miles W.S.W.

On the 3d the wind N.E. We went 104 miles W.S.W.

On the 4th the wind N.N.E. We went 109 miles W.S.W. This afternoon we almost engaged in a naval battle. Since yesterday we saw a ship in the distance, which was taking its course westward. Early to-day we saw it just ahead of us. It was going fast as it was not heavily laden. They hauled in their sail and thereby gave us to understand that they wanted to speak with us. Our captain directed his course westward and in the afternoon at 3 o'clock we were near it. It carried a white flag and was a French ship going to Martinique. The captains asked each other through the speaking trumpet where they came from and where they were going to. The French captain asked for longitude and latitude and our captain gave them to him. As we had not hoisted a flag, the French captain was displeased and insisted that we hoist one and because we did not do it immediately, he threatened to fire on us with his cannons. If we had only had six cannons, he probably would not have threatened us, or our captain would have made him regret his threat. But now he ordered the flag to be brought up and hoisted, but before it was fully hoisted, he ordered it down again. This annoyed the Frenchman still more. He hauled back several cannons as if to load them. If he had fired on us, our captain, as he said, would have sailed so as to take the wind from him. That would have led to a hand-to-hand fight. But the Frenchman sailed away without firing.

On the 5th wind E.N.E. We went 126 miles towards west.

On the 6th wind E.S.E. We went 109 miles towards west.

On the 7th wind E.S.E. We went 130 miles westward.

On the 8th wind south. We sailed 120 miles W. by N.

On the 9th wind generally south. We made 90 miles towards west by north. This evening at five o'clock, when the sails were shifted about, the captain, the mate and a German sailor heard on the middle mast, below which they stood, a plaintive voice as of a dying man, calling out three times: "O, Yes," the last time it was very low. Towards evening there was vivid lightning, but in the distance.

On the 10th wind S.S.W. We sailed only 65 miles W. by N. In the afternoon we had at one time this, at another time that wind, and again none at all, but repeatedly awful rain.

On the 11th wind generally south. We made 60 miles W. by S. At 12 o'clock, at noon, we had a heavy thunderstorm with awful rain, and at 2 o'clock a violent storm. The middle part of the foremast [the foretopmast] broke and much rigging was torn. It was a sad sight. Moreover, we heard the sad news that it would become worse. May God help us! Along the coast of America there must have been a terrible storm for several days, for the waves coming from N.W. are like high mountains. Near us the storm quickly subsided. The wind came from the north and the sea was very stormy. For two days we have been dissatisfied with our captain. We complained about his poor food, which we can hardly stand. The captain hardly talks to us, but we do not care for that. We have the sailors on our side. These also complain very much. They often beat the cook, but they mean the captain. On

The 12th wind N.E. We sailed 87 miles westward. To-day the piece of the broken mast was again repaired. A storm comes frequently, then the upper

sails have to be taken in. The middle part of the mizzen mast is also split and the bow of the ship is broken. Everything presents a wretched appearance. The child was bitten twice yesterday by rats on the forehead and on the hand.

On the 13th the wind was east. We sailed 100 miles W. by S.

On the 14th the wind was east. We sailed 100 miles towards west. The captain began yesterday to be friendly again. He fears that we might lodge complaints against him before the merchants in New York and in Amsterdam, to whom the ship belongs.

On the 15th the wind was south. We sailed 105 miles towards west. At noon we met black clouds and at night we had a heavy thunderstorm.

On the 16th the wind was north. We sailed 83 miles towards west. In the afternoon and at night we had hardly any wind.

On the 17th the wind was W.N.W. We sailed only 30 miles S.W. by S. This wind continued till

The 18th, in the morning, at 6 o'clock we got north wind. We sailed 86 miles, partly S.W. by S., partly towards west. This afternoon we caught the first fish with the line. It was a dolphin, weighing between 40 and 50 pounds, which was quite good. It had in its stomach a flying fish and one which was white all over and full of sharp points like a hedgehog. We had already caught three flying fish, which had fallen on the ship. They cannot fly far.

On the 19th the wind was N.E. We sailed 90 miles towards west by north and W.N.W. This noon we saw a young whale, which swam for over an hour around our ship and was often so near that it was not farther away than three steps. It was more than 40 feet long, grey on top, green below. The old whales are more than 120 feet long.

On the 20th was east wind. We sailed 76 miles

W.N.W. This afternoon we saw for over an hour, as far as the eye could reach, everywhere full of fish, now they showed their head, now their back above water. They were of the kind which eat up people. The English call them porpoises. In Latin they are called *Phocæna*. During the night the wind veered about till it was N.W. by W.

On the 21st the wind was N.W. We sailed 69 miles, partly W.N.W., partly W.S.W. This morning we caught again a dolphin, but it was not large.

On the 22d but little wind, N.N.W. and N. We sailed 53 miles W. by S. and west.

On the 23d very little wind, then N.N.W. We sailed 46 miles W. and W.N.W.

On the 24th very little wind, N.N.W. and north. We sailed 45 miles towards W.N.W. and N.W. by W.

On the 25th there was little N.E. wind. We sailed 59 miles towards N.W. This morning they began doling out the water. Everyone, passenger as well as sailor, gets daily about two and a half pints. Of this he must again give up some for tea and soup. In the forenoon each passenger gets a little glass of wine. On account of the terribly salty and stinking meat, which we only get in scant quantities, our thirst is extraordinary. We have only a small supply of peas. We get them twice a week with bacon. Then we have yet four hams and some pickled beef. Occasionally cold beef, cut into small pieces, together with biscuit and water are cooked into a soup, for which we have to give up our water. We are already suffering hunger and thirst. With favorable wind we might get to New York within ten days. But we may also, when near to the harbor of New York, be held up for seven weeks or more by north wind, and even be compelled to enter a southern harbor. To-day we saw again a ship in the distance. At noon it was near us. It came from Boston and was headed southward to catch

whales. Our captain asked for longitude and latitude. We heard that during the whole journey he had miscalculated only a few miles.

On the 26th we had very little N.E. wind. We made only 28 miles towards N.W.

On the 27th the wind was N.N.E. We sailed 71 miles N.W.

On the 28th the wind was N.E. and east. We sailed 80 miles towards N.W. and north. During the last few days it was so warm that we could hardly stand it. At night we slept under a sheet. But now it is a little cooler. The farther north we get, the colder it will become.

On the 29th we had but very little east wind. We only made 38 miles towards N.W. by N. To-day there was an extraordinary heat. Towards evening the captain bathed [in the ocean].

On the 30th, was very little east wind. We sailed only 23 miles towards N.W. by N. Yesterday and to-day we saw two ships, but because we had no wind, we did not meet. To-day we ate our last oatmeal.

On the 31st we had little and variable wind, S.W. and W. We went only 25 miles towards N.W. by N. and N.N.W. and E. This noon we saw again a waterspout in the distance. May God turn it away from us! In the afternoon the wind was contrary, N.W. and N.N.W. At 12 o'clock, at night, we got northeast wind. This evening at 7 o'clock, when it was 12 o'clock at home, we wished them [our people at home] a happy New Year.

On January 1st, 1772, the wind was N.E. by E. We sailed 22 miles towards N.E. and N.E. by E., and 77 miles N.W. by N. At night the wind changed to south.

On January 2d the wind was S.W. by W. We sailed 94 miles towards N.W. To-day we saw again two ships in the distance. In the afternoon we struck a W.S.W. wind. At night it veered about to N.N.E.

On the 3d the wind was N.N.E. We sailed 40 miles N.W. by N., 18 miles towards N.E. by E. and 18 miles towards N.W., in all 76 miles. At night the wind changed by way of south to S.W. There was but very little wind.

On the 4th the wind was W.S.W. We sailed 30 miles towards N.W. by N. During the last night a sailor saw a white woman on deck. Towards evening the wind blew up strong. There was lightning in the distance. At night the wind became contrary, strongly N.N.W.

On the 5th we had very strong wind, N.N.W. We sailed 43 miles towards N.W. by N. and 49 miles N.E. It stormed terribly and the waves came often upon deck.

On the 6th the wind was N.N.W. We sailed 40 miles towards N.E. and 31 miles towards west. This noon we saw a sloop. We sailed towards it, but could not speak with it, because it passed by too quickly. Towards evening we had no wind. At 10 o'clock at night we had a terrible storm from the southwest.

On the 7th we sailed 7 miles towards west, 74 miles towards N.W. by N. The waves dashed frequently upon deck. This morning our last hog, which we had kept for an emergency, was washed overboard. Gebhard was drenched by a wave and became seasick. He stayed in bed most of the time. The storm tore our topmost sail, but it drives us toward land. In four days we can be in New York with this wind. This afternoon my brother H., Gebhard and two passengers were drenched by a wave, which covered the whole ship, while I had gone down to fill my pipe. At night the storm calmed down and the wind changed by way of north to east.

On the 8th but little east wind. We sailed 75 miles towards N.W. by N.

On the 9th violent wind. We sailed 72 miles towards N.N.W.

On the 10th the wind was N. by W. We sailed 23 miles towards N.E. by E., 41 miles towards west, 17 miles towards W. by N. To-day and yesterday it was too cold to be on deck.

On the 11th, contrary wind. We sailed 16 miles towards N.E., 18 towards west. We have thrown out the sounding line several times, but for 720 ft. found no bottom. The ocean is so deep that the sounding line of a merchant vessel, of 12,000 [!] lengths, did not find bottom. In the afternoon the wind was N.E., at night it blew strongly from E.S.E.

On the 12th the wind was E.S.E. We sailed 104 miles N.N.W. This morning we struck ground 210 feet deep.

On the 13th we had west wind. We sailed 100 miles towards N. by E. This morning we saw the land of New Jersey. At six at night we saw fire on a tower on the land, which is lighted every evening for the safety of the ships. We sailed close to a sandbank, and to our greatest joy we cast anchor in front of the harbor at 12 o'clock at night.

On the 14th, in the morning at 8 o'clock, we entered the harbor and at 2 o'clock we were on land in America. Thou, O God, hast helped us through wind and weather, help us also in that which we want to undertake here!

THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF'S GUARD.

[The following letters of Major Caleb Gibbs, Commandant, and Lieutenants Henry P. Livingston and Levi Holden, of the Commander-in-Chief's Guard, Colonels Tench Tilghman and Richard K. Meade, of his staff, have been selected from the "Chaloner Papers," in the Manuscript Division of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, principally for the information they contain relative to supplies for the mess of the Commander-in-Chief, at Headquarters Middlebrook, Morristown, White Plains, The Cove, West Point and Newburgh. For an interesting history of the Guard, see "The Commander-in-Chief's Guard, Revolutionary War," by Carlos E. Godfrey, M.D.]

Head Quarters [Middlebrook] June 5, 1777.

A provision Return of 43 men & 1 wash woman for
3 Days of his Excellency General Washington's Guard
&c.

132 Rations,
132 Beef,
198 flour.

Henry P. Livingston
Lieut.

Sir,

Let the Bearer have a Weeks provision for 2 Men
of His Excellency's Guard, going on his Service to
Baskenridge.

To Commissary.

H. P. Livingston Lieut'

14 Rations,
14 Pork,
21 flour.

Head Quarters Middle Brook,
7th June 1777.

Sir.

Deliver the bearer a Deserter from the British Army
Provision to carry him to Philadelphia.

Richard K. Meade

To Commissary of Provision

A. D. C.

Head Quarters [Neshaminy] Aug^t 16, 1777.

Sir.

Let the Bearer have 1 Days provision for 48 Men & 1 Woman of His Excellency's Guard.

H. P. Livingston

To the Commissioury

Lt. G^{as}

49 Rations,

37 pork,

61 W flour.

Head Quarters White plains

23^a July 1778.

Sir

None of the Stores which I bespoke for his Excellency have yet arrived. We are out of Tea and Sugar and if they are not already sent on, be pleased to send a pound of the former and half a dozen loaves of the latter by the very first conveyance. The other things to follow as quick as possible.

I am Sir

y^r most obed^t Serv^t

Tench Tilghman.

To John Chaloner, Esq:

Ass^t Comm^r Purchases

Phila^{as}.

[This letter is franked by "G^o Washington."]

Head Quarters Middle Brook.

26th March 1779.

Sir,

The three waggons with the stores for His Excellency have arrived safe—the two bb^l which you thought were hams and good Bacon, proves to be, one of dry shad-fish the other of very indifferent pork so bad it is scarce fit to be seen & utterly impossible to use. His Excell^r desires me to inform you of this and make the proper alteration to the Account. If you have any very good hams please to order some by the first con-

veyance;—Col^o Blaine told me he expected some very good from Virginia.

I am Sir

Your most Obed^t Servant

C. Gibbs. M. C^{at} Guards.

John Chaloner, Esq^r

Head Quarters 7^a June 1779.*

Sr.

Please to send pr bearer a rump & surloin best beef & a hind Quarter Mutton for his Excellency Gen. G. Washington's Table.

Pat Maguire.

To Mr. Phillips.

Mr. Chaloner will please observe there were 4 Q^r Casks drawn out of 2 pipes wine mk'd for Gen Washington the 23^d July not chg^d in a/c.

Head Quarters West Point

5th Septemb^r 1779.

Dear Sir

A word to the wise (as the saying is) is fully sufficient.

His Excellency's family is destitute of Loaf sugar, Cheese, Coffee, Chocolate, &c. &c. and many other necessary articles for the family. I observe by the Pennsylvania paper of the 31st Ult^o that a prize has arrived at Phil^a with many good things that are wanted particularly loaf sugar. I make no doubt you will take the hint, and by the first conveyance supply the wants of the poor and needy. I urge this matter as the Count de la Luzerne sets off this day from Boston, (who will call on His Excell^y a few days). If this letter reaches you in such season as the Articles wanted can get here in 10 or 12 days from this date, I would wish that a light waggon may be dispatch with those things. If

* Smith's Tavern in the Clove, Orange Co., New York.

a quarter Cask of Claret or good Port wine could be forwarded, with such other necessaries as your own good sense will point out, it will not be amiss.

We have nothing new in this quarter, the Army is Exceedingly hearty & well.

I am

Dear Sir

Your most Obed^t Serv^t
C. Gibbs. M. C^{at} Guards.

P. S.

Let me hear from you If you please how you are like to succeed.

John Chaloner, Esq^r

Head Quarters Morris Town.

18th Feb^r 1780.

D^r Sir,

According to your requisition I send you a memorandum of what Articles were missing of the things that were forwarded for his Excell^r some time since, Viz—1 box Spermacitie Candles one b^l Containing 2 loaves sugar. I doubt not you will endeavour to make a discovery of the Villiany. We are out of Beer, you will please send on a large Quantity as soon as possible. A barrell of Cranberries are much wanted, please forward one soon, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb nutmegs Also. Altho it is much out of your line yet I know not who to ask for a Coffee Mill, will you please send one. Nothing new with us. We are all well. *in haste,*

I am

D^r Sir

With great Regard

Your most Obed^t

humb^l Servant

C. Gibbs. M. C^{at} Guards.

John Chaloner, Esq^r

A. C. P.

Head Quarters Morris Town.
15th March 1780.

Gentlemen

Your favour of the 4th inst. came to hand while I was absent from Head Quarters in the Country otherwise I should have answered it sooner.

The two loaves sugar which you suppose was in the Cask with the Coffee proved not to be, as I had it thoroughly examined in the presence of M^r Blair & which he was satisfied upon—the Spermatic Candles have not as yet Come to light.

The Beef, nutmegs, & Coffee Mill was receipted for by Doct^r M^cHenry in my absence.

I have to request you would be so kind as to procure a barrell of Cranberries & have them forwarded as soon as possible for the use of the family—I hope you will not fail in this as they are exceedingly wanted.

I Am With due Respect

Your most Obed^t

humb^l Serv^t

C. Gibbs. M. C^{apt} Guards.

Messrs. Chaloner & White.

Head Quarters Dec^r 6. [torn]

Sir

M^r Washington desires to have Thirty or Forty pounds of Currents and Six pounds of Citron procured and sent to Head Quarters as soon as possible.

I am Sir

your very H^{ble} Serv^t

L Holden L^t in Comd.

John Chaloner, Esq^r

in Chiefs Guard.

A. C. P.

Head Quarters [Morristown] 15th April. 1780.

Gentlemen

On monday next the Minster of France [de la Luzerne] sets off for this place, and I have to Request

you would be so kind as to forward with all possible dispatch several Articles I wrote for some time since the receipt of your last, for the use of His Excellency's family—Particularly the Article of Beer (which we use a great deal of), Loaf sugar, currants, Cranberries &c. &c., in fact we are very scanty in almost everything that I wrote for at that time.

Let me entreat you Gentlemen if it is a thing possible, to forward the things on & that they may arrive by the time or soon after the arrival of the Minister which will be on Wednesday next.

I rest assured that everything will be done in your power.

I am
Gentlemen
Your most Obed'
humb' Servant
C. Gibbs. M. C^{ts} Guards.

Messrs. Chaloner & White.
A. P. Com^r.

Sir

Their is wanted at Head Quarters, a few bottles of musterd, I must beg leave to trouble you to send them on by the first conveyance, I wrote Col^o Wadsworth for a few Currant, and Citron. Col^o Tilghman informed me you would do the business for him.

I am Sir
your H'ble Serv^t
L Holden L^t Comd^t
Comd. in Chiefs Guard

Head Quarters [Newburgh].

Dec^r 12th 82.

M^r John Chaloner, Esq^r.

**IMPORTANT LETTER OF SECRETARY OF
WAR, HON. E. M. STANTON, WRITTEN IN
1862.**

Contributed by **JAMES M. SWANK.**

The reader whose memory goes back to the early days of the civil war in this country will remember the reason given by General George B. McClellan for the failure of the Peninsular campaign in 1862. He said that troops whose assistance he needed, under the command of General McDowell, were withheld from him. This reason was repeated in the House of Representatives in 1886 by General Joseph Wheeler, of Alabama, and in a way which gave great offense to the friends of Secretary Stanton, who died a few years after the close of the war. On June 8, 1886, Hon. William D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, replied to General Wheeler, producing and reading the following letter which the Secretary had written on May 18, 1862, to an old and intimate personal friend, the Rev. Heman Dyer, D.D., an Episcopal clergyman:

“WASHINGTON, D. C., May 18, 1862.

“My Dear Friend: Yours of the 10th is welcomed as an evidence of the continued regard of one whose esteem I have always been anxious to possess. I have been very well aware of the calumnies busily circulated against me in New York and elsewhere respecting my relations to General McClellan, but am compelled from public considerations to withhold the proofs that would stamp the falsehood of the accusations and the base motives of the accusers, who belong to two classes. First. Plunderers, who have been driven from the Department when they were gorging millions. Second. Scheming politicians, whose designs are endangered by an earnest, resolute, and uncompromising prosecution of this war as a war against rebels and traitors. A brief statement of facts on official record, which I can make to you confidentially, will be sufficient to satisfy yourself that your confidence in me has not been misplaced.

90 *Letter of Secretary of War, Hon. E. M. Stanton.*

"First. When I entered the Cabinet I was and had been for months the sincere and devoted friend of General McClellan, and to support him, and so far as I might aid and assist him in bringing the war to a close, was a chief inducement for me to sacrifice my personal happiness to a sense of public duty. I had studied him earnestly with an anxious desire to discover the military and patriotic virtue that might save the country, and if in any degree disappointed I had hoped on and waited for time to develop.

"I went into the Cabinet about the 20th of January. On the 27th the President made his Order No. 1, requiring the Army of the Potomac to move. It is not necessary, or perhaps proper, to state all the causes which led to that order, but it is enough to know that the Government was on the verge of bankruptcy, and at the rate of expenditure the armies must move or the Government perish. The 22d of February was the day fixed for movement, and when it arrived there was no more sign of movement on the Potomac than there had been for three months before. Many, very many, earnest conversations I had held with General McClellan, to impress him with the absolute necessity of active operations or that the Government would fall because of foreign intervention and enormous debt.

"Between the 22d of February and the 8th of March the President had again interfered, and a movement on Winchester and to clear the blockade of the Potomac was promised, commenced, and abandoned. The circumstances can not yet be revealed. On the 8th of March the President again interfered, ordered the Army of the Potomac to be organized into army corps, and that operations should commence.

"Two lines of operations were open—one moving directly on the enemy at Manassas and forcing him back on Richmond, beating and destroying him by superior force, and all the time keeping the Capital secure by lying between it and the enemy. This was the plan favored by the President. The other plan was to transfer the troops by water to some point on the lower Chesapeake, and thence advance on Richmond. This was General McClellan's plan. The President yielded his own views, although they were supported by some of the best military men in the country, and consented that the general should pursue his own plans. But by a written order he imposed the special condition that the army should not be removed without leaving a sufficient force in and around Washington to make the Capital perfectly secure against all danger, and that the force required should be determined by the judgment of all the commanders of the army corps.

"In order to enable General McClellan to devote his whole energy to the movement of his own army, (which was quite enough to tax the ability of the ablest commander in the world,) he was relieved from the charge of the other military departments, it being supposed that the respective commanders were competent to direct the operations in their own departments. To enable General McClellan to

transport his force every means and power of the Government were placed at his disposal and unsparingly used. When a large part of his force had been transferred to Fortress Monroe, and the whole of it about to go in a few days, information was given to me by various persons that there was great reason to fear that no adequate force had been left to defend the Capital in case of sudden attack; that the enemy might detach a large force and seize it at a time when it would be impossible for General McClellan to render any assistance. Serious alarm was expressed by many persons and many warnings given me which I could not neglect. I ordered a report of the force left to defend Washington. It was reported by the commander to be less than twenty thousand raw recruits, with not a single organized brigade. A dash like that made a short time before at Winchester would at any time take the Capital of the nation. The report of the force left to defend Washington and the order of the President were referred to Major-General Hitchcock and Adjutant-General Thomas to report—

“First. Whether the President’s orders had been complied with; Second. Whether the force left to defend the city of Washington was sufficient.

“They reported in the negative on both points. These reports were submitted to the President, who also consulted General Totten, General Taylor, General Meigs, and General Ripley. They agreed in the opinion that the Capital was not safe. The President then by written order directed me to retain one of the army corps for the defense of Washington, either Sumner’s or McDowell’s; as part of Sumner’s corps had already embarked I directed McDowell to remain with his command. And the reason was approved by the President.

“Down to this period there had never been a shadow of difference between General McClellan and myself. It is true that I thought his plan of operations objectionable, as the most expensive, the most hazardous, and most protracted that could have been chosen; but I was not a military man, and while he was in command I would not interfere with his plan, and gave him every aid to execute it. But when the case had assumed the form it had done by his disregard of the President’s orders, and by leaving the Capital exposed to seizure by the enemy, I was bound to act, even if I had not been required by the specific written order of the President. Will any man question that such was my duty?

“When this order was communicated to General McClellan it of course provoked his wrath, and the wrath of his friends was directed upon me because I was the agent of its execution. If the force had gone forward as he had designed I believe that Washington would this day be in the hands of the rebels.

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extent that Franklin's division (being part of McDowell's corps that had been retained) was detached and sent forward by boat to McClellan.

"This was against my judgment, because I thought the whole force of McDowell should be kept together and sent forward by land on the shortest route to Richmond, thus aiding McClellan, and at the same time covering and protecting Washington by keeping between it and the enemy. In this operation Major-General Hitchcock, General Meigs, and Adjutant-General Thomas agreed; but the President was so anxious that General McClellan should have no cause of complaint that he ordered the force to be sent by water, although that route was then threatened by the *Merrimac*. I yielded my opinion to the President's order; but between him and me there has never been the slightest shadow since I entered the Cabinet, and except the retention of the force under McDowell by the President's orders, for the reasons mentioned, General McClellan has never made a request or expressed a wish that has not been promptly complied with, if in the power of the Government. To me personally he has repeatedly expressed his confidence and his thanks in the dispatches sent me.

"Now, one word as to political motives. What motives can I have to thwart General McClellan? I am not now, never have been, and never will be a candidate for any office. I hold my present post at the request of the President, who knew me personally, but to whom I had not spoken from the 4th of March, 1861, until the day he handed me my commission. I knew that everything I cherish and hold dear would be sacrificed by accepting office. But I thought I might help to save the country, and for that I was willing to perish. If I wanted to be a politician or a candidate for any office would I stand between the Treasury and the robbers who are howling around me? Would I provoke and stand against the whole newspaper gang in the country, of every party, who to sell news would imperil a battle?

"I was never taken for a fool, but there could be no greater madness than for a man to encounter what I do for anything else than motives that overleap time and look forward to eternity. I believe that God Almighty founded this Government, and for my act in the effort to maintain it I expect to stand before Him in judgment.

"You will pardon this long explanation, which has been made to no one else. It is due to you, who were my friends when I was a poor boy at school, and had no claim upon your confidence or kindness. It can not be made public for obvious reasons. General McClellan is at the head of our chief army, he must have every confidence and support, and I am willing that the whole world should revile me rather than to diminish one grain of the strength needed to conquer the rebels. In a struggle like this justice or credit to individuals is but dust in the balance.

"Desiring no office or honor, and anxious only for the peace and

quiet of my home, I suffer no inconvenience beyond that which arises from the trouble and anxiety suffered by worthy friends like yourself, who are naturally disturbed by the clamors and calumnies of those whose interest or feelings are hostile to me.

"The official records will at the proper time fully prove—First. That I have employed the whole power of the Government unsparingly to support General McClellan's operations. Second. That I have not interfered with or thwarted them in any particular. Third. That the force retained from his expedition was not needed and could not have been employed by him; that it was retained by express orders of the President upon military investigation and upon the best military advice in the country. That its retention was required to save the Captial from the danger to which it was exposed by a disregard of the President's positive order of the 6th of March. Fourth. That between the President and myself there has never been the slightest shadow of a difference upon any point, save the detachment of Franklin's force, and that was a point of no significance, but in which I was sustained by Generals Hitchcock, Meigs, Thomas, and Ripley, while the President yielded only to an anxious desire to avoid complaint, declaring at the same time his belief that the force was not needed by General McClellan.

"You will, of course, regard this explanation as being in the strictest confidence, designed only for your information upon matters where you have expressed concern for me.

"The confidence of yourself, and men like you, is a full equivalent for all the railing that has been or can be expended against me; and in the magnitude of the cause all merely individual questions are swallowed up.

"I shall always rejoice to hear from you, and am as ever,

Truly yours,

EDWIN M. STANTON."

Secretary Stanton's circumstantial and pathetic letter to his friend Dr. Dyer should forever set at rest all criticism of his treatment of General McClellan in connection with the latter's unfortunate Peninsular campaign. Such withholding of support from General McClellan as occurred in that movement against the enemy was ordered by President Lincoln and not by Secretary Stanton, and for what he did in this matter Mr. Lincoln assigned very good reasons.

VALLEY FORGE.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has recently acquired the papers of John Chaloner, Commissary of Purchases to Washington's army, comprising Letter Books, Receipt Books, Muster Rolls, and a voluminous correspondence connected with his department. These very valuable papers cover the period between the later part of 1777 and the capture of Lord Cornwallis' forces at Yorktown. As a whole, they develop a better knowledge of the workings of this important department than other Revolutionary papers in the collections of the Society or elsewhere. Washington's orders for the movement of his army from Valley Forge on the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British army, and a few other documents, have been selected for publication.

*Order of March & Route of the Army from Camp
Valley Forge to Newborough on the North
River opposite Fishkill.*

Poor, Varnum, Huntington, 1st Pennsylvania,	}	1	Lee,	Corriels.
2d. Pennsylvania, late Conways, Woodford, Scott, N° Carolina,				
Glover, Patterson, Learned, Weedon, Mulenberg, 1st Maryland, 2d ditto.	}	2	Mifflin	Sherads.
	}	3	Marquis	Corriels.
	}	4	DeKalb	Easton.
	}	5th	Stirling.	Corriels.

The Detachment under Col. Jackson to move & take Possession of Philadelphia & prevent plundering &

any abuse of Persons. Vanschoick's Regt. to replace the 8th P. Regiment in the P. Brigade.

The 2d State Regiment of Virginia to replace the 13th Regt., Scotts Brigade. Part of Artillery to be attach'd to the Several Divisions Equally & march with them. The 1st & 2^d Divisions to move the Morning after Intelligence is rec^d of the Enemy's Evacuation of the City—the 3^d & 4th Divisions the Morning after these & the 5th Division the morning succeeding—every days March to begin at 4 o'clock A. M. at furthest.

G^o Washington.

1st 3^d & 5th Divisions by Corriels Ferry & through to the Clove by Smiths—

To Corriels & Cross	3 days
Halt 1 Day	1 "
White House	1 "
3 Miles beyond the Cross Roads	1 "
4 Miles beyond Morris Town	1 "
Halt	1 "
Pompton Bridge	1 "
Suffereans	1 "
near Smiths Tavern	1 "
halt if necessary	1 "
Newborough	1 "

13 days

2^d Division by Sherads ferry & Sussix Court House.

To Sherads ferry & cross	3 days
Halt	1 "
Union Iron Works	1 "
Hackitts Town	1 "
Sussix Court House	1 "
Halt	1 "

Valley Forge.

4 miles beyond C. Martins	1 day
Warwick	1 “
5 miles beyond Chester	1 “
halt if necessary	1 “
Newborough	1 “

 13 days
4th Division by East Town & Sussix Court House.

To Easton	3 days
Halt	1 “
Crossing	1 “
6 miles beyond Reers	1 “
Sussix Court House	1 “
Halt	1 “
Then same as 2 ^d Division	5 “

 13 days

Regard to be had to the Convenience of Water as well as Distance.

The Disposition for the Baggage of the Army to be as follows.

The Commander in Chief's Baggage is to follow Lord Stirling's Division—The Adjutant Gen^l—Pay Master Gen^l—Muster Master Gen^l—Auditors of accompts—Gen^l Off^r of the Division—Baggage of the Division—Waggons of the Q^r M^r Gen^l Department—Military Stores—Flying Hospital next & lastly the Commissary & Forage Master Gen^l. The Waggons of the other Divisions to follow the Division in order following—The Gen^l Off^r in front of the Columns of Waggons next to the troops the Regimental baggage & tents—Q^r M^r Gen^l Stores belonging to the Brigades, Commissary Stores & lastly the Forage Waggons—

The Gen^l Off^r Commanding the Grand division to appoint such Guards upon the Baggage as shall be necessary for the security thereof. They will also

Valley Forge.

and you say the business of your department would be prejudiced by his immediate removal, His Excellency consents to your detaining him in the capacity in which he has hitherto been employed under you, 'till another can be provided, and the fact of his discharge investigated.

I am your most obed^t Serv^t

John Laurens,
Aide de Camp.

The Waggon Master General.

Head Quarters 18 June 1778.

Sir.

You are immediately to appoint an Active person of your department, for the purpose of collecting and taking possession of all provisions the Enemy may have left behind them, in Philadelphia, as well as for making any other necessary arrangement there to your department—particular orders for which he will receive from Major General Arnold, who will command in the City.

I am Sir

Your most obedient Serv^t
G^o Washington

The Commiss^r Gen^l of Purchases.

Camp Valley Forge June 19th 1778.

Sir.

The above is a Copy of His Excellencys order to me —You are hereby appointed to collect & take possession of all provisions that may be found in the City of Philadelphia and to execute every matter in my Department within this City 'till further directed by Col. Blaine D. C. G. of Purchases.

Your Hum Serv^t

Jere Wadsworth.

To Jno. Chaloner Esq.
Purch^o Comm^r.

Pawling Ford 22^d Feb^r 1778

Dear White,

Am order'd by his Excellency Gen^l Washington and Committee of Congress on a tour of four Hundred Miles. Congress is very Pressing for a statement of our Acct—as soon as you arrive here you will begin to regulate my Acc^{ts}, take Possession of two Rooms in old Mr. Pawlings and so soon as the Bridge is finished move there, the first thing is to regulate the Acc^{ts}, the Cattle delivered to the sundry Divisions, Brigades, and Detachments of the Army this done and as soon as you receive a regular sett of Books from me, you will prepare them for opening proper Acc^{ts} against each purchaser—these books will forward to you by very first opportunity and am D^r Sir

Your Hble Serv^t,

Mr White.

Eph. Blaine.

N. B. Mr Chaspyon is engaged to assist me.

90 *Letter of Secretary of War, Hon. E. M. Stanton.*

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92 *Letter of Secretary of War, Hon. E. M. Stanton.*

extent that Franklin's division (being part of McDowell's corps that had been retained) was detached and sent forward by boat to McClellan.

"This was against my judgment, because I thought the whole force of McDowell should be kept together and sent forward by land on the shortest route to Richmond, thus aiding McClellan, and at the same time covering and protecting Washington by keeping between it and the enemy. In this operation Major-General Hitchcock, General Meigs, and Adjutant-General Thomas agreed; but the President was so anxious that General McClellan should have no cause of complaint that he ordered the force to be sent by water, although that route was then threatened by the *Merrimac*. I yielded my opinion to the President's order; but between him and me there has never been the slightest shadow since I entered the Cabinet, and except the retention of the force under McDowell by the President's orders, for the reasons mentioned, General McClellan has never made a request or expressed a wish that has not been promptly complied with, if in the power of the Government. To me personally he has repeatedly expressed his confidence and his thanks in the dispatches sent me.

"Now, one word as to political motives. What motives can I have to thwart General McClellan? I am not now, never have been, and never will be a candidate for any office. I hold my present post at the request of the President, who knew me personally, but to whom I had not spoken from the 4th of March, 1861, until the day he handed me my commission. I knew that everything I cherish and hold dear would be sacrificed by accepting office. But I thought I might help to save the country, and for that I was willing to perish. If I wanted to be a politician or a candidate for any office would I stand between the Treasury and the robbers who are howling around me? Would I provoke and stand against the whole newspaper gang in the country, of every party, who to sell news would imperil a battle?

"I was never taken for a fool, but there could be no greater madness than for a man to encounter what I do for anything else than motives that overleap time and look forward to eternity. I believe that God Almighty founded this Government, and for my act in the effort to maintain it I expect to stand before Him in judgment.

"You will pardon this long explanation, which has been made to no one else. It is due to you, who were my friends when I was a poor boy at school, and had no claim upon your confidence or kindness. It can not be made public for obvious reasons. General McClellan is at the head of our chief army, he must have every confidence and support, and I am willing that the whole world should revile me rather than to diminish one grain of the strength needed to conquer the rebels. In a struggle like this justice or credit to individuals is but dust in the balance.

"Desiring no office or honor, and anxious only for the peace and

quiet of my home, I suffer no inconvenience beyond that which arises from the trouble and anxiety suffered by worthy friends like yourself, who are naturally disturbed by the clamors and calumnies of those whose interest or feelings are hostile to me.

"The official records will at the proper time fully prove—First. That I have employed the whole power of the Government unsparingly to support General McClellan's operations. Second. That I have not interfered with or thwarted them in any particular. Third. That the force retained from his expedition was not needed and could not have been employed by him; that it was retained by express orders of the President upon military investigation and upon the best military advice in the country. That its retention was required to save the Capital from the danger to which it was exposed by a disregard of the President's positive order of the 6th of March. Fourth. That between the President and myself there has never been the slightest shadow of a difference upon any point, save the detachment of Franklin's force, and that was a point of no significance, but in which I was sustained by Generals Hitchcock, Meigs, Thomas, and Ripley, while the President yielded only to an anxious desire to avoid complaint, declaring at the same time his belief that the force was not needed by General McClellan.

"You will, of course, regard this explanation as being in the strictest confidence, designed only for your information upon matters where you have expressed concern for me.

"The confidence of yourself, and men like you, is a full equivalent for all the railing that has been or can be expended against me; and in the magnitude of the cause all merely individual questions are swallowed up.

"I shall always rejoice to hear from you, and am as ever,

Truly yours,

EDWIN M. STANTON."

Secretary Stanton's circumstantial and pathetic letter to his friend Dr. Dyer should forever set at rest all criticism of his treatment of General McClellan in connection with the latter's unfortunate Peninsular campaign. Such withholding of support from General McClellan as occurred in that movement against the enemy was ordered by President Lincoln and not by Secretary Stanton, and for what he did in this matter Mr. Lincoln assigned very good reasons.

me are more elegant than anything I have seen of that kind. The Peasants also have their sports of resting, rolling Eggs, &c., it is indeed a day of Jubilee. The day following the Baliwicks & offices of Consequence are drawn for, if 30 mean to draw there are so many Black Balls put in a Box & golden ones for the Baliwic; the Gentlemen must have gloves on that draw, and my Tillier was expected by every body to draw for the Castle his Pap'a was Governor of, but he means if life is spared to visit America before he settles. You may be sure the distant prospect of once more seeing you my belov'd sister & Brother is delightful to a sister who loves you with the sincere tenderness that I do. Berne has never been known so sickly as the past winter & present spring, few families without three & four sick at a time & at present the measles rages with great violence; in general it is very healthy. The streams of water are tended with the greatest Care, the sides & bottom are Paved with large flat stones & the stream turn'd where ever it is most advantageous to the farm; the Peasants neglect nothing belonging to them. Sometime ago two of them had a Law suit that lasted for several years & much money was expended by both parties, About a Stream of water that had been dry for fifteen years before the Comencement of the suit. This is an Excellent Country for Lawyers, tho' none but Citizens can follow any business what ever; trade is not encouraged; the Town is chiefly the residence of Ancient Rich families, officers of State, with Mechanic's to supply them. There is a large fair twice a year that supplies us with everything, we want, from Itali, France & Germany. It will give you pleasure to hear my good man is promoted, in the State, tho' he has no profit from it, but honor; he is one of the sixteen, they are the Censor, for which he has a Medal. It is a great Compliment as could have been paid, as there are none but old

Letters of Rudolph and Sarah Biddle Tillier. 107

Balifs in this Office & M^r Tillier, the only young man, the Honor is the more esteem'd. Heaven bless you my very dear Sister, Brother & babes, prays your, Aunt & Sister.

Tillier.

Berne May the 8.

We have lost a Sistor of M^r Tillier.

Rudolph Tillier and wife.

Berne 21 Octob^r 1789.

I wrote you fully Dear Brother the 28 July last under cover of M^r E. Lawrence. Since we have been deprivd of Letters from America which should give us some uneasiness if we did not attribut it to the convulsd state of france, which may have occasioned their miscariage, our health is prety well restablisht. We had several of the first class of refugees from france here as Comte d'Artois, P^{ce} Conde, the Pollignacs &c; the Pays de Vaud is full of them & more are expected since the revolution that brought the King from Versailles to Paris, of which you will be informed by the English papers. My Brother in the guards has been an actor in the most critical moment; he protected the Archbishop of paris when he was assaulted by the mob at the grand tumult or revolt; he was at the Halle aux bleds, after he was emploid in the delicate commission ab^t the retreat of the Troops at the Champ de Mars which prevented the bloodshed of many, which all he managed with the Aprobation of the Marq. Lafayette & his superior, but not without the most eminent danger of his Life. At the last tumult at Versailles the outside gate was consignd to him which he opened to M^r De Lafayette conditionaly, that he allone with 2 other should enter to speak to the King, upon which the King ordered no resistance should be made & that all the avenues sh^d be opened; many lost their Lives in that afray. You may judge from all this that

108 *Letters of Rudolph and Sarah Biddle Tillier.*

the Democratical party has the uperhand & that they will have the freeest Constitution; they have some great difficulty yett to overcome & one of the principal is to regulate & provide for their finances, which are notwithstanding all what has been done in a bad situation, relative particularly of the Debts. I mentioned to you that from the time of my arival in Europe how much people here & Geneva were interested if a Banqueroubcy should take place many w^d be reduced from affuance to nothing: in such circumstances it would have been foolishness to think of proposing any privat business; at any other time I am sure I should have succeeded to Sell Lands. Considering our situation here, I think to return with Sally next Spring, if possible, to America, till matters of our concerns are Settled. I can not with Safety draw on any office except my eldest Brother & to live in that depended state I will sooner retire to the wilds of America I shall write you more particular about this with my next. By oeconomy I hope we shall have ab^t a 100 guinies to undertake our journey, inclusive of the 50 assignd for the 1st Jan^r on M^r Lawrence. The russians & austrians have been Sucessfull this year agst the Sweedes & Turcs. I hope peace will be made between them this winter. We are here at present prety well provided, but our neighbours are more or less in distress. My affectionate Love to father Brethren & all our dear relations & friends. I am

Your Sincere friends & B^{as}

R. Tillier

During the convulsed State of politics in france, please to adress your dispatches to M^r Lawrence, or via London.

My belov'd Father sisters, Brothers & friends will smile when I tell them, Motives of Oeconomy, deprives me the pleasure of writing them long letters, each Packet has cost us two Louis, & wee are now like Misers

hording up every farthing to pay our voyag to my dear native Country, should Heaven favor us in guarding us through the dangers of the Seas & the Algerines. My Tillier tells our reasons for returning, he has every Post of honor he can possibly have, but can have none of profit til his affairs are in a better train, besides Cenetor he has been chosen Member of a board of the Chamber of Lords, to try all cases of difnulty, Like the judges of supreme Court; he has had to speak on several causes, & is fully Occupied in studying Law, but our situation of dependence is truely Humiliating. I often walk three miles in an afternoon, which will surprise & shew you that I am much stronger than I was; I am so much of a Femme de Swiss, that I fear I am geting a goitre in my throat, which will not be very agreeable in America, though thought nothing of here. The news of Paris you will have, & were I to begin to give you accounts, I should not have room in my small letter. Our dear brother of the Guard has been in the greatest danger but is at present safe, Crownd with Applause by king and People; he is worthy of everything that can be said of him. Our eldest brother, as well as all the World with us, is deeply interested in the French funds, that you may be sure we are well informd of what passes, and should it be sufficiently Peaceable we mean in March to set out for one of the ports of France, but shall write before that, I feel the greatest impatience for the approach of spring & pray Continuaily for no accident to prevent our intended voyage.

Your aff. sister,
S. Tillier.

**SOME OF THE EXPENSES IN THE FOUNDING
OF EASTON, PENNA.**

The following documents which relate to the founding of Easton, Northampton county, Penna., are preserved in the Manuscript Division of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania: "Northampton County Papers," 80 vols.

The bond of William Parsons and John Jones to the executors of David Martin, for a tract of land and ferry opposite to Easton, was part of a grant and patent which Martin obtained in 1739, "with the privilege of keeping a ferry from the Pennsylvania shore to the upper end of an island called Tinicum, to a place in the county of Morris, West Jersey, called Marble Mountains." There is much of historical interest connected with this ferry in the days of the Province and Revolution, for it was one of the important crossings on the Delaware river for travellers between New York and the New England states and Philadelphia, and from authentic data preserved in the Moravian archives at Bethlehem, the following names of members of the Continental Congress; officers of the army and medical department; and British prisoners of war, who used this ferry, are gleaned: John Hancock, John Adams, George Taylor, Carter Braxton, wife and daughter; James Lowell, Lyman Hall, William Ellery, William Whipple, Philip Livingston, George Walton, William Duer, Henry Laurens, Richard Henry Lee, Louis Morris, and Titus Hosmer; Generals Gates, Stirling, Sullivan, Arnold, Glover, de Fermoy, Schuyler, Greene, Knox, Steuben, Pulaski, Conway, Ethan Allen, Maxwell and Armstrong; Doctors Ship-

pen, Morgan, Warren, Potts, Burnet; Baron Riedesel, wife and suite; Gen. William Phillips and Sir Patrick Houston. Lady Washington, returning from a visit to her husband, crossed June 14, 1779, and Gen. Washington, with two aides, July 26, 1782, *en route* to the Hudson. The sick and wounded who were transferred from the hospitals in New Jersey to Bethlehem, Lititz, and Yellow Springs; a part of the troops for Sullivan's expedition against the Indians of Western New York, and De Kalb's division of Washington's army which left Valley Forge, June 19, 1778, crossed here.

William Parsons, known as the founder of Easton, was a member of Franklin's Junta Club, and in 1743 was appointed Surveyor General of the Province, but resigned five years later owing to ill health. In 1752 the Proprietaries summoned him to repair to the site of the proposed seat of justice for the county, and accompanied by Nicholas Scull, the Surveyor General, they made the necessary surveys, lodging at Lefevre's tavern, on the Buskill creek. Parsons died at Easton in December of 1757.

John Jones, whose father immigrated from Wales, was born in 1714, in Merion, then in Philadelphia county. In 1749 he located in the vicinity of Bethlehem, where he followed his trade, that of a blacksmith, and in April of 1751, purchased of Patrick Graeme, of Philadelphia, a tract of 500 acres of land on the left bank of the Lehigh, touching the east line of the Moravian lands, where he died in June of 1781. It was in his house that a son of Indian Tatamy died from the effects of a gunshot wound he had received at the hands of a reckless boy in the Craig settlement, while on his way to Easton, with Tadeuskundt's Indians.

In December of 1752 it is estimated that there were eleven families living in Easton, some of whose names are represented in the account of expenses in clearing the streets and digging the town well.

112 *Expenses in the Founding of Easton, Penna.*

Know all men by these presents that We William Parsons of Easton in the County of Northampton and John Jones of Bethlehem in the said County Both of the province of Pennsylvania are held and firmly bound unto Theoph^s Severns and Joseph Clayton both of Trenton in the County of Hunterdon and province of New Jersey Administrators to the Estate of David Martin Esq^r deceased in the Just and full sum of Eight hundred and Sixty Eight pounds Proclamation money to be paid to the said Theoph^s Severns and Joseph Clayton their or either of their Heirs Excers Admrs or Assigns for the which payment well and truly to be made and done We bind us or Heirs Excers and Admrs Jointly and Severally firmly by these presents Sealed with our Seals and dated this first day of August in the Year One Thousand Seven hundred and fifty three 1753.

The condition of this Obligation is such that if the above bounden William Parsons and John Jones their Or Either of their Heirs Excers or Admrs do well and truly pay or cause to be paid unto the above named Theoph^s Severns and Joseph Clayton or their Heirs Excers Admrs or Assigns the Just and full sum of four hundred and thirty four pounds money Aforesaid on or before the first day of November next and that without fraud or further delay then this Obligation to be Void or Otherwise to Remain in full force and Virtue in Law

Signed Sealed & delivered }
 in the Presence of }
 John Ford,
 Wm Godly.

W^m Parsons, [seal]
 John Jones. [seal]

10th August 1754 Received of the Receiver General the Sum of Four hundred Thirty four Pounds being the consideration money of the Land and Ferry bought at publick Vendue belonging to the late David Martin Rector at the Accademy. I say Received in full discharge of their Bond by order and on account of Theophilus Severns. Joseph Clayton Executors of the late Mr. Martin.

£435.00

Tho^s Barnes

Present:

Richard Peters
 William Mains

The Receiver General is to charge this to the Proprietaries general account of charges

R. Peters.

Account of Expences at Easton to William Parsons.

1752

Dr.

May 7 th	To travelling Expences from Philad ^a to Easton w th M ^r Scull vis ^t		
	At Abington	£0: 3: 0	
	At the Billett	0:14: 0	
	At Patrick Poes	0: 8: 0	
	At the Ferry	0: 2: 0	
	At John Lefever's	3:14: 0	£5: 1: 0.

Expenses in the Founding of Easton, Penna. 113

14 th	To Cash paid Workmen for clearing the Streets at Easton viz ^t		
	To Jacob Bess	£0:10: 6	
	To George Reimell	0:10: 0	
	To Christian Miller	0:11: 0	
21 st	To Adam Mergell	0: 7: 6	
	To Henry Weidner	0: 6: 0	
	To George Reimell	0: 5: 0	
	To Philip Reimell	0: 9: 0	
	To W ^m Marks	0: 9: 0	
	To Albert Veltin	0:19: 0	
	To Conrad Veltin	0:12: 0	
	To Melchior Young	0: 6: 0	
	To Elias Detrick	0: 9: 0	
	To Sebastian Keiser	0: 6: 0	
	To Peter Best	0: 6: 0	
	To Jacob Cough	0:15: 0	
	To Barnard Walter	0: 9: 0	
	To Michael Blass	0: 9: 0	
	To Conrad Menger	0: 9: 0	
	To Christian Piper	1: 4: 0	
	To Philip Piper	0:18: 0	
	To Jacob Nierpass	0:16: 6	
	To Garret Snyder	0:10: 6	
	To Christian Miller	0: 6: 0	
	To Peter Hess	1: 2: 6	
	To Henry Hess	0:15: 0	
	To George Koon	1: 4: 0	
	To Anthony Ezer	0:19: 6	
	To Melchior Hay	0:19: 6	
	To W ^m Fulbert	0: 4: 0	
	To Philip Reimell	0: 8: 0	
	To George Reimell	0: 8: 0	
	To Isaac Lefever	0: 4: 6	
	To George Stengell	1: 1: 0	
	To Express to Minisink	0: 5: 0	
	To Conrad Mengass	0: 6: 0	
	To Lindorf, Piper & Ezer	4: 0: 8	
	To Expences when the Secretary was at Easton in order to eject the Setlers on the Dry Land viz ^t		
			£ s d
	To Cash p ^d Nicholas Best	1: 5: 0	
	To d ^o pd John Lefever	3:10: 0	
	To d ^o pd at Easton	0:12: 0	5: 7: 0

114 *Expenses in the Founding of Easton, Penna.*

To Cash paid on Acco ^t of the Well vis ^t :	
To Paul Miller, his Acco ^t	£26: 7: 8
To Jaspar Scull, his Acco ^t	6:12: 9
To John Fricker, for Gun Powder	1:11: 6
To Nat Vernon, for d ^e	0:12: 0
To John Lefever, for d ^e	0: 6: 0
To Christian Moser, Mason	6:19: 2
To Godfrey Gruber, Mason	8: 0: 0
To John Guy, Labourer	1: 0:11
To Henry Koonsman, Miner	2:19: 6
To Michael Semer, for Stones & Labour	4: 6: 6
To George Stengell, Labourer & Miner	1: 7: 6
To Frederick Reitz, Mason	1:10: 0
To Elias Ledrick, carting Stones	1:15: 6
To Henry Rhone, Labourer	0:10: 9
To W ^m Lawrence, for Well Kerb and work at y ^e Frame	0:12: 0
To an Iron Handle, Gudge & Rings for the Windlass	0:12: 6
To a Rope &c	1: 8: 6
To Henry Richey, Labourer	0: 9: 0
	<hr/>
	£96:14: 6

Or.

1752

May 16 th	By Cash of Mr. Peters at Easton	£7: 0: 0	
	By " pr. Mr. John Jones	28: 0: 0	
	By " of Mr. Peters in Philada ...	20: 0: 0	£50: 0: 0
			<hr/>
	To Ballance	£46:14: 6	

Errors excepted by me

W^m Parsons.

Mess^{rs} Hockley & Physick,

25 April 1753. I have perused the above Accounts and as the people engaged to raise twenty Pounds by Contribution towards the Well this is to be deducted and then the Ballance will be Twenty Six Pounds fourteen Shillings and Six pence which please to pay to Mr. Parsons

Richard Peters.

Reced the above Sum of twenty six pounds fourteen shillings & 6^d

pr. me

W^m Parsons.

LETTER OF THOMAS LEAMING, JR., TO
HON. WILLIAM PATERSON, 1789.

Contributed by CHARLES H. BROWNING.

[The letter of Mr. Leaming is so autobiographical in character that it will only be necessary to state, that he was born September 1, 1748, in Cape May County, New Jersey, and died of yellow fever October 29, 1797, in Philadelphia.]

Philadelphia 17th Feb^r 1789.

Dear Sir,

The Acquaintance I have had with you induces me to solicit your Vote and interest to appoint me Prothonotary of the Federal Court in Pennsylvania, whenever that Court shall be instituted, hoping that I may be deemed capable of serving the office with Propriety, having studied Law regularly with the late President M^r Dickinson, was admitted to practice in Pennsylvania, and licenced in New Jersey in 1772—did practice till the Courts were stoped by the Revolution, and about 18 months ago resumed it in this City. With respect to Merit shall readily admit that many in the Union have had much more than I, but apprehend many have less in supporting the Measures in favour of the late Revolution, who have been or will be honour'd with Publick employments, which encourages me to make this Application. As you may not have been fully acquainted with my situation or much of my Conduct previous to and during the Revolution, beg leave to give you some account thereof a Part of which you will doubtless recollect. After having finished my Studies in Philad^a. I returned to Cape May in order to give some attention to the Affairs of my Father and the Affairs of an Uncle from whom I had some Expectations which both duty and Interest induced me

to, as they were both so infirm as not to be able to attend to much Business and living there I practiced the Law 'till the Courts were shut early in the War. I happened to be in Philad^a when the first Information came of the Battle of Lexington I immediately joined a Company as soon as formed under the then Cap^t Mifflin & now President of Pennsylvania, in order to have Military Exercise to enable me to instruct the Inhabitants of Cape May: being then fully convinced that the Contest must be determined by the Sword, (and apprehending that the utmost unanimity was especially necessary amongst all the People of America, and that I could be most useful in the County where I resided). As soon as I considered myself capable of giving Instruction, I returned to Cape May to endeavour to instruct and unite the People and devoted a very large Share of my Time to Military Duty, serving on Committees &c: I handed an Association Paper to most of the Inhabitants of Cape May, and had the Pleasure to say, that only one Man in that County refused signing it, and do conclude that much of their Unanimity for which they were so remarkable during the whole War, for altho' a Frontier County, no one of them having joined the Enemy, or were known to be concerned in the New York Trade, was owing to my Exertions. In 1776, you doubtless recollect that I had the Honour of meeting you in the Convention as a Deputy from that County, at a Time when the Deputies in a particular Manner risked every thing that was dear and valuable to Mankind on Earth, for had the British conquered, Halvers most likely would have been our Portion. This was a Scene too trying to many good Men, as the Enemy had just landed 33,000 Men on Staten Island, as it was said, and the Americans had very few, if any regular Troops in the Field. In this Situation, I most heartily joined you and others in determining to stand or fall with the

Liberty of our Country and instructed Congress to declare it Independant. The Language being that we had better risque the Halter, or seek Refuge in the Wilderness among the Savages than submit to Great Brittain. In the Fall of 1776, finding the Enemy were likely to over-run New Jersey, I did not stay there to take the chance of a Protection as many others did, I came to Philad^a and joined the City Troop of Light Horse, at a Time too, when they were much broken up, occasioned by different causes, for when we Marched to Camp only about 12 or 15 Men (besides officers) out of between 40 and 50 went.* With this small Number I went, and we joined General Washington in the Rear of his broken flying Army, in his Retreat near Princetown, Cornwallis then at Kingstown, said to have 10.000 Men & next morning drove us over the Delaware. Our little Troop remained with the General nearly all that Winter,† until after the Continental Troops of Regular Horse were formed, when he permitted us to return to Philad^a, first having offered Commissions in the New Corps to any of us who should chuse to accept them. From that time to this, I have continued in the Philad^a Troop and never missed a single Tour of Duty, during the War, when called on, in which no Allowance was ever asked by me, or made either for Pay or Horses, and Generally paid our own Expenses. As the War shut up the Courts, I entered into the Mercantile Business in Philad^a where I settled and have remained ever since (except when the Enemy had it) and did a large share of Business during the Whole Time Continental Money was in Circulation, which I ever gave the fullest Credit to as long

* The Pay Roll of the Troop shows, that from December 1, 1776, to February 1, 1777, twenty-five members and one trumpeter were on duty, and the total pay, £242.11.3.—*Ed. Penna. Mag.*

† The Troop was dismissed by Washington, January 23, 1777.—*Ed. Penna. Mag.*

as Congress did, being of Opinion that the Fate of the War depended on it; by which I suffered very greatly indeed for altho' I had a large sum in Trade, and was very lucky in Arrivals, and also in Privateering (which I considered the most beneficial Way, in which I could serve Myself and the Publick). The Depreciation was so rappid that my Losses were great, and the Publick the only Gainers by my Risque and Exertions, as I was concerned in the Importation of Conciderable Quantities of Amunition, Salt, and other Necessaries, and also in the Capture of near 50 Prizes large and small; in which more than 1000 Prisoners were taken, which served to exchange for American Prisoners in the Hands of the Enemy. By one of the Privateers, which I built and held a Principle share in, about 500 Hessian-English Soldiers were taken in there Vessels within a few Days. This would have been deemed an Acquisition by the Army even if they had lost half the number in affecting it and yet it did not cost the Life of a Man or the Publick, One Shilling. Exclusive of this I was concerned in lending large Sums to the Publick, at different Periods on Loan Office Certificates which by Depreciation was compelled to part with the principal Parts of, at a Loss, and the small sum remaining can now only receive the Interest or in Depreciated Paper, and that only in partial Payments, as is the Case with a considerable Quantity of Provisions which the House I was concerned in, lent out of their own private store for the use of the Army, about the Time of the Revolt, when it was near starving, and the Publick had neither Money or Credit to purchase with, this Provision was designed for the use of our own Vessels, and which we were obliged to replace by paying the Cash for—even a higher Price than we were allowed afterwards in Certificates, which even now are not worth more than 5/ in the Pound.

Should you be of Opinion that I am Capable of filling the office and deserve it, as well as any other aplicant, I have to ask the Favour of your Vote and Interest, promising that if I should be honoured with appointment, that I shall endeavour to do Justice to it. Have to beg you will please acknowledge the Receipt of this when at leisure and if you should think Favourable of my Application beg you would inform me (previous to my Appointment to that office being made), of the Time when its likely to take Place. I'll endeavour to attend the Senate at such Time—concerning that in the Arrangement of the Judicial Department under the new Constitution, suit Court will be instituted and of course suit and Officers must be appointed. Your Compliance will confer the Highest obligations on Sir, your Most Obedient & very Hble Serv^t

Tho^s Leaming Jun^r

Hon. William Paterson Esq.
Brunswick.

William Harrison Lambert.

EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF THE STATED MEETING MONDAY,
SEPTEMBER 23, 1912
Submitted by PRESIDENT PENNYPACKER.

The death of Major William Harrison Lambert, one of the Council of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, ends a career of more than ordinary usefulness, and even of distinction. As a soldier he fought with the Army of the East at Antietam, and marched with the Army of the West from Atlanta to the Sea. As an orator, possessing the gift of eloquence, he delivered orations upon occasions of such importance as the celebration of Decoration Day at Arlington. As a man of affairs, he conducted the Philadelphia business of one of the world's strongest corporations with such success as to quadruple the results. As an official, he presided over the Board of Public Charities of the City of Philadelphia, and was for many years a member of the Board of City Trusts. As a citizen, he displayed a keen interest in whatever promised to increase the welfare of the community. As a collector, he gathered together the finest collection of books and manuscripts relating to Thackeray now in existence, and a collection of material relating to Lincoln in many respects unsurpassed. He performed the duties of a member of the Council of this Society for fifteen years with judgment, fidelity and intelligence. He delivered many addresses before the Society, always instructive and impressive and always before large and appreciative audiences. His clear-cut face will long linger in the memory of his friends and the absence of his intellectual force at the sessions of the Council will long be regretted by his associates.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

JACOB CONRAD TAKES UP LOTS IN SUNBURY, PENNA., 1772.—

The third Day of July Anno Domini 1772 Jacob Conrad applies for, and is allowed to take up, the Lot No. 115 in the Town of Sunbury, for which he is to take out a Patent, and execute a Duplicate in the usual Manner, within Six Months from the Time of Application, otherwise the Application to be void, and the Lot free for any other Applier. A Clause to be contained in the Patent, That if the said Jacob Conrad his Heirs or Assigns do not, within Three Years from the Time of Application, build and erect, on the said Lot, a Dwelling-house, twenty Feet square at least, with a Brick or Stone Chimney, the Patent to be void, the Lot to be forfeited to the Proprietaries, and they at full and absolute Liberty, without Re-entry, to grant and dispose of it to any other Person or Persons whatsoever. The annual Groundrent of the said Lot to be Seven Shillings Sterling.

Jn^o Lukens.

A BLACKSMITH'S BILL OF 1754.—

		Dr.		
Thomas Pen Esquier				
1754	To Will ^m Clinton			
November 20 ^a		£	s	d
	to a Lorge Rosten Spit and } 25 Whurl	0:	10:	0
	to a Set of Curten Rods 17½ foot at 10 per feet	0:	14:	7
	to a Lock and Cay and puting it on	0:	6:	0
	to a pitching ax	0:	7:	6
December 4	to 2 Draw locks and putting them on	0:	4:	6
	to a key to a Draw Lock	0:	1:	4
7	to a Lock and key to a Chamber door	0:	4:	6
9	to a pare of Chamber tongs	0:	8:	0
12	to a Lock and key to a Stable Door	0:	7:	0
	to a key to a Lock to a Stable Door	0:	2:	0
29	to 2 Cays to 2 Locks and putting them on	0:	4:	0
30	to a key to a Celer Door	0:	2:	0
	to a key to a Cublert Lock	0:	1:	4
January	to 2 Cays for Locks for Chamber Doors	0:	8:	6
1755	17 to mending a Lock and 2 Bridges and } Collerwards to his Stable Door	0:	1:	4
		3: 17: 7		
Received the Contents of this Account the 3 ^d March 1756.				
Will: Clinton				

EXPENSES OF TWO PROVINCIAL FUNCTIONS, 1736.—

John Penn Esq^r To Jn^o Shewbart.

1736, Dr. Augst 11. To a Private Company Eating &c., £1.6.0; Sep^r 16, To Cash pay'd for provision, &c., £8.16.6; To punch, £1.7.0; To Wine, £1.10.0. To Beer, £0.10.0; Sep^r 17, To Cash pay'd for Provision, &c., £10.12.6; To Punch, £2.10.6; To Wine, £2.2.0; To Beer, £0.18.6; To Club Book, £5.17.5. Total, £35.10.5.

Phl^{ia} May the 17, 1736. Rec^d of M^r James Steel Thirty and five

pound Ten Shillings and five pence being the Contents of the Above Bill in full of all Demands—

Jn^r Shewbart.

James Steel

Pay this Bill and place to my Brothers Acc^t

Thos. Penn.

INN BILLS OF COLONIAL DAYS.—

While Jasper Payne was landlord of the Sun Inn, at Bethlehem, Penna., 1762-1766, that well known hostelry had as guests on more than one occasion Gov. John Penn, his brothers-in-law the Allens and their friends, either while on hunting trips to the Blue Mountains or to visit Trout Hall, on Jordan Creek, by invitation of the Allens. The following bills are for their entertainment on two occasions.

2 D. Bowls Sangaree with Madeira,	12. 0
4 do Punch,	12. 0
Smith for Horse Shoes,	. 8
Tea for Mr. Allen,	. 6
Cakes for the Servants,	.10
1 qt. Syder,	. 4
56 qts Oats,	6. 3
14 Horses, Hay & Grass,	4. 8
1 New Crupper,	2. 0
3 qts Beer,	1. 3
1 qt Madeira,	4. 0
Dinners,	1. 4
Gave Hostler,	1. 6
	<hr/>
	£8.10. 0
	<hr/>
Punch,	4. 6
2 Bowls Sangaree,	12. 0
2 qts Syder & 2 Beer,	1. 6
1½ Bush & 4 qts Oats	7. 6
1 qt Wine,	4. 0
Dinners,	1. 6. 0
15 Horses, hay,	5. 0
Plaster for Governor,	2. 0
1 B. Sang. Beer & Sup,	18.10
1 Bush & 5 qts Oats,	4. 8
Pasture & Hay	3. 4
Lodging,	1. 4
Gave Hostler	2. 0
	<hr/>
	£4. 7. 8

LETTERS OF SALLY ARMITT TO SUSANNA WRIGHT, 1765.—

friday afternoon.

Dear Susy

I received thy kind letter with great Pleasure for I cant have a greater one then a letter from thee the asks if the is not to blame, dear Susy I am always glad of a letter from thee to see you have not forgot me, our Family are all well and desire to be kindly remembered to you all, the tells me to send the all the news, well then I begin a Monday night Miss nancy Willing is to be married to Tench Francies and there is to be great doings, she is to make her appearance in a white robe trim'd with silver—Joe Shippen is courting Peggy Oswald a niece of Joe Turners and they say it will be a match, Sam, Pleasents and Polly Pemberton will go I suppose

to next meeting, now about my Cousins they have full imployment I tell them they have quite turned the Ladys heads nothing is fit to wear but what comes from them, but they expect a large cargo in the Spring and then we shall have ladys very fine so much for them oh. I had like to have forgot you know there is negro meeting once in three months it was last fourth day when a free negro stood up & spoke a few words amongst them, well I believe thou art tired by this time with my Nonsense so will leave of, I never thought of the Key till I got home but will send it by Jenny. Please to give my kind love to Rhoda and every body and accept the same
thyself from dear susy affectionate and obliged

Sally Armitt

Philadelphia November y° 8 1755

Dear Susy

It is impossible to express the uneaseness that I am under on the account of your Family, I wish you would come to town, as it must be more dangerous on the river, dear Susy we have Several Spare rooms which you Shall be very welcome to and we shall take it as a favour. I know the would not chuse to be in a Family were the could not make free, dear Susy the shall be as if at home in our House, but if you chuse not to be with your Friends, and would take a house, we have a great deal of new furniture that was made before my daddy dye'd, which you Shall be exceeding welcome to while you are in town many of the people in town are much frightned and some think nothing about it, dear Susy Please to give my love to all your Family, I conclude with my Sincerest wishes for the Health and happiness of your kind Family, and am dear Susy thy very

Affectionate Friend

Sally Armitt

LETTER OF M. MOORE TO SUSANNA WRIGHT, 1771.—

Esteemed Friend

Being disappointed of a conveyance by thy Brother for a Letter which I had prepared while he was in Town I took the opportunity that offered a few days after of sending it pr. Ja° Webb with some samples of the little success that has attended my attempts in the manufacturing way & particularly in the art of dyeing which I should not have been free to have laid before any other than a friend like thyself from whose partiality I might expect every allowance that such imperfect productions require. And as my Doctor has been since favour'd with an intimation from thee by Tho° Minshall that he would chearfully take charge of any trifles of this sort I might have to send thee—I now give him the trouble of a p^r of silk garters rais'd, dyed & wove in our own House, of which I request thy acceptance, and shall take it as a favour if thee will wear them for my sake—I must also desire Sammy Wright to accept of a pair of Worsted of my own spinning which tho' no beauties may perhaps serve him (as my C. M. has laughingly told me) for Boot straps—at least till the Loom he pr[opo]s'd to make shall afford him [something] better.

Since my last I have been trying my Hand at shades for working with, & have sent thee a sample, but cannot promise that they will stand, they have all had several rincings in warm water, the scarlet (if I may so call it) & the Purple are both dyed with Braziletto Salt Tartar & Allum, a very small matter of pot Ash dissolved in a cup of Water changed the scarlet when dip'd in it to a Purple—some of the same colour wash'd with hard soap turn'd to a pretty Crimson—the yellow is dyed with Barberry root, I never heard of its being made use of for this purpose, but as I was planting a Root of it last Summer I observed it to be of a very bright pritty

yellow, upon which I boll'd some of it with a little Allum, and was much pleas'd with the colour it produced, I have sent thee a few of these Chips, also a small Phial of my blue dye—two or three drops in a Wine Glass of Water will be sufficient for dyeing a small skein of silk of a light colour—it may be rinsed out in a few minutes, but if its wanted dark, must stay in a q^r of an hour, I am not sure that this will stand any more than the rest, & shall now give thee the History of it—these must know the Ladies make use of something of this kind to dye their old White Ribbons, shades, &c^t that are soll'd—it is brought from N. York & sold in some of our Shops here at a great price, I had seen some of it, & had a very great inclination to know of what it was made, ('tis pritty lucky for me that I have a Doctors shop so handy) I try'd almost every thing I could think of—at last hit upon some Sp^t Salt or Vitriol I'm not sure which & mix'd it very well with Prussian blue finely powder'd, this I found to have exactly y^e appearance of that I bought and seems to answer the purpose quite as well, it must be carefully used, as a single drop without Water will eat a hole in Silk or Linnen, but does not seem to rot the silk in the least when mix'd with Water, after the silk is dyed with this if dip'd in the yellow it turns to a beautiful Green. I shall be very much obliged to thee for the exact receipt for dyeing the colours thee sent me, particularly the yellow Cotton, my Sister has tried it, she thinks exactly as thy Brother directed, but cannot get it to fix in Cotton—I find an Orange colour the most difficult to dye, what I've sent thee was first a light yellow & then dip'd in the red dye—if I cou'd get an opp^s would send thee a pound or two of the Barberry root, it is very scarce here, my Sister got a friend of her's to write to N. England for some of it, where I'm told there's great plenty, [I]m almost afraid the colour will not stand, as I think such a pritty thing wou'd not have lain so long unnoticed had it been good for much.

My letter has run to such a length that it will bear no further addition than the offers of Respect from our familys to every one of yours

I am thy assured & obliged friend

M. Moore.

Philad^a 20th Feb^r 1771.

BANK AND WATER LOTS, PHILADELPHIA, 1788.—

Bank & Water Lotts, the Reverston bought off

Alice Guest	24	} Bank & Water, the Crooked Billet
John Colly & W ^m Say	16	
George Guest and Rob ^t Yieldall		} 65 the Bank only—opposite to y ^e Scales
Joseph Kirl	51	
Thomas Masters	40:	Bank & Water, near A Morris Brewhouse
William Trent	61:	Bank only, opposite to C. Plumsted
Sam ^l Carpenter	62:	} Ditto } The bank above Samuel Carpenters wharfs
Sam ^l Harriot	70:	
Sam ^l Powell	30	} between High & Mulberry Streets where he dwells
Thomas Masters	60	
Nathan Stanbury	25	} Bank & Water, Sam ^l Preston
Jonath Dickinson	42	
Rich ^d Anthony	61	} the burnt houses
Sam ^l Peres	20	
		now C. Plumsted & W ^m Fishbourn
		W ^m Allen

May it please the Proprietary

I soon found the above Acco^t in the Green Books under the Letter P. in the Alphabet—it may be depended on that noe more has been

Granted clear of y^e Reversion. I have sent herewith another Short preamble for Isaac Norris's Patent which is humbly Submitted by
Thine &c

22^d: 12^{mo}: 1733

J Steel

VOUCHERS FOR EARLY SURVEYS AT CARLISLE, CUMBERLAND CO., PENNA.,
1751.—

The Hon^{ble} The Propr^s to Will^m Lyon D^r
To Extraordinary Services done by me in Surveying Laying out
and Dividing the Propr^s Tract Eastward of the Town of
Carlisle in Cumberland County into twenty Lots with a Plan
thereof, and time Spent in Shewing the whole Lands at sundry
times to the Differant applyers in order to Purchase &c. £25.0.
Received May the 8th 1751 of the Honourable the Proprietaries by
the Hands of Richard Peters Esq^r the Sum of Twelve Pounds.

Nich^s Scull.

Two Journeys to Carlisle by order of the Governor to lay out the
Lots. Reced 11th 8^{mo} 1751 of Mr Lardner.

R. Peters

CHARLES PETTIT, ACTING QUARTER MASTER GENERAL, CONTINENTAL
ARMY.

Moore Hall 9th May 1778.

Please refit the Team returned yesterday from Gen^l Lardner's
Brigade, or supply its Place by another as it is represented there is
not now one Team with the Brigade.

Cha. Pettit

A. Q. M. Gen^l

Mr. James Thomson W. M. G.

Moore Hall 9 May 1778.

Please to receive the Horse sent herewith & have him appraised,
sending me a Certificate for him. He is sent by Cap^t M^oLane from
Germantown & it is not yet ascertained whose property he is.

Yrs

Cha Pettit

A. Q. M. G.

Mr. Thomson W. M. G.

TWO DISTINGUISHED GUESTS AT THE DANCING ASSEMBLY, PHILA-
DELPHIA. The Reminiscences of David Hayfield Conyngham, 1750-
1834. Edited by Rev. H. E. Hayden, Wilkes-Barre, Penna., 1904.,
contains the following interesting record: "The present Duchess of
Sussex was at an Assembly, then held in Lodge Alley, now by the
present Bank of Pennsylvania; danced in the centre dance with them.
Mr. John Ingliss was usher. She was the daughter of Lord Dun-
more. Lady Dunmore was with her."

John Murray, 4th Earl of Dunmore, 1732-1809, Governor of Vir-
ginia, 1772-1777, married Feb'y 21, 1759, Charlotte Stewart, daughter
of Alexander, sixth Earl of Galloway. Their second daughter,
Angusta de Ameland, married, Rome, Italy, April 4, 1793, Prince
Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex, and was remarried to same
Dec. 5, 1793, at St. George's Church, Hanover Square. By an Act
of Parliament the marriage was so far invalid as to cut off its issue
from a right of succession to the throne.

Book Notices.

THE POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF THE BAPTISTS AND FIFTH MONARCHY
MEN IN ENGLAND DURING THE INTERREGNUM. By Louise Fargo Brown,
Ph.D., Instructor in History in Wellesley College. Prize Essays of
the American Historical Association. Washington, 1913. 12 mo, pp.
258. Price, \$1.50.

The purpose of the present study is to set forth the attitude
toward the English government of these two bodies. Twice, in a

period of six years, the men belonging to the two parties were in a position to affect the policy of the government; for part of the period one of them practically controlled Ireland, and throughout the Protectorate they were a serious problem to Cromwell.

In order to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, a rapid survey is given of the position of the different groups of Baptists in England at the beginning of the Interregnum, and this is followed by a sketch of the rise of the Fifth Monarchy party. The second chapter deals with the part played by the Fifth Monarchy Men and Baptists in the Little Parliament, and the third and fourth are devoted to a study of the effects upon Cromwell and his government of the persistent opposition of the Fifth Monarchists, and of the attitude of certain Baptists, some of whom were at the same time Fifth Monarchists or Levellers. From a careful comparison of the testimony of Baptists themselves, and of outsiders concerning them, the conclusion is reached that they did not, as Baptists, hold any definite political views which led them to oppose Cromwell, until the time of the kingship proposal. Their opposition to kingship and to the state church of the second Protectorate seems to have led them to give a more favorable ear to the overtures of the Fifth Monarchy party, which was still active in spite of the imprisonment of its leaders and the failure of Venner's first plot. The chapter on Ireland shows that there Baptist opposition to Henry Cromwell took an opposite course; active in the early days of the Protectorate, it had nearly died out at the close. The final chapter shows how Baptists and Fifth Monarchy opposition helped in the overthrowing of Richard, and how the fluctuations of their policies during the period of anarchy were of substantial value to the Royalists in furnishing a cloak for their movements.

HISTORY OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA. By Samuel Smith, Edited by William M. Mervine, for the Colonial Society of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, 1918. 8vo, pp. 231.

The History of the Province of Pennsylvania has been printed from the original manuscript of Smith, in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The author divided his work in two parts of which this is the first. The second part contains: "The introduction and some account of the religious progress of the people called Quakers therein [Pennsylvania], including the like account respecting the same people in New Jersey, as constituting one yearly meeting." This second part was printed by Samuel Hazard, in "The Register of Pennsylvania." Volumes VI and VII, 1830-1831, with the exception of Chapters XVI and XVII, which were omitted. The editor has followed the orthography and punctuation of the original, and has supplied an index. Among the other works published by the Colonial Society are: *The American Mercury* Vol. I, II, III, IV, 1719-1723, republished in facsimile; *Records of the Court of Newcastle on Delaware, 1676-1681*; *Records of the Courts of Chester County, Penna., 1681-1697*; two Bulletins and a number of pamphlets of local historical value.

THE GOVERNMENTS OF EUROPE. By Prof. Frederic Austin Ogg, Ph.D. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1913. 8vo, 668. Price, \$8.00 net.

The author states the contents of this book has been determined by three considerations. In the first place, it has been deemed desirable to afford a wide opportunity for the comparative study of political institutions, especially by reason of the familiar fact that the governmental system of a minor country may, and often does, exhibit elements of novelty and of importance not inferior to those to be observed in the political organization of a greater state.

Hence there are included descriptions of the governments of the minor as well as of the major nations of Western and Central Europe, and the original purpose to attempt some treatment of the governments of the eastern nations has been abandoned because of demands of space. In the second place, it is believed that the intelligent study of present-day governments must involve at all stages the taking into careful account the historical origins and growth of the governments. Hence a considerable amount of space has been devoted to sketches of constitutional history, which, however, are in all instances so arranged that they may readily be omitted if their omission is deemed desirable. In the case of countries whose political system underwent a general reconstitution during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic era it has been thought not feasible to allude, even briefly, to historical developments prior to the later eighteenth century. In the third place, it has been considered desirable to include in the book some treatment of political parties and the institution of local administration.

THE REMINISCENCES OF DAVID HAYFIELD CONYNGHAM, 1750-1834, a Hero of the Revolution, and the Head of the Revolutionary House of Conyngham and Nesbitt, Philadelphia, Pa.; with an introduction, biographical sketches, and annotations. By Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden, M.A. Wilkes-Barre, Pa., 1904. 8vo, pp. 113. Illustrated.

These reminiscences cover a period of seventy years in the early history of the United States, and their historical value is greatly enhanced by the fact that the writer of them was an actor in the events narrated, or an eye witness. They cover three separate periods in the experience of the author: First, the struggle of the Colonies for independence, from the inception of the Stamp Act, 1763, to the recognition of independence in 1783, which the patriotic firm of Conyngham & Nesbitt were important factors in securing. Second, the Whiskey Insurrection, in which he served in the army of the United States, 1794. Third, his visit to the then new State of Kentucky, 1807. Much new light is shed on instances of Revolutionary history and many other incidents are made public for the first time, and the editor's annotations are valuable. The Reminiscences were written at an advanced age and with no attempt at chronological arrangement.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Number 21 (Lyons Collection Vol. I.), 1913. 8vo, pp. 304. Illustrated.

The work under notice contains the material relating to American Jewish history collected by the late Rev. Jacques J. Lyon, who for many years was minister of the Spanish and Portuguese congregation in the city of New York, and was donated by his family to the Society with a view to its publication. The congregation Shearith Israel, the oldest in the United States, is said to have been organized about 1655, but unfortunately the early minute books have been lost. The earliest extant minute books of the congregation which are preserved begin about 1728 and continue to 1785, but throughout them references will be found to earlier records. The records of the Dutch Church in New York, refer to the Synagogue in 1682. Following the minutes is a sketch of the congregation written by Mr. Naphtali Phillips, and the address of Major Mordecai M. Noah delivered in 1825, at the laying of the corner stone of the City of Ararat, a proposed refuge for Jews near Buffalo, N. Y. In addition to a number of portraits are facsimiles of a page of Dutch records of New Amsterdam, 1656, showing entry of early arrival of Jews; pages of the minute books of 1728, 1768 and 1783, and a view of the old Jewish cemetery on New Bowery, New York.

PROCEEDINGS AND COLLECTIONS OF THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, FOR THE YEARS 1911-1912. The Coxe Publication Fund. Edited by Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden, M.A. Vol. XIII. Wilkes-Barre, Pa., 1912. Svo, pp. 253. Illustrated.

For two-score years the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society has been recognized to be the most active and best endowed and equipped historical society in Pennsylvania outside of Philadelphia. Much of this reputation is due to the indefatigable exertions of its librarian the Rev. Dr. Hayden, who has had the generous support and encouragement of the "Benefactors" of the Society. Its geological department is exceedingly valuable and well known, and attracts students from all sections of the country. From the annual publication of the "Proceedings and Collections" may be gleaned the progress made in local historical researches and geological development. The volume just received contains the following geological and ethnological contributions: "Central Connecticut in the Geologic Past," by Joseph Barrell, E.M., Ph.D.; "Iroquois Pottery and Wampum," by Rev. W. M. Beauchamp, S.T.D.; and "Some Indian Graves at Plymouth, Penna.," by Christopher Wren. Especial attention is called to the Wyoming material, heretofore unpublished: "Echoes of the Massacre of Wyoming," by Rev. H. E. Hayden, M.A.; "Original Commission of Col. Zebulon Butler, 1778, and his 'Honorable Discharge,' 1784;" "Life of Benjamin Smith of Exeter, Luzerne county, Penna., a Soldier of the Revolution," reprinted from the Wilkes-Barre edition of 1820; "Records of the Town of Westmoreland, 1772," and "Judge Jesse Fell's Experiments with Wyoming Coal," by Jesse T. Morgan. "Vital Statistics, Wyoming, Penna., No. 2" and the "Parish Register of St. Stephen's Protestant Episcopal Church, Wilkes-Barre, 1814-1859," by Mr. Hayden, are with biographical sketches of deceased members, valuable contributions to local genealogy.

A HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE CIVIL WAR. By John Bach McMaster. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1913. Vol. VIII. Svo, pp. 556. Maps.

The completion of Professor McMaster's monumental history represents over thirty years of preparation. The work is a recognized classic of American literature and has been adjudged by scholars, historians and the press as the most important and valuable history of the people of the United States that has been written. "The subject of my narrative," says Professor McMaster, in his Preface to the first volume, "is the history of the people of the United States from the close of the War for Independence till the opening of the war between the States. In the course of the narrative much must, indeed, be written of wars, conspiracies and rebellions, of Presidents, of Congresses, of embassies, of treaties; of the ambitions of political leaders in the Senate and House and of the rise of great parties in the Nation. Yet the history of the people shall be the chief theme." The thoroughness, skill, force and charm with which he has succeeded in carrying out his idea shows, that no man was better qualified than the author to write a history of this character. The period covered by this concluding volume, 1850-1861, is under the chapter headings: the Union in danger; social ferment; international entanglements; the passing of the Whigs; repeal of the Missouri Compromise; bleeding Kansas; eighteen hundred and fifty-seven; Le-compton and the great debate; Fillibusters and slave traders; on the plains; the eve of Secession and the Confederate States of America.

THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. XXXVIII.

1914.

No. 2.

ORGANIZATION OF THE PROVISIONAL ARMY
OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE
ANTICIPATED WAR WITH
FRANCE, 1798-1800.

By DR. CARLOS E. GODFREY.

While the United States did not actually declare war against France, Congress substantially did so by their act of May 28, 1798, in authorizing the President to use the naval forces at his command to prevent depredations upon American commerce by the armed vessels of the French Republic; and also in their declaration of the 7th of the following July, that the treaties existing between the two countries were no longer obligatory on the United States.

Congress by their act of May 28, 1798, as well as the one superseding it on the second of the ensuing March, vested discretionary power in the Executive to increase the strength of the regular army and in accepting the service of volunteers, in the event of a declaration of war or a threatened invasion of the country by a foreign power.

Aside from these precautionary measures the Presi-

dent of the United States was authorized and directed on July 16, 1798, to increase the regular military establishment with twelve regiments of infantry and six troops of light dragoons, "to be enlisted for and during the continuance of the existing differences between the United States and the French Republic, unless sooner discharged." This increase was known as the Provisional Army. The act not only defined the composition and grades of rank of the organizations, but directed the six troops of dragoons, together with the two troops then in service, to be formed into a regiment, and it also provided for the appointment of certain grades of general officers. This act was amended on the 3d of the following March, which increased the enlisted strength of an infantry or cavalry regiment from 700 to 1000 men; required the regimental staff, excepting the surgeon and mates, to be commissioned in the line; and the grade of lieutenant, ensign or cornet, were designated first and second lieutenants, respectively. The amendment further provided that a cavalry regiment should consist of five squadrons of two troops each; that an infantry regiment should be composed of two battalions of five companies each; that two regiments should constitute a brigade, and two brigades a division; together with other minor details immaterial to our subject.

On July 19, 1798, all the general officers were commissioned; Washington accepting the office of lieutenant-general; Alexander Hamilton becoming inspector-general; William North, adjutant-general; and James Craik, physician-general. The twelve infantry regiments were designated numerically, by order, the 5th to the 16th regiments, respectively. These regiments together with the cavalry were officered on January 8, 1799, excepting the 13th infantry, which was accomplished February 13, and the 5th and 6th infantry on the twenty-fourth of the following April.

In recruiting the Provisional Army it was designed that it should be raised in the following manner: Cavalry Regiment—two troops in Virginia, and one troop each in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and South Carolina; 5th Infantry—six companies in South Carolina, and two each in Georgia and Kentucky; 6th Infantry—nine companies in North Carolina, and one in Tennessee; 7th Infantry—ten companies in Virginia; 8th Infantry—ten companies in Virginia; 9th Infantry—ten companies in Maryland; 10th Infantry—ten companies in Pennsylvania; 11th Infantry—six companies in New Jersey, three in Pennsylvania, and one in Delaware; 12th Infantry—ten companies in New York; 13th Infantry—ten companies in Connecticut; 14th Infantry—ten companies in Massachusetts; 15th Infantry—six companies in Maine, and four in Massachusetts; and the 16th Infantry—four companies in New Hampshire, and three each in Vermont and Rhode Island. The maximum enlistment of these organizations amounted to 12,928 men, including the non-commissioned staff and musicians.

The large mass of unpublished manuscripts belonging to the Hamilton and Washington collections in the Congressional Library contains every species of official correspondence and returns, showing that the Provisional Army was more than a paper organization as generally believed. They also contain numerous lists of Revolutionary officers and others seeking commissions in the new army, showing their individual residence, prior military service, recommendations, and other detailed minutia of personal interest.

Carefully prepared plans of every regimental recruiting circle are found in the Hamilton papers, showing the location of the regimental rendezvous and the several sub-districts where officers were recruiting. The consolidated returns show that many of the regiments began recruiting in May, and others as late as August,

1799. The latest one noticed for November 4, 1799, shows the following result: 5th Infantry—no returns; 6th Infantry—134 men; 7th Infantry—258; 8th Infantry—424; 9th Infantry—314; 10th Infantry—448; 11th Infantry—458; 12th Infantry—287; 13th Infantry—371; 14th Infantry—327; 15th Infantry—145; and the 16th Infantry—233; or an aggregate enlisted strength of 3399 men. By the act approved February 20, 1800, future enlistments were suspended until the further order of Congress, unless war should break out between France and the United States.

In November, 1799, the several regiments were assembled at various military posts in the United States acquired by the government for that purpose. The staff to the brigade and division commanders appear to have been appointed at intervals in the spring of 1800, but no evidence is found that their nominations were either transmitted to or confirmed by the senate. On June 15, 1800, the Provisional Army was disbanded pursuant to an act of Congress approved the fourteenth of the previous month, whereby all officers and enlisted men were honorably discharged with three months extra pay.

The convention of peace, commerce and navigation was concluded by the plenipotentiaries of the governments of the United States and France Septembr 30, 1800, and the ratification exchanged at Paris on the 31st of July, 1801. It was approved by the United States Senate December 19, 1801, and promulgated by a proclamation of the President of the United States the following day.

ROSTER OF OFFICERS.

Compiled from the Hamilton and Washington papers in the Congressional Library, and from the records of the War Department.

* Served in the Revolution.

† Served in the Pennsylvania Insurrection.

‡ Served in the War of 1812-15.

GEORGE WASHINGTON*, Lieutenant General, 19th July, 1798; residence, Mount Vernon, Va.; died, Mount Vernon, Va., 14th December, 1799.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON*, Inspector General, rank of Major General, 19th July, 1798; residence, New York, N. Y.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died, New York, N. Y., 12th July, 1804.

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY*, Major General, 19th July, 1798; residence, Charleston, S. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died, Charleston, S. C., 16th August, 1825.

HENRY KNOX*, Major General, 19th July, 1798; residence, Boston, Mass.; commission declined; died, Thomaston, Me., 25th October, 1806.

HENRY LEE*†, Major General, 19th July, 1798; residence, Westmoreland County, Va.; honorably discharged, 15th June, 1800; died, Cumberland Island, Ga., 25th March, 1818.

EDWARD HAND*, Major General, 19th July, 1798; residence, Lancaster County, Penna.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died, Rockford, Penna., 3d September, 1802.

JOHN BROOKS*, Brigadier General, 19th July, 1798; residence, Medford, Mass.; commission declined; died, Medford, Mass., 2d March, 1825.

WILLIAM WASHINGTON*, Brigadier General, 19th July, 1798; residence, near Charleston, S. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died, near Charleston, S. C., 6th March, 1810.

JONATHAN DAYTON*, Brigadier General, 19th

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July, 1798; residence, Elizabeth Town, N. J.; commission declined; died, Elizabeth Town, N. J., 9th October, 1824.

WILLIAM NORTH*, Adjutant General, rank of Brigadier General, 19th July, 1798; residence, Albany, N. Y.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died, Duaneburg, N. Y., 4th January, 1836.

EBENEZER HUNTINGTON*, Brigadier General, 19th July, 1798; residence, Norwich, Conn.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died, Norwich, Conn., 17th June, 1834.

ANTHONY WALTON WHITE*†, Brigadier General, 19th July, 1798; residence, New Brunswick, N. J.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died New Brunswick, N. J., 10th February, 1803.

WILLIAM RICHARDSON DAVIE*, Brigadier General, 19th July, 1798; residence, Halifax, N. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died, Camden, S. C., 18th November, 1820.

JOHN SEVIER*, Brigadier General, 19th July, 1798; residence, Nashville, Tenn.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died, near Fort Decatur, Ga., 24th September, 1815.

JAMES CRAIK*, Physician General, rank of Lieutenant Colonel, 19th July, 1798; residence, Alexandria, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died, Vancluse, Fairfax County, Va., 6th February, 1814.

CAVALRY REGIMENT.

JOHN WATTS*, Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant, 8th January (accepted 29th May), 1799; residence, Bedford, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died, 8th June, 1830.

JOHN TAYLOE, (2d) Major, 8th January, 1799; residence, Richmond County, Va.; commission declined.

SOLOMON VAN RENSSELAER†, (1st) Major, 8th

- January, 1799; residence, Albany, N. Y.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 23d April, 1852.
- JOHN BAYLOR ARMISTEAD**, Captain, 8th January (accepted 21st January), 1799; residence, near Alexandria, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- JAMES VINCENT BALL**†, Captain, 6th February, 1799; residence, Virginia; honorably discharged 1st June, 1802; died 24th February, 1818.
- JAMES BURN**†, Captain, 5th March (accepted 12th April), 1799; residence, Charleston, S. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 28th February, 1831.
- LAURENCE LEWIS**, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Frederick County, Va.; commission declined.
- WILLIAM SPENCER**, Captain, 8th January (accepted 15th February), 1799; residence, Georgetown Cross Roads (also given Kent County), Md.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- BENJAMIN WILLIAMSON**†, Captain, 8th January (accepted 18th January), 1799; residence, Elizabeth Town, N. J.; Deputy Paymaster General, 14th November, 1799; honorably discharged 1st June, 1802.
- RICHARD WILLING**, Captain, 8th January (accepted 18th January), 1799; residence, Philadelphia, Penna.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 18th May, 1858.
- GEORGE WASHINGTON CRAIK**, Lieutenant, 8th January (accepted 22d January), 1799; residence, Alexandria, Va.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 1st June, 1802.
- ROBERT GRAY**, Lieutenant, 8th January (accepted 23d January), 1799; born, Ireland; residence, Sunbury, Penna.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 14th January, 1831.
- CHARLES FENTON MERCER**, Lieutenant, 8th

January, 1799; residence, Fredericksburg, Va.; commission declined.

RICHARD TILGHMAN, Lieutenant, 8th January (accepted 28th January), 1799; residence, near Centerville, Md.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN DE BARTH WALBACH†, Lieutenant, 8th January (accepted 16th January), 1799; born, Germany; residence, Lancaster, Penna.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 10th June, 1857.

LAURENCE WASHINGTON, Lieutenant, 8th January (accepted 20th February), 1799; residence, King George County, Va.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 1st June, 1802.

RICHARD COOK, Cornet, 8th January (accepted 6th February), 1799; residence, Baltimore, Md.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; resigned 9th March, 1800.

GEORGE WASHINGTON PARK CUSTIS, Cornet, 8th January (accepted 10th February), 1799; residence, Mt. Vernon, Va.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

CARTER B. FONTAINE, Cornet, 8th January (accepted 12th February), 1799; residence, Dumfries, Va.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

ALEXANDER McCOMB, JR., Cornet, 8th January (accepted 17th January), 1799; residence, New York, N. Y.; final record unknown.

WILLIAM C. ROGERS, Cornet, 8th January (accepted 19th January), 1799; residence, Philadelphia, Penna.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; paymaster, declined 19th October, 1799; honorably discharged 1st June, 1802.

CHARLES TUTT, Cornet, 8th January (accepted 3d February), 1799; residence, Culpeper County, Va.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 1st June, 1802.

STEPHEN G. SIMMONS, 1st Lieutenant and Paymaster, 22d October (accepted 24th October), 1799; residence, New Jersey; dismissed 12th November; 1800.

FIFTH REGIMENT, INFANTRY.

JOHN SMITH*, Lieutenant Colonel Commandant, 24th April, 1799; born Maryland; residence, Cheraw, S. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 6th June, 1811.

JAMES ARMSTRONG*, (1st) Major, 12th July, 1799; born, Pennsylvania; residence, Richmond, Ga.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

HENRY MIDDLETON RUTLEDGE, (2d) Major, 12th July, 1799; residence, Charleston, S. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 20th January, 1844.

WILLIAM A. DAINGERFIELD, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Lexington, Ky.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

BENJAMIN EASELY, Captain, 12th July, 1799; residence, Jackson County, Ga.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JAMES HARTLEY, Captain, 12th July, 1799; residence, St. Paul, S. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

NOAH KELSEY, Captain, 12th July, 1799; residence, Richmond County, Ga.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN KERSHAW, Captain, 12th July, 1799; residence, Camden, S. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN MITCHELL, Captain, 12th July, 1799; residence, South Carolina; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

ZACHARIAH NETTLES, Captain, 12th July, 1799; residence, Cheraw, S. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

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WILLIAM SIMONS, Captain, 12th July, 1799; residence, St. Paul, S. C.; commission declined.

PAUL THOMPSON, Captain, 12th July, 1799; residence, Orangeburg, S. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

BENJAMIN FOSSIN TRAPIER, Captain, 12th July, 1799; residence, Georgetown, S. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

FLEMING WOODRIDGE, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Danville (also given Paris), Ky.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

CHARLES BOYLE, 1st Lieutenant, 12th July, 1799; residence, St. Paul, S. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN BROWN, 1st Lieutenant, 12th July, 1799; residence, Camden, S. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

STANMORE BUTLER, 1st Lieutenant, 24th April, 1799; residence, Ninety-Six, S. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

GEORGE CLAYTON, 1st Lieutenant, 24th April, 1799; residence, Jefferson County, Ga.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

PIERRE GAILLARD, 1st Lieutenant, 14th May, 1799; residence, Charleston, S. C.; commission declined.

JOSIAS HEYWARD, 1st Lieutenant, 12th July, 1799; residence, Beaufort District, S. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN JAMESON, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Frankfort, Ky.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

CHARLES KILGORE, Lieutenant, 10th January, 1799; residence, Lexington, Ky.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

WILLIAM TAYLOR, JR., † 1st Lieutenant, 14th May, 1799; residence, Columbia, S. C.; 1st Lieutenant and

- Paymaster, 15th November, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 5th August, 1837.
- WILLIAM WINDHAM TRAPIER**, 1st Lieutenant, 12th July, 1799; residence, Georgetown, S. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- PETER WILLIAMSON**, 1st Lieutenant, 24th April, 1799; residence, Green County, Ga.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- CHARLES CODNER ASH**, 2d Lieutenant, 24th April, 1799; residence, St. Paul, S. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- EDWARD CROFT**, 2d Lieutenant, 24th April, 1799; residence, Georgetown, S. C.; commission declined.
- WILLIAM DARKEY**, 2d Lieutenant, 24th April, 1799; residence, Richmond County, Ga.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- CHARLES JONES JENKINS**, 2d Lieutenant, 24th April, 1800; residence, South Carolina; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- ELIJAH JOHNSON**, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Lexington, Ky.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- WILLIS MORGAN**, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Frankfort, Ky.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- THOMAS OSBORNE, JR.**, 2d Lieutenant, 24th April, 1799; residence, St. Paul, S. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- JOHN PARKER**, 2d Lieutenant, 24th April, 1799; residence, Goose Creek, S. C.; commission declined. (Son of William Parker.)
- FRANCIS ROGERS**, 2d Lieutenant, 12th July, 1799; residence, Cheraw, S. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- SAMUEL TAYLOR**, 2d Lieutenant, 24th April, 1799; residence, Washington, S. C.; commission declined.
- JOHNSON WELLBORN**, 2d Lieutenant, 24th April,

1799; residence, Wilkes County, Ga.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

SIXTH REGIMENT, INFANTRY.

JAMES READ,* Lieutenant Colonel Commandant, 24th April (accepted 26th April), 1799; residence, Wilmington, N. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

WILLIAM BRICKELL,* (2d) Major, 12th July (accepted 12th July), 1799; residence, Lewisburg, N. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

ALEXANDER DUNCAN MOORE, (1st) Major, 12th July (accepted 12th July), 1799; residence, near Wilmington, N. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

WILLIAM P. ANDERSON,† Captain, 7th Regiment, 8th January, 1799; transferred to 6th Regiment 24th April, 1799; residence, Nashville, Tenn.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

SAMUEL GRAVES BARRON, Captain, 24th April (accepted 25th April), 1799; residence, Newbern, N. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

WILLIAM DICKSON, Captain, 24th April (accepted 1st May), 1799; residence, Lincolnton, N. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

ELI GAITHER, Captain, 24th April (accepted 6th May), 1799; residence, Iredell County (post-office, Salisbury), N. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

WILLIAM HALL, Captain, 24th April (accepted 14th May), 1799; residence, Brunswick County (post-office, Halifax), N. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

MAURICE MOORE,* Captain, 14th May, 1799; born, Virginia; residence, Halifax District, Martin County, N. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN NICHOLAS,* Captain, 23d April (accepted 4th May), 1799; residence, Northampton County (post-office, Princeton), N. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

EDMUND SMITHWICK, Captain, 24th April (accepted 26th April), 1799; residence, Martin County (post-office, Halifax), N. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JAMES TAYLOR, Captain, 8th January (accepted 10th May), 1799; residence, Rockingham Court-House, N. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN WILLIAMS,† Captain, 23d April (accepted 8th May), 1799; residence, Surry County (post-office, Rockford), N. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 10th August, 1827.

JOSEPH ALEXANDER, 1st Lieutenant, 24th April, 1799; residence, Burke County (post-office, Morganton), N. C.; commission declined.

GEORGE WASHINGTON DAVIDSON, 1st Lieutenant, 24th April 1799; residence, Montgomery Court-House, N. C.; commission declined.

EDWARD JONES, 1st Lieutenant, 24th April (accepted 26th April), 1799; residence, Newbern, N. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

McKENNY LONG, 1st Lieutenant, 24th April, 1799; residence, Halifax, N. C.; 1st Lieutenant and Adjutant, 8th August, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JAMES MACKAY, 1st Lieutenant, 24th April (accepted 12th May), 1799; residence, Rowan County (post-office, Salisbury), N. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

WILLIAM MARTIN, 1st Lieutenant, 24th April, 1799; residence, North Carolina; commission declined.

HUGH NEWMAN, 1st Lieutenant, 24th April, 1799; residence, North Carolina; commission declined.

BENJAMIN SMITH, 1st Lieutenant, 24th April (ac-

cepted 25th July), 1799; residence, Richmond County (post-office, Rockingham), N. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

LEWIS TINER, Lieutenant, 7th Regiment, 8th January, 1799; resident, Knoxville, Tenn.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; transferred to 6th Regiment 24th April, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

ROBERT TROY, 1st Lieutenant, 24th April, 1799; residence, Salisbury, N. C.; commission declined.

CARLETON WALKER, 1st Lieutenant, 24th April (accepted 25th April), 1799; residence, Wilmington, N. C.; 1st Lieutenant and Paymaster, 16th July, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN CARROWAY, 2d Lieutenant, 24th April, 1799; residence, Wilkes County, N. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

DAVID T. W. COOK, 2d Lieutenant, 24th April (accepted 30th April), 1799; residence, Mecklenberg County (post-office, Charlotte), N. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

BENJAMIN FORSYTH, † 2d Lieutenant, 24th April, 1799; residence, North Carolina; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; killed at Odelltown, N. Y., 28th June, 1814.

EDMUND PENDLETON GAINES, † Ensign, 7th Regiment, 10th January, 1799; residence, Knoxville (also given Blountsville), Tenn.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; transferred to 6th Regiment 24th April, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 6th June, 1849.

ALEXANDER HUNTER, 2d Lieutenant, 24th April, 1799; residence, North Carolina; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

HUGH MONTGOMERY, 2d Lieutenant, 24th April, 1799; residence, North Carolina; commission declined.

- JAMES MORRIS**, 2d Lieutenant, 24th April, 1799; residence, Rutherford County (post-office, Lincolnton), N. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- ABNER PASTEUR**, 2d Lieutenant, 24th April, 1799; residence, North Carolina; 2d Lieutenant and Quartermaster, — November, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- MARCUS, SHARPE**, 2d Lieutenant, 24th April (accepted 1st May), 1799; residence, Iredell County (post-office, Salisbury), N. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- JOHN WILKINSON**, 2d Lieutenant, 24th April (accepted 20th May), 1799; residence, Robeson County (post-office, Lumberton), N. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- ROGER CUTLER**, Surgeon, 24th April, 1800; residence, Fayetteville, N. C.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

SEVENTH REGIMENT, INFANTRY.

- WILLIAM BENTLEY**,* Lieutenant Colonel Commandant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Powhatan, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- JAMES BAYTOP**,* (2d) Major, 10th January, 1799; residence, Gloucester County, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- ROBERT BEALE**,* (1st) Major, 8th January, 1799; residence, Madison (also given New London), Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 18th September, 1843.
- DANIEL BALL**,* Captain, 10th January, 1799; born, Virginia; residence, near Richmond, Va.; resigned 31st May, 1800.
- WILLIAM K. BLUE**,* Captain, 12th July, 1799; vice Turner, declined; residence, Berkeley County, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; killed in a duel, 1802.

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JAMES CALDWELL, Captain, 10th January, 1799; residence, Wheeling, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

WILLIAM CAMPBELL, Captain, 10th January, 1799; residence, Washington County (also given Lee County), Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

EDMUND CLARK,* Captain, 10th January, 1799; residence, Spotsylvania County, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

BARTHOLOMEW DANDRIDGE, Captain, 10th January, 1799; residence, New Kent County, Va.; commission declined.

JOHN DAVIDSON, Captain, 10th January, 1799; born, Pennsylvania; residence, Richmond, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

THOMAS GREENE, Captain, 10th January, 1799; residence, Fredericksburg, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

ROBERT KING, Captain, 10th January, 1799; residence, Hanover County, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

ARCHIBALD C. RANDOLPH,† Captain, 10th January, 1799; residence, Goochland Court-House, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 14th November, 1813.

THOMAS TURNER, Captain, 10th January, 1799; residence, King George County, Va.; commission declined.

ADDISON BOWLES ARMISTEAD,† Lieutenant, 10th January, 1799; residence, Alexandria, Va.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 10th February, 1813.

GEORGE ARMISTEAD,† Ensign, 14th January, 1799; residence, near Alexandria, Va.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 1st Lieutenant, 14th May, 1800; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 25th April, 1818.

- VAN BENNETT, 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; residence, Shepherds Town, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- JOHN BRAHAN, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Winchester, Va.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- ROBERT CARRINGTON, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Richmond, Va.; commission declined by reason of ill health.
- MARCUS COMBS, 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; residence, Virginia; 1st Lieutenant, 4th April, 1800; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- JESSE DOLD, Ensign, 14th January, 1799; residence, Staunton, Va.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 1st Lieutenant, 24th April, 1800; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- JESSE EWELL, Lieutenant, 10th January, 1799; residence, Dumfries, Va.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 27th July, 1847.
- BREWER GOODWIN, JR., Lieutenant, 10th January, 1799; residence, Isle of Wight, Va.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; resigned 10th August, 1799.
- JOSEPH GRIGSBY, Lieutenant, 10th January, 1799; residence, Lexington, Va.; final record unknown.
- JOHN HEISKELL, 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; residence, Virginia; 1st Lieutenant, 12th May, 1799; 1st Lieutenant and Adjutant, 16th May, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 3d December, 1836.
- CALVIN MORGAN, Lieutenant, 10th January, 1799; residence, Staunton, Va.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 1st Lieutenant and Paymaster, 16th May, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- WILLIAM SAUNDERS, 1st Lieutenant, 12th July, 1799; residence, Virginia; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

HORATIO STARK,‡ Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Stevensburg, Va.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 1st Lieutenant, 1st May, 1799; 1st Lieutenant and Quartermaster, 16th May, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

ROBERT TEMPLE, Lieutenant, 10th January, 1799; residence, King William County, Va.; commission declined.

FELIX WILTON, 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; residence, Hardy County, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

SAMUEL J. WINSTON, Lieutenant, 10th January, 1799; residence, Hanover County, Va.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

BARTLETT ANDERSON, 2d Lieutenant, 12th July, 1799; residence, Richmond, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JAMES BROWN, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Staunton, Va.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JACOB CALL, 2d Lieutenant, 12th July, 1799, vice Crump, declined; residence, Virginia; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

FRANCIS W. COOK, 2d Lieutenant, 12th July, 1799; residence, Gloucester County, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN CRUMP, 2d Lieutenant, 12th July, 1799; residence, Fredericksburg, Va; commission declined.

WILLIAM DEAN, Ensign, 14th January, 1799; residence, Bath County, Va.; commission declined.

ALEXANDER HENDERSON, Ensign, 14th January, 1799; residence, Prince William County, Va.; commission declined.

PETER LAMKIN, Ensign, 14th January, 1799; residence, Colchester (also given Norfolk), Va.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

ANDREW MOORE LUSK, Ensign, 14th January, 1799; residence, Fredericksburg, Va.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

WILLIAM POTTS, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Petersburg, Va.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN F. POWELL, 2d Lieutenant, 5th November, 1799; residence, Virginia; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

PHILIP ROOTS, 2d Lieutenant, 12th July, 1799; residence, Gloucester County, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

FRANCIS H. PEYTON, Surgeon, 12th July, 1799; residence, Virginia; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

THADDEUS CAPRON, Surgeon's Mate, 12th July, 1799; residence, Virginia; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JAMES W. WALLACE, Surgeon's Mate, 12th July, 1799; residence, Virginia; resigned 30th April, 1800.

EIGHTH REGIMENT, INFANTRY.

THOMAS PARKER,*† Lieutenant Colonel Commandant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Winchester, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 24th January, 1820.

LAWRENCE BUTLER,* (1st) Major, 24th April, 1799; vice Morgan, declined; residence, Frederick County, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

WILLIAM CAMPBELL,* (2d) Major, 10th January, 1799; residence, Orange County, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 22d January, 1845.

SIMON MORGAN,* (1st) Major, 8th January, 1799; residence, Fauquier County, Va.; commission declined.

RICHARD CHINN, Captain, 10th January, 1799; resi-

dence, Middleburg, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

ROBERT GREGG,* Captain, 10th January, 1799; born, Pennsylvania; residence, Culpeper County, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

NATHANIEL HENRY, Captain, 3d March, 1799; residence, Shepherdstown, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

DANIEL C. LANE, Captain, 10th January, 1799; residence, Centerville, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

PHILIP LIGHTFOOT, Captain, 10th January, 1799; residence, Culpeper County, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

GARNET PEYTON, Captain, 10th January, 1799; residence, Aquia, near Dumfries, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

HENRY PIERCY,* Captain, 10th January, 1799; residence, Alexandria, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

EDMUND HAINES TAYLOR, Captain, 10th January (accepted 10th February), 1799; residence, Winchester, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

PRESLEY PETER THORNTON,* Captain, 10th January, 1799; residence, Washington City, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

GEORGE STEPTOE WASHINGTON, Captain, 10th January, 1799; residence, near Martinsburgh, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

LEMUEL BENT, Lieutenant, 10th January, 1799; residence, Alexandria, Va.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 1st Lieutenant and Paymaster, 2d May, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN G. BROWN, Lieutenant, 10th January, 1799; residence, Leesburg, Va.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

- JOHN CAMPBELL, Lieutenant, 10th January, 1799; residence, near Martinsburg, Va.; commission declined.
- JAMES DUNCANSON, Lieutenant, 10th January, 1799; residence, Culpeper County, Va.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- FRANCIS FOUCHEE, Lieutenant, 10th January, 1799; residence, Richmond Court-House, Va.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; resigned 22d February, 1800.
- ROBERT GUSTIN, Lieutenant, 10th January, 1799; residence, Hancock, Va.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- THOMAS JAMESON, Lieutenant, 10th January, 1799; residence, Culpeper County, Va.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- CHARLES J. LOVE, Lieutenant, 10th January, 1799; residence, Salisbury, Va.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- SIMON OWENS,‡ Ensign, 14th January, 1799; residence, Stephensburgh, Va.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 1st Lieutenant, 4th April, 1800; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- GEORGE TATE, Lieutenant, 14th January, 1799; residence, near Martinsburg, Va.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 1st Lieutenant and Adjutant, 2d May, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- JAMES TUTT, JR., Ensign, 14th January, 1799; residence, Culpeper County, Va.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 1st Lieutenant, 15th November, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- JOHN WILLIAMS, Lieutenant, 10th January, 1799; residence, Prince William County, Va.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

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ROBERT BELL, 2d Lieutenant, 12th July, 1799; born, Virginia; residence, Frederick County, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

URIAH BLUE, † 2d Lieutenant, 12th July, 1799; residence, Berkeley County, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died May, 1836.

OBADIAH CLIFFORD, Ensign, 14th January, 1799; residence, Alexandria, Va.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN CRANE, JR., Ensign, 14th January, 1799; residence, Middleburg, Va.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN THORNTON FITZHUGH, Ensign, 14th January, 1799; residence, Loudon County (also given Frederick County), Va.; commission declined.

GEORGE WASHINGTON HUMPHRIES, Ensign, 10th January, 1799; residence, near Martinsburg, Va.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 2d Lieutenant and Quartermaster, 2d May, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

ROBERT LITTLE, 2d Lieutenant, 12th July, 1799; residence, Virginia; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

HUGH McALLISTER, 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; residence, Rockbridge County, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN MEREDITH, 2d Lieutenant, 23d April, 1799; residence, Virginia; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

STROTHER SETTLE, Ensign, 14th January, 1799; residence, Augusta County (also given Frederick County), Va.; commission declined.

CHARLES SHACKLEFORD, Ensign, 14th January, 1799; residence, Culpeper County, Va.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN STEPHENS, 2d Lieutenant, 24th April, 1799;

residence, Berkeley County, Va.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

RICHARD TAYLOR, 2d Lieutenant, 12th July, 1799; residence, Virginia; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

REUBEN THORNTON, Ensign, 14th January, 1799; residence, Spotsylvania County, Va.; commission declined.

WILLIS WELLS, JR., Ensign, 14th January, 1799; residence, Virginia; commission declined.

JOHN C. WILLIAMS, Ensign, 14th January, 1799; residence, Prince William County, Va.; commission declined.

EDWARD CONRAD, Surgeon, 5th July, 1799; residence, Virginia; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

SAMUEL M. GRIFFITH, Surgeon's Mate, 12th July, 1799; residence, Virginia; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

THOMAS TIPLETT, Surgeon's Mate, 12th July, 1799; residence, Virginia; Surgeon, U. S. Navy, 14th October, 1799; resigned 10th July, 1804.

NINTH REGIMENT, INFANTRY.

JOSIAS CARVEL HALL,* Lieutenant Colonel Commandant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Havre de Grace, Md.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

WILLIAM DENT BEALL,* (1st) Major, 8th January, 1799; residence, Georgetown, Md.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 24th September, 1829.

DAVID HOPKINS,* (2d) Major, 8th January, 1799; born, Massachusetts; residence, Reister's Town, Md.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 7th March, 1824.

LLOYD BEALL,* † Captain, 8th January, 1799; resi-

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- dence, Georgetown, Md.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 5th October, 1817.
- BRADLEY BEANS, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Prince George County, Md.; commission declined.
- JOHN C. BEATTY, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Allegany County, Md.; commission declined.
- THOMAS BEATTY, JR., Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Frederick Town, Md.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- GERARD BRISCOE, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Port Tobacco, Md.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- VALENTINE BROTHERS, Captain, 3d March, 1799; residence, Frederick Town, Md.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- REZIN DAVIDGE, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Annapolis, Md.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- RICHARD EARLE, Captain, 14th May, 1799; residence, Talbot County, Md.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- JOHN W. HACKETT, Captain, 3d March, 1799; residence, Centreville, Md.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- JONATHAN HODGSON, Captain, 3d March, 1799; residence, Chester Town, Md.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- WILLIAM NICHOLSON, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Queen Annes County, Md.; commission declined.
- JACOB NORRIS,* Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Harford County, Md.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- ISAAC SPENCER, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Georgetown Cross Roads (also given Kent County), Md.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

- LEVI ALEXANDER, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Elkton, Md.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- JOHN B. BARNES, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Port Tobacco, Md.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- AQUILA BEALE, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Georgetown, Md.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- CHARLES CLEMENTS, 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; residence, Charles County, Md.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- WILLIAM ELLIOTT, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Hagers Town, Md.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- ROBERT GOVER, 1st Lieutenant, 12th July, 1799, residence, Cecil County, Md.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- EDWARD A. HOWARD, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Baltimore County, Md.; commission declined.
- HENRY C. NEALE,‡ Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Upper Marlboro (also given St. Marys County), Md.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- NINIAN PINKNEY, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Annapolis, Md.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 1st Lieutenant and Paymaster, 23d April, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- WILLIAM SAVIN, 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; residence, Cecil County, Md.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- JOHN THOMPSON, 1st Lieutenant, 12th July, 1799; residence, Queen Annes County, Md.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- MATTHEW TILGHMAN, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Chester Town, Md.; 1st Lieutenant,

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3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

RICHARD WILLIAM WEST, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Prince George County, Md.; commission declined.

JOHN ADLUM, JR., 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; born, Pennsylvania; residence, Frederick Town, Md.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOSEPH BENTLEY, 2d Lieutenant, 12th July, 1799; residence, Maryland; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN BRANGLE, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Frederick County, Md.; commission declined.

ALEXANDER COOPER, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Hagers Town, Md.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 2d Lieutenant and Quartermaster, 10th June, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

THOMAS DENT, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Port Tobacco, Md.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

EDWARD FORD, 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; residence, Port Tobacco, Md.; commission declined.

LEVI G. FORD, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Cecil County, Md.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

LEVI HILLARY, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Frederick County, Md.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

DANIEL HUGHES,‡ Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Cecil Furnace, Md.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 2d Lieutenant and Adjutant, 23d April, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

ENOS NOLAND, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Frederick County, Md.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

BENJAMIN NOWLAND, 2d Lieutenant, 12th July, 1799; residence, Abingdon, Md.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

GEORGE PETER, 2d Lieutenant, 12th July, 1799, residence, Georgetown, Md.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

WILLIAM SWAN, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Easton, Md.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN WARREN, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Maryland; commission declined.

ROBERT GEDDES, Surgeon, 8th January, 1799; residence, Kent County, Md.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

CHARLES A. BEATTY, Surgeon's Mate, 14th May, 1800; residence, Maryland; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

WILLIAM BEATTY, Surgeon's Mate, 3d March, 1799; commission declined.

DARDEN BROWN, Surgeon's Mate, 3d March, 1799; residence, New York; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

ANDERSON WARFIELD, Surgeon's Mate, 8th January, 1799; commission declined.

CHARLES H. WINDER, Surgeon's Mate, 8th January, 1799; commission declined.

TENTH REGIMENT, INFANTRY.

THOMAS LLOYD MOORE,* Lieutenant Colonel Commandant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Philadelphia, Penna.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 28th August, 1813.

WILLIAM HENDERSON,* (1st) Major, 8th January, 1799; residence, Greencastle, Penna.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

GEORGE STEVENSON,* (2d) Major, 8th January, 1799; residence, Pittsburg, Penna.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

WILLIAM RICHARDSON ATLEE, Captain, 8th

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- January, 1799; residence, Philadelphia, Penna.; commission declined.
- JAMES ASHMAN**, Captain, 3d March, 1799; residence, Huntingdon, Penna.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- JAMES BLAINE**, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Carlisle, Penna.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- HUGH BRADY**,† Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Sunbury, Penna.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 15th April, 1851.
- DAVID DUNCAN**, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Pittsburg, Penna.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- BENJAMIN GIBBS, JR.**, Captain, 3d March, 1799; residence, Philadelphia, Penna.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- WILLIAM GRAHAM**, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Bedford County, Penna.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- MATTHEW HENRY**, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Lancaster, Penna.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- ANDREW JOHNSON**,* Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, York Town, Penna.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- JOSEPH MCKINNEY**, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Shippensburg, Penna.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- ROBERT WESTCOTT**, Captain, 24th April, 1799; residence, Pennsylvania; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- SAMUEL FELTON**, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Philadelphia, Penna.; commission declined.
- SAMUEL R. FRANKLIN**, 1st Lieutenant, 1st April, 1799; residence, Pennsylvania; 1st Lieutenant and

- Paymaster, 12th September, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- DAVID IRVING, 1st Lieutenant and Adjutant, 1st April, 1799; residence, Pennsylvania; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- ROBERT LAWRENCE, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Huntingdon County, Penna.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- JOSIAH McELWAIN, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Philadelphia, Penna.; commission declined.
- ALEXANDER McNAIR, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Pittsburg, Penna.; commission declined; 1st Lieutenant, 23d April, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 9th May, 1826.
- SAMUEL B. MAGAW, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Mercersburg, Penna.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- WILLIAM MORROW,‡ 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; residence, Pittsburg, Penna.; 1st Lieutenant, 9th October, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- JAMES P. NELSON, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Mifflin County, Penna.; commission declined.
- DAVID OFFLEY, 1st Lieutenant, 1st April, 1799; residence, Philadelphia, Penna.; 1st Lieutenant and Quartermaster, May 1799; resigned 15th April, 1800.
- CROMWELL PEARCE,‡ 1st Lieutenant, 3d May, 1799; residence, Philadelphia, Penna.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 2d April, 1852.
- JOHN SHARP, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Shippensburg, Penna.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 1st Lieutenant and Paymaster, 26th April, 1799; killed in a duel at Camp "Bristol" by Captain Andrew Johnson 12th September, 1799.

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HENRY G. SLOUGH, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Lancaster County, Penna.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

THOMAS SWEARINGEN, 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; born, Virginia; residence, Washington County, Penna.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

NELSON WADE, 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; residence, Montgomery County, Penna.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

BENJAMIN WALLACE,‡ Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, near Harrisburg, Penna.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

PAUL WEITZELL, 1st Lieutenant, 1st April, 1799; residence, Lancaster, Penna.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

HENRY WESTCOTT, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Philadelphia, Penna.; commission declined.

ROBERT GEORGE BARDE, 2d Lieutenant, 1st April, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

ROBERT CHAMBERS, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Huntingdon County, Penna.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

ARCHIBALD D. DAVIS, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Lancaster County, Penna.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; resigned 27th January, 1800.

JOHN A. DOUGLASS, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, near York Town, Penna.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

GEORGE HAMILL, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Chambersburg (also given Shippensburg), Penna.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

- JOHN HAY, JR., 2d Lieutenant, 1st April, 1799; residence, York County, Penna.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- JOSEPH KNOX, 2d Lieutenant, 13th October, 1799; residence, Shippensburg, Penna.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- THOMAS LEE, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Erie County, Penna.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- JOHN S. PORTER, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Philadelphia (also given Chester), Penna.; commission declined; Ensign, 4th Regiment, 8th January, 1799; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 1st Lieutenant, 25th November, 1799; honorably discharged 1st June, 1802.
- HUGH H. POTTS, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Philadelphia, Penna.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- JOHN SMITH, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Northumberland County, Penna.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- HERMAN WITNER, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Lancaster County, Penna.; commission declined.
- HENRY HALL, Surgeon, 12th July, 1799; commission declined.
- WILLIAM HURST, Surgeon, 9th September, 1799; residence, Lancaster, Penna.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- JAMES IRVINE, Surgeon's Mate, 12th July, 1799; born, Ireland; residence, Pennsylvania; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- GEORGE WILSON, Surgeon's Mate, 12th July, 1799; residence, Pennsylvania; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

ELEVENTH REGIMENT, INFANTRY.

AARON OGDEN,*† Lieutenant Colonel Commandant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Elizabeth Town, N. J.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 19th April, 1839.

JOHN ADLUM, (2) Major, 8th January, 1799; residence, Philadelphia, Penna.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 1st March, 1836.

WILLIAM SHUTE,* (1st) Major, 8th January, 1799; residence, Elizabeth Town, N. J.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

SAMUEL BOWMAN,* Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Wilkes Barre, Penna.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

ALMARINE BROOKS,*† Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Cumberland, N. J.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1799; died 25th January, 1824.

WALTER KER COLE,† Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, New Germantown, N. J.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; Captain, 3d March, 1799; resigned — May, 1800.

PETER FAULKNER,* Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Easton, Penna.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 20th September, 1823.

DENISE FORMAN,† Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Middletown Point, N. J.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

ROBERT HUNT, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Trenton, N. J.; resigned 20th April, 1800.

SAMUEL IRWINE,† Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Northampton County, Penna.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; Captain, 20th April, 1800; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800. (Name also given Erwin.)

CHARLES MARLES,† Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, New Mills, N. J.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

- JAMES REID**, Captain, 3d March, 1799; residence, York County, Penna.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- JOB STOCKTON**, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Princeton, N. J.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- SAMUEL WHITE**, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Dover, Del.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- WILLIAM J. ANDERSON**, 1st Lieutenant, 1st April, 1799; residence, Burlington, N. J.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- JAMES BATTEL**, 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; residence, Dover, Del.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- HENRY BETZ**, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Reading, Penna.; commission declined.
- THOMAS BULLMAN, JR.**, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, opposite Easton, Penna.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 1st Lieutenant, 20th April, 1800; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- JOHN CALDWELL**, 1st Lieutenant, 1st April, 1799; residence, Dover, Del.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- WILLIAM CARSON**,‡ Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Harrisburg, Penna.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- HENRY DRAKE**, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, New Brunswick, N. J.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 1st Lieutenant, 20th April, 1800; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- CHARLES B. GREEN**, 1st Lieutenant, 1st April, 1799; residence, New Jersey; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- LEWIS HOWARD**, 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; residence, Bristol, Penna.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 13th January, 1811.

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JOHN G. McWHORTER, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Newark, N. J.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 1st Lieutenant and Paymaster, 6th April, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

GEORGE M. OGDEN, 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; residence, New York, N. Y.; 1st Lieutenant and Quartermaster, 6th April, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

WILLIAM POTTER, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Bridgeton, N. J.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 1st Lieutenant and Adjutant, 6th April, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

THOMAS READING, JR., Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Flemington, N. J.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; resigned 2d July, 1799.

SAMUEL OWEN SMITH, 1st Lieutenant, 1st April, 1799; commission declined.

ROBERT CURRIE THOMPSON, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Johnsonburg, N. J.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

SAMUEL S. VOORHEES, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Woodbridge, N. J.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JABEZ CALDWELL, 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; residence, Dover, Del.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JAMES CLAYTON, JR., Ensign, 9th January, 1799; residence, Dover, Del.; commission declined.

THOMAS YARDLEY HOW, 2d Lieutenant, 12th July (accepted 18th July), 1799; residence, Trenton, N. J.; detailed as military secretary to Major General Hamilton, 18th July, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

HEATHCOAT JOHNSON, Ensign, 8th January, 1799;

residence, Amboy, N. J.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN MILROY, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Lewistown, Penna.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN MONTGOMERY, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Harrisburg, Penna.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

CLARENCE MULFORD,† 2d Lieutenant, 1st April, 1800; residence, Bridgeton, N. J.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

WILLIAM PIATT, 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; residence, Trenton, N. J.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 16th August, 1834.

CHARLES READ, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Burlington, N. J.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; resigned 17th July, 1799.

JAMES RHEA, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Monmouth Court-House, N. J.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; transferred to 1st Infantry, 1st April, 1800.

JOSEPH VAN CLEVE, 2d Lieutenant, 1st April, 1799; residence, New Jersey; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

BENJAMIN WORRELL, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Reading, Penna.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN CHETWOOD, JR.,† Surgeon, 1st April, 1799; residence, Elizabeth Town, N. J.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died — August, 1832.

JOHN HOWELL, Surgeon's Mate, 24th April, 1799; residence, New Jersey; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN C. WINANS, Surgeon's Mate, 24th April, 1799; residence, Elizabeth Town, N. J.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

TWELFTH REGIMENT, INFANTRY.

WILLIAM STEPHENS SMITH,* Lieutenant Colonel
Commandant, 8th January, 1799; residence, East
Chester, N. Y.; honorably discharged 15th June,
1800; died 10th June, 1816.

DOWE J. FONDEY,* Captain, 8th January, 1799;
residence, Ballston, N. Y.; (2d) Major, 15th Octo-
ber, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

CHRISTOPHER HUTTON,* (2d) Major, 8th Janu-
ary, 1799; residence, Rensselaerwick, N. Y.; commis-
sion declined.

WILLIAM WILLCOCKS,* (1st) Major, 8th January,
1799; residence, New York, N. Y.; honorably dis-
charged 15th June, 1800.

JAMES BENNETT, Captain, 8th January, 1799; resi-
dence, Columbia County, N. Y.; honorably discharged
15th June, 1800.

PHILIP CHURCH, Captain, 8th January, 1799; resi-
dence, New York, N. Y.; Aide-de-Camp to Major
General Hamilton, 1st May, 1799; honorably dis-
charged 15th June, 1800.

PHILIP COURTLANDT, Captain, 3d March, 1799;
residence, Norwalk, Conn.; honorably discharged
15th June, 1800.

GEORGE W. KIRKLAND, Captain, 8th January,
1799; residence, Herkimer County, N. Y.; honorably
discharged 15th June, 1800.

ADRIAN KISSAM, Captain, 8th January, 1799; resi-
dence, New York, N. Y.; resigned 15th April, 1800.

JEREMIAH LANDON, Captain, 8th January, 1799;
residence, Troy, N. Y.; honorably discharged 15th
June, 1800.

JOHN W. PATTERSON, Captain, 8th January, 1799;
residence, New York, N. Y.; honorably discharged
15th June, 1800.

JUSTUS B. SMITH, Captain, 8th January, 1799; resi-

- dence, Otsego County, N. Y.; commission declined.
- ANDREW WHITE**, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Cambridge, N. Y.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- RICHARD BALDWIN**, 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; residence, New York, N. Y.; resigned 1st March, 1800.
- JOSEPH C. COOPER**, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, New York, N. Y.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 1st Lieutenant, 1st April, 1800; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- WILLIAM CUMMINGS**,* Ensign, 14th January, 1799; residence, Fairfield, N. Y.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 1st Lieutenant, 4th April, 1800; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- MOSES FOSTER**, Lieutenant, 14th January, 1799; residence, Troy, N. Y.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- DAVID S. JONES**, Lieutenant, 14th January, 1799; residence, Queen's County, N. Y.; commission declined.
- ROBERT LE ROY LIVINGSTON**,‡ Lieutenant, 14th January, 1799; residence, Livingston's Manor, N. Y.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- HENRY W. LUDLOW**, Lieutenant, 14th January, 1799; residence, New York, N. Y.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 1st Lieutenant and Quartermaster, 5th April, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- NATHANIEL PAUDLING**, Lieutenant, 14th January, 1799; residence, Westchester, N. Y.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; resigned 4th June, 1799.
- PHILIP S. SCHUYLER**, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Troy, N. Y.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- JAMES SMITH, JR.**, 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; residence, New York, N. Y.; 1st Lieutenant and Pay-

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master, 5th April, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

THOMAS THOMPSON, Lieutenant, 14th January, 1799; residence, Orange County, N. Y.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

ELNATHAN W. WHEELER, Lieutenant, 14th January, 1799; residence, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

THOMAS H. WILLIAMS, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Geneva, N. Y.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 1st Lieutenant, 1st April, 1800; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800. (Name also given Thomas W. Williams.)

PROSPER BROWN, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Clinton County, N. Y.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; died 9th April, 1800.

WILLIAM COCKS, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, New York; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 2d Lieutenant and Adjutant, 5th April, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

TOBIAS VINCENT CUYLER, 2d Lieutenant, 13th September, 1799; born, New York; residence, Albany, N. Y.; resigned 22d February, 1800.

JOHN DUER, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, New York, N. Y.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

GEORGE F. HARRISON, Ensign, 14th January, 1799; residence, New York, N. Y.; commission declined.

JOSEPH HERKIMER, 2d Lieutenant, 12th September, 1799; residence, New York; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

SAMUEL HOFFMAN, Ensign, 14th January, 1799; residence, New York, N. Y.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; dismissed 9th February, 1800.

CORNELIUS KIPP, 2d Lieutenant, 13th October, 1799; residence, Kipp's Bay, N. Y.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

ISRAEL LOBING, 2d Lieutenant, 12th September, 1799; residence, New York; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JACOB MANCIUS, 2d Lieutenant, 12th September, 1799; residence, Albany, N. Y.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

NATHANIEL SMITH, 2d Lieutenant, 4th September, 1799; residence, Smith Town, N. Y.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JACOB TEN EYCK, Ensign, 14th January, 1799; residence, Albany County, N. Y.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

WALTER B. VROOMAN, 2d Lieutenant, 1st April, 1799; residence, Schenectady, N. Y.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

WILLIAM W. WANDS, Ensign, 14th January, 1799; residence, Albany (also given Philadelphia, Penna.), N. Y.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

SAMUEL FINLEY, Surgeon, 4th September, 1799; residence, New York; resigned 1st April, 1800.

SAMUEL DAVIS, Surgeon's Mate, 4th December, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN H. DOUGLASS, Surgeon's Mate, 20th September, 1799; residence, Lansingburg, N. Y.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

THIRTEENTH REGIMENT, INFANTRY.

TIMOTHY TAYLOR,* Lieutenant Colonel Commandant, 13th February, 1799; residence, Danbury, Conn.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JABEZ HUNTINGTON, (2d) Major, 23d April, 1799; residence, Norwich, Conn.; resigned 15th February, 1800.

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JOHN RIPLEY,* (1st) Major, 13th February, 1799; residence, Coventry, Conn.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN BENJAMIN,* Captain, 13th February, 1799; residence, Stratford, Conn.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

SAMUEL BLAKESLEE,* Captain, 13th February, 1799; residence, Colebrook, Conn.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN BULFORD, Captain, 13th February, 1799; residence, Southbury, Conn.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

COLEBY CHEW, Captain, 13th February, 1799; commission declined.

ASA COPELAND,* Captain, 13th February, 1799; residence, Thompson, Conn.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN MEIGS,* Captain, 13th February, 1799; residence, Middletown, Conn.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 24th November, 1826.

STEPHEN RANNEY,*‡ Captain, 13th February, 1799; residence, Litchfield, Conn.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 7th September, 1827.

JONATHAN ROOT, Captain, 13th February, 1799; residence, Southington, Conn.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

ELIHU SANDFORD.* Captain, 13th February, 1799; residence, Woodbridge, Conn.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

WILLIAM YOUNG, JR., Captain, 13th February, 1799; residence, Windham, Conn.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN BEERS,* 1st Lieutenant, 4th June, 1799; residence, Connecticut; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

BENNET BRONSON, Lieutenant, 13th February, 1799; residence, Waterbury, Conn.; 1st Lieutenant,

- 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- WILLIAM W. CHENEY, Lieutenant, 13th February, 1799; residence, Pomfret, Conn.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- WATERS CLARK,‡ Lieutenant, 13th February, 1799; residence, Derby, Conn.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 1st Lieutenant and Adjutant, 10th April, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 28th June, 1814.
- JOHN EELS, Lieutenant, 13th February, 1799; residence, Norwich, Conn.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- LODOWICK GALLUP, Lieutenant, 13th February, 1799; residence, Groton, Conn.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- LEMUEL HARRISON, Lieutenant, 13th February, 1799; residence, Waterbury, Conn.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- REUBEN HURD, Lieutenant, 13th February, 1799; residence, near New Medford, Conn.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- JOHN KNOX, Lieutenant, 13th February, 1799; residence, Hartford, Conn.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- TRUEMAN MOSELY, Lieutenant, 13th February, 1799; residence, Southbury, Conn.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 1st Lieutenant and Paymaster, 10th April, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- NATHANIEL RUGGLES, 1st Lieutenant, 4th June, 1799; residence, Guilford, Conn.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- SAMUEL WAUGH,* Lieutenant, 13th February, 1799; residence, Litchfield, Conn.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

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- SOLOMON ALLEN, JR., Ensign, 13th February, 1799; residence, Windsor, Conn.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- PETER N. BRINSMADE, Ensign, 13th February, 1799; residence, Litchfield, Conn.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- SALMON CLARK, Ensign, 13th February, 1799; residence, Farmington, Conn.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- ABIJAH FENN, 2d Lieutenant, 4th June, 1799; residence, Waterbury, Conn.; resigned.
- JAMES GORDON, JR., Ensign, 13th February, 1799; residence, Plainfield, Conn.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 2d Lieutenant and Quartermaster, 10th April, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- TRUEMAN HINMAN, Ensign, 13th February, 1799; residence, Southbury, Conn.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- ROBERT HOSMER, Ensign, 13th February, 1799; residence, Connecticut; commission declined.
- EBENEZER LEARNED, Ensign, 13th February, 1799; residence, Connecticut; commission declined.
- AUSTIN LEDYARD, Ensign, 13th February, 1799; residence, New London, Conn.; commission declined.
- NATHANIEL NOYES, 2d Lieutenant, 4th June, 1799; residence, Stonington, Conn.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- PETER RICHARDS, Ensign, 13th February, 1799; residence, Connecticut; commission declined.
- WALTER D. SMITH, Ensign, 13th February, 1799; residence, Plymouth, Conn.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- FANNING TRACY, 2d Lieutenant, 4th June, 1799; residence, Connecticut; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- JOSEPH A. WELLS, Ensign, 13th February, 1799; commission declined.

JOSEPH TROWBRIDGE, Surgeon, 12th July, 1799; residence, Danbury, Conn.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN ORTON, JR., Surgeon's Mate, 24th April, 1800; residence, Woodbury, Conn.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

TIMOTHY PIERCE, Surgeon's Mate, 13th February, 1799; residence, Litchfield, Conn.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN SPAULDING, Surgeon's Mate, 17th August, 1799; commission declined.

FOURTEENTH REGIMENT, INFANTRY.

SIMON ELLIOTT, Lieutenant Colonel Commandant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Boston, Mass.; commission declined.

NATHAN RICE,* Lieutenant Colonel Commandant, 3d March, 1799; residence, Hingham, Mass.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1799; died 17th April, 1834.

JOHN WALKER,* (1st) Major, 8th January, 1799; residence, Woburn, Mass.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

ISAAC WINSLOW, (2d) Major, 8th January, 1799; residence, Boston, Mass.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

PHINEAS ASHMAN, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Blandford (also given Boston), Mass.; commission declined; Captain, 6th March to date 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

ERASMUS, BABBET, JR., Captain, 10th January to date 8th January, 1799; residence, Sturbridge, Mass.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN BURBECK, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Boston, Mass.; commission declined.

THOMAS CHANDLER, Captain, 10th January to date 8th January, 1799; residence, Worcester, Mass.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

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SIMEON DRAPER, Captain, 10th January to date 8th January, 1799; residence, Brookfield, Mass.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

EPHRAIM EMERY,* Captain, 10th January to date 8th January, 1799; residence, Haverhill, Mass.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN HASTINGS, Captain, 20th July to date 12th July, 1799; residence, Newton, Mass.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

WILLIAM JONES, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Concord, Mass.; commission declined; Major, 15th Regiment.

ARTHUR LITHGOW, Captain, 3d March, 1799; residence, Winslow, Me.; commission declined.

SAMUEL MACKAY, 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; residence, Williamstown, Mass.; Captain, 4th April, 1800; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

(Retired British Officer.)

JOSEPH PEIRCE, JR., Captain, 3d March, 1799; residence, Boston, Mass.; commission declined.

SOLOMON PHELPS, Captain, 10th January to date 8th January, 1799; residence, Westfield, Mass.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

EBENEZER THATCHER, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Lancaster, Mass.; commission declined.

NATHANIEL THWING, Captain, 10th January to date 8th January, 1799; residence, Boston, Mass.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN TOLMAN, Captain, 10th January to date 8th January, 1799; residence, Needham, Mass.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JACOB ALLEN, Lieutenant, 10th January to date 8th January, 1799; residence, Sturbridge, Mass.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

FRANCIS BARKER, 2d Lieutenant, 20th July to date

- 12th July, 1799; residence, Massachusetts; 1st Lieutenant, 1st May, 1800; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- WILLIAM A. BARRON**, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Cambridge, Mass.; commission declined.
- BENJAMIN BEALE, JR.**, 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; residence, Quincy, Mass.; commission declined.
- ALPHEUS CHENEY**, Lieutenant, 10th January to date 8th January, 1799; residence, Stockbridge (also given Boston), Mass.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- RUFUS CHILDS**, 1st Lieutenant, 20th July to date 12th July, 1799; residence, Stockbridge, Mass.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- JAMES CHURCH**, Lieutenant, 10th January to date 8th January, 1799; residence, Springfield, Mass.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- ROBERT DUNCAN, JR.**, Lieutenant, 10th January to date 8th January, 1799; residence, Boston, Mass.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 1st Lieutenant and Paymaster, 29th April, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- SAMUEL FLAGG, JR.**, Lieutenant, 10th January to date 8th January, 1799; residence, Worcester, Mass.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; resigned — 1800.
- WILLIAM GARDNER**, 1st Lieutenant, 20th July to date 7th July, 1799; residence, Massachusetts; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- ISAAC RAND, JR.**, Lieutenant, 10th January to date 8th January, 1799; residence, Cambridge, Mass.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- HENRY SARGENT**, 1st Lieutenant, 20th July to date 12th July, 1799; residence, Massachusetts; 1st Lieutenant and Adjutant, — 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

NATHANIEL SOLEY, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Charlestown, Mass.; commission declined. (Name also given Nathaniel Seley.)

JOHN WHEELWRIGHT, Lieutenant, 10th January to date 8th January, 1799; residence, Boston, Mass.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

MOSES M. BATES, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Springfield, Mass.; commission declined.

SAMUEL WINTER CHURCH, 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; residence, Boston, Mass.; resigned 4th February, 1800.

THOMAS DURANT, Ensign, 10th January to date 8th January, 1799; residence, Newton, Mass.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JAMES GARDNER, Ensign, 10th January to date 8th January, 1799; residence, Boston, Mass.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

PEYTON GAY, 2d Lieutenant, 20th July to date 12th July, 1799; residence, Massachusetts; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

THOMAS HALE, 2d Lieutenant, 20th July to date 12th July, 1799; residence, Massachusetts; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

ABIJAH HARRINGTON, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Lexington, Mass.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

DANIEL HASTINGS, Ensign, 10th January to date 8th January, 1799; residence, Newton, Mass.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 2d Lieutenant and Quartermaster, — May, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

CHARLES HUNT, Ensign, 10th January to date 8th January, 1799; residence, Watertown, Mass.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

THOMAS HEALD, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Concord, Mass.; commission declined.

DUNCAN INGRAHAM, 3d Ensign, 8th January, 1799; born, Massachusetts; residence, Boston (also given Poughkeepsie, N. Y.), Mass.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; resigned 4th May, 1800.

CHARLES LEONARD, 2d Lieutenant, — October, 1799; residence, Massachusetts; commission declined.

WILLIAM LEVERETT, Ensign, 10th January to date 8th January, 1799; residence, Boston, Mass.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN ROULSTONE, Ensign, 10th January to date 8th January, 1799; residence, Boston, Mass.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

MARSHALL SPRING, Ensign, 10th January to date 8th January, 1799; residence, Weston, Mass.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; resigned 4th April, 1800.

CHARLES BLAKE, Surgeon, to date 12th July, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800. (Surgeon's Mate, U. S. Navy, 1798-1799.)

JOSIAH DWIGHT, Surgeon's Mate, — August, 1799; commission declined.

LUTHER STEARNS, Surgeon's Mate, — August, 1799; commission declined.

FIFTEENTH REGIMENT, INFANTRY.

RICHARD HUNEWELL,* Lieutenant Colonel Commandant, 3d March, 1799; residence, Castine, Me.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 8th May, 1823.

WILLIAM JONES, (2d) Major, 3d March, 1799; residence, Concord, Mass.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

(Captain in 14th Regiment.)

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JOHN ROWE,* (1st) Major, 8th January, 1799; residence, Wiscasset (also given Boston), Mass.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died — November, 1816.

CALEB ASPINWALL, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Portland, Me.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

NATHANIEL BALCH, JR., Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Boston, Mass.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOHN BLAKE, Captain, 8th March, 1799; residence, Orrington, Me.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JAMES BROWN, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Lexington, Mass.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

ELI FORBES, Captain, 12th July, 1799, residence, Castine, Me.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

WILLIAM HEYWOOD, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Winslow, Me.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

SAMUEL JORDAN, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Biddeford, Me.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

STEPHEN PEABODY, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Buckstown, Me.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

THOMAS PHILLIPS, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Castine, Me.; commission declined.

JOHN S. PYNCHON, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Salem, Mass.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

HALL TUFTS, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Medford, Mass.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

THOMAS BOWMAN, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Hallowell, Me.; commission declined.

EBENEZER BRADISH, JR., Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Hallowell, Me.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

CHARLES CUTLER, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Boston, Mass.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 1st Lieutenant and Quartermaster, 23d May, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

DAVID C. DE FOREST, 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; residence, Sullivan, Me.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

SAMUEL P. FAY, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Concord, Mass.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 1st Lieutenant and Adjutant, 23d May, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

AUGUSTUS HUNT, 1st Lieutenant, 12th July, 1799; residence, Woburn, Mass.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

NATHANIEL KIDDER, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Belfast, Me.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

JOSEPH LEE, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Castine, Me.; commission declined.

DANIEL MORSE, 1st Lieutenant, 12th July, 1799; commission declined.

CHARLES P. PHELPS, 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; residence, Boston, Mass.; commission declined.

JOHN SHEPHERD, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; commission declined.

EDMUND SOPER, 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; residence, Braintree, Mass.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

THOMAS STEVENS, 1st Lieutenant, 12th July, 1799; residence, Castine, Me.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

WILLIAM SWAN,‡ Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Boston, Mass.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March,

GEORGE TILLINGHAST, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Providence, R. I.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

HENRY TILTON, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, New Market, N. H.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

ISRAEL ELLIOT TRASK, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Windsor, Vt.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

GEORGE WOODWARD, Captain, 3d March, 1799; residence, Norwich, Vt.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

WILLIAM WOODWARD, Captain, 8th January, 1799; residence, Rutland, Vt.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

THOMAS BRINDLEY, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Newport, R. I.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

DANIEL BISSELL, * 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; residence, Randolph, Vt.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

DANIEL MISERVE DURELL, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Dover (also given Boscawen), N. H.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 1st Lieutenant and Adjutant, — June, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

FRANCIS GARDNER, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Westmoreland, N. H.; commission declined.

ABEL HUTCHINS, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Concord, N. H.; commission declined.

ISRAEL W. KELLY, 1st Lieutenant, 4th May, 1799; residence, Hopkinton, N. H.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

THADDEUS KENDALL, 1st Lieutenant, 14th May, 1800; residence, Amherst, N. H.; honorably discharged, 15th June, 1800.

- WHIPPLE LOVETT, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Cumberland, R. I.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- ROBERT OVERING, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Newport, R. I.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- ISAAC PUTNAM, 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; residence, Montpelier, Vt.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- MARMADUKE WAIT, 1st Lieutenant, 14th May, 1799; residence, Windsor, Vt.; resigned 11th February, 1800.
- SYLVESTER G. WHIPPLE, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Hampton, N. H.; 1st Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- EPHRAIM WHITNEY, Lieutenant, 8th January, 1799; residence, Vermont; commission declined.
- DANIEL BAKER,‡ Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Arlington, Vt.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 30th October, 1836.
- ISRAEL BARTLETT, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Nottingham, N. H.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- JOHN W. BROWNSON, 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; residence, Sunderland, Vt.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- CARY CLARKE, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Hopkinton, R. I.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- OZIAS DANFORTH, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Providence, R. I.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.
- WILLIAM E. GREEN, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Providence, R. I.; commission declined.
- JESSE LULL, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence,

Hartland, Vt.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 2d Lieutenant and Quartermaster, — July, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

SAMUEL PARKER, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Exeter, N. H.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; 2d Lieutenant and Paymaster, — July, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

ARTHUR ROGERS, Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Pembroke, N. H.; commission declined.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN STARKE, 2d Lieutenant, — May, 1799; residence, New Hampshire; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 25th July, 1806.

MOSES SWEET,‡ Ensign, 8th January, 1799; residence, Salisbury, N. H.; 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800; died 14th September, 1819. (Name also given Swett.)

CHRISTOPHER WHIPPLE, 2d Lieutenant, 3d March, 1799; residence, Newport, B. I.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

AARON KINSMAN, Surgeon's Mate, January, 1800; residence, Newbury, Vt.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

LYMAN SPAULDING, Surgeon's Mate, January, 1800; residence, Portsmouth, N. H.; honorably discharged 15th June, 1800.

THE LETTERS OF JUDGE HENRY WYNKOOP,
REPRESENTATIVE FROM PENNSYLVANIA
TO THE FIRST CONGRESS OF THE UNITED
STATES.

EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTORY SKETCH, BY
JOSEPH M. BEATTY, JR.

(Continued from page 64.)

Newyork 14th Sept. 1789.

Dear Sir,

As our Court opens this day wish you to forward the enclosed papers to Mr. Barcklay¹⁸ for the use of the Justices & Commissioners, who may be gratified by knowing what is dong here.

You see the Officers of the Treasury Department except Mr. Nourse¹⁹ are all new men. This is the machine that must give life & vigor to everything, & no doubt the President is possessed with good Reasons to satisfy himself in making this Revolution in the management of our money affairs; I pitty poor Hillegas.²⁰

Am just going to the President's in Company with the Pennsylvanians in Town, to present the address of the Legislature of our State.

The Judiciary is the present subject of Discussion,

¹⁸ *Thomas Barclay*, see page 47.

¹⁹ *Joseph Nourse*, born London, England, 1754, died Georgetown, D. C., 1841. Came to Virginia 1769, entered Revolutionary Army, 1776, Clerk and Paymaster to Board of War, 1777-81. Later Assistant Auditor General and Register of the U. S. Treasury, 1781-1829. Vice-President of American Bible Society for twenty-five years.

²⁰ *Michael Hillegas*, born Philadelphia, 1728, died there 1804. He was in the sugar refining business and at the outbreak of the Revolution took an active interest in the patriot cause. He was Treasurer of the Committee of Safety, and from 1775 to 1789, Treasurer of the United States.

the Bill respecting the permanent Seat is not yet reported, tho' probably will be this day, its fate not perfectly certain; the probability is in favour of its Success.

My compliments to Crissey & Nicholas which accept likewise from

Your affectionate
Henry Wynkoop.

Doctor Reading Beattie.

Newyork, 18th Sep^r 1789.

Dear Sir,

I thank you for your communications of Monday last, the Compensation Bill which stood lost, when I wrote you on Fryday last, was received again next morning by the majority moving for a reconsideration & an adoption of the Report of the Conferees, which limits the Bill to seven years, the last of which the Senators are to receive 7 doll'rs, thus fixing the Discrimination in such a way as to have a future operation, & in the meantime to afford an oportunity for the Decision of the State Legislature on the Subject.

Have had no oportunity for enquiring into the Effects of Tolge on the Wheat in this neighborhood: do not conceive any danger from them by sowing after the 20th instant, the weather becoming so cool as to destroy the activity of the Insect tribe. have ordered my people to sow about that time, however one great advantage of the yellow bearded wheat is that it will bear late sowing better than any other kind. I last year began to sow y^e 23^d, & putting all in with the Drill, it must have been near October before we finished, yet had an excellent Crop, the yield from what has been threshed must have been from 20 to 30 Bushels y^e Acre.

People are mistaken in supposing the permanent seat on the Susquehannah would injure the trade of Philadelphia, for whatever Improvements might be made, in

consequence thereof, in the navigation of that River, it can never be rendered equal to the communication with Philadelphia by a Junction of the Susquehannah to the Schuylkill, thro' the Swataria & the Tulpehocken.

With respect to our Voting against the temporary Residence in Philadelphia & the permanent one on the Delaware, you have only to look at the Debates & you will readily perceive the whole of those kind of Propositions introduced for the purpose of embarrassment, & to carry us to the Potomack, in Opposition to which we were obliged to stand firm & vote thro' thick & thin against every Measure, which would lead to the attainment of that Object.

At present conceive the Susquehannah as good as lost, by the introduction of the clause you will see in the Debates of yesterday, by way of proviso to the Bill for establishing the permanent seat, do not see at present how we can assent to its passing under those embarrassments, and without them the thing is impossible, so that at present provided my Colleagues can again be induced to vote with us & fall in with the Proposition of Mr. Gerrey,^a it may yet come back to the Falls. What turn this day will produce is utterly uncertain & depends upon the negotiations of this morning, possibly we may think half the Egg better than an empty Shell.

A kiss for Miss Nanney, my Compliments to Crissey & Nicholas which likewise accept from

Your affectionate

Henry Wynkoop.

Doctor Reading Beattie.

^a *Edbridge Gerry*, born Mass., 1744, died Washington, D. C., 1814; he graduated at Harvard 1765. Elected member of Continental Congress 1776, and continued in it until 1780. Chairman of Treasury Committee 1780, member of Congress 1789-91, and reelected 1791. In 1797 was colleague of Marshall and Pinckney to France; in 1810 elected Governor of Massachusetts. Originator of the "gerrymander."

Dear Sir— —

Newyork 25th Sep. 1789.

Have the pleasure to acknowledge the Receipt of yours y^e 21st. Am sorry to hear Miss Nancey is so unwell, hope I shall hear of her Restoration when I return home, which will be the beginning of the ensuing week; the Bill respecting the permanent Seat passed I think on Wednesday for Susquehannah 31 to 17. It was taken up in Senate yesterday, & this day stands amended with Germantown, likewise with a Proviso annexed against Pennsylvania, for her paying the 100,000 Dollars, what will be its fate at last is yet uncertain, the Maneuvering of this Affair has been so various & also so interesting, that I confess myself heartily tired of it, yet feel myself anxious for a Termination favorable to the State. Germantown is certainly the first place in the National Scale, & the Falls with me is the next.

Think I may now venture to write you & yours to dine with me at Vreden's Berg on Sunday week, by which time shall be able to inform you of the conclusion of this session of Congress.

My love & affection to you & yours,

Henry Wynkoop.

Doctor Reading Beattie.

Newyork, thursday evening

21st Jan. 1790.

Dear Sir,

No, I do not mean to limit my correspondence with you to once in two weeks, but you shall hear from me not only once, but if you desire it, five times in a week.

The paper enclosed will, in some Measure, gratify your Curiosity respecting Mr. Hamilton's^m Report, affording some of the general outlines of the Plan.

^m *Alexander Hamilton*, active during the Revolution, and in 1789, appointed by Washington head of the treasury department. Author of "The Federalist," and chief organiser of the principles of the Federalist party. Killed in duel with Aaron Bur, 1804.

The Secretary of the War Department this day reported the Organization of the Militia, this is likewise a Measure, which if it can be effectually carried into execution, will have an Influence on the Community, not only regarding the Defence and Security, but likewise the establishment of domestic manufactures, beyond what can be conceived, the Report is ordered to be printed, & if practicable, will also be transmitted to you for the Information of the people of Bucks.

Yes Sir, the gallery doors have been shut, it was done this day, this is a Circumstance, which tho' seldom, must necessarily occur some-times, and when it does will always create a variety of conjectures abroad.

The election of the Representatives of North Carolina is fixed the fore part of February, one of their Senators is here.

The eastern papers this day inform us that the Assembly of Rhode Island have agreed to call a Convention.

The existence or nonexistence of the Bill respecting the federal Seat depends on the Report of the Committee of Conference appointed yesterday and the Determination of the two Houses thereon.

There is no Snow at present, yet Peter Wynkoop sat out this morning in a Sleigh for Esopus which had brought some members of the State Legislature down & was said had good sleighing to Hackinsak.

After having gratified your Curiosity you will by some means forward the enclosed to Vreden's berg.

A kiss for Miss Nanney, my compliments to Crissey & accept the same from

Your affectionate

Doctor Reading Beattie. H. Wynkoop.

Dear Sir, Newyork, 28th Jan. 1790.

The papers accompanied will inform you of the News & Polliticks here, except that a letter was this day de-

livered Congress by the Secretary of the President, from the Governor of Rode Island accompanied with an Act of the Legislature of that State appointing the first monday in February for the people to elect Representatives in Convention to meet the first monday in March.

This being the day appointed for discussing the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the establishment of the credit of the United States, the Subject was introduced by a motion for postponement to next monday week, this occasioned some contention which appeared exceedingly interesting to a very crowded gallery, the motion was agreed to.

If you have not sent that Report to Newtown, send it with the papers to Vreden's Berg for the perusal of Cousin Girardus & Abram Dubois, one of whom I shall request to see it deposited with Linton; you will see that Fenn in his paper of yesterday has begun its publication.

I wish you to inform yourself as you have Opertunity with intelligent people, how this plan is relished, expect it will afford abundant matter for Polittical Disquisition, indeed its Importance requires it, and as it is a subject on which Congress should have the fullest Information, it is noways probable its Discussion will be precipitated.

Mama has discovered an inclination of visiting Newyork, in case there should be good sleighing, & should your Business permit you to accompany her & gratify your curiosity in seeing the National Legislature & hearing their Debates, shall be very willing to bare your expenses, this tho' is a matter which must be left to you & her to manage.

My compliments to Crissey & accept the same from

Your affectionate

Henry Wynkoop.

Doctor Reading Beattie.

Newyork, Thursday evening
4th Feb. 1790.

Dear Sir—

The papers accompanying will afford you the general News & Polliticks of this place. This day was spent on the Naturalization & enumeration Bills, much conversation was had but nothing done, respecting the enumeration the Southern gentlemen are disposed to cast every Obstacle in its way, while those from the eastward generally are disposed to forward it. Hope to hear by next Post wether you will favour us with a Visit & accompany Mamma, indeed I do not think at this season of the year, she ought to attempt coming without some person to accompany her; the River as yet is as clear of ice as if it was Summer.

My love to Crissey which accept likewise from

Yours &c

Henry Wynkoop.

Doctor Reading Beattie.

Newyork, 18th Feb. 1790.

Dear Sir—

Your Reasons offered in the Letter of Sunday last for not coming forward as was urged by me are perfectly right, yet I feel sorrey you could not comply with propriety, as the importance of the Debates, then suggested, have since been fully verified: I believe I mentioned in my last the Proposition of Mr. Madison² to introduce a discrimination between the original holders & present possessors of public Securities, this has been the Subject of Debate ever since & is yet undecided, the principal Advocates for this Measure are Madison,

² *James Madison*, afterward President of the United States.

being introduced relating to the abolition of slavery, this is one in which the States of South Carolina & Georgia are extremely interested & determined to give every opposition to the Measure, the Debate on their part was conducted with an unusual degree of warmth & not without severe Invective against the Quakers, who seated in the gallery, bore the Basteing, as they termed it, with all the Composure of true Philosophers. I am happy to inform you that the Boisterous Commotions of the two past Days have subsided on this and as after a Storm fair weather ensues, the House this day in Committee of the whole have with great Calmness & moderation proceeded in discussing the Report of the special Committee on the Memorials of the Quakers, & the Society of Philadelphia on the Emancipation of Slaves, and after all, considering the small degree of Authority in the National Government, it is nowise probable anything will be done that can afford the least ground of alarm to those Southern States.

Were it in my power to cast a Veil over the Debates of the two past days, I should undoubtedly do it, but as they were public & will appear to the world, however small the credit to be derived from them, I send you the Dayley Advertiser by way of Example.

Mama has work enough upon her hands. I don't know wether she will not have to do like some other People, make an elopement to avoid paying their Debts. Drinking tea with Mrs. Roensey this evening, who is Sister to the Speaker & General Mughlenberg, I met with a man from Montgomery County, with whom I sent my Home Communications to be left at Ledom's.

Mama joins in love to you, Crissey, Nancey & Nicholas.

We are told that the day before yesterday a snow fell above the high Lands near two feet thick.

Henry Wynkoop.

Doctor Reading Beatty.

Newyork, 25th March, 1790.

Dear Sir—

Have received yours of 20th, with those accompanying; the Quaker busyness has given me more uneasiness than anything which has hapened since my attendance here, in defiance of all Order, gentlemen digressed from the points in question and ran in pursuit of Objects utterly foreign to the Propositions before the Committee, the House has however got rid of this disagreeable Busyness, & are now again proceeding with their usual good humour in the management of our national concerns.

Have ordered our light Wagon to meet us at Morton's on Saturday y^e 3^d April, when, should the Roads improve, we may be at your House to diner.

The Polliticks & News of this place you have in the papers.

Mamma joins in Love to you & yours

Henry Wynkoop.

Doctor Reading Beatty.

Newyork, 13th April, 1790

Dear Sir,

Came here on tuesday morning before breakfast, from Elizabethtown point. my leg was somewhat inflamed from the Journey, but is now again in a good way of healing, and am in hopes soon to be able to walk to & from the Hall instead of employing a Coach for that purpose.

* * * * *

You will perceive by the papers that the Assumption of the State Debts was negatived in Committee of the Whole on Monday last, the gentlemen of New England & those of South Carolina are extremely sore upon it & are anctious for an Accommodation. This day has again been consumed principally upon that Subject without concluding anything. It is wished by the Advocates of the measure to have the whole Busyness

committed to a Special Committee, in hopes thus to produce an acomodation. The House, in short, is much embarrassed, & how they will be extricated so as to proceed with proper Temper on the great Subject of public Credit, time only can discover, such Situations occasion an inconceivable Anctiety to Minds impressed with the Importance of this Subject to the future Honor, Credit & Prosperity of our Country.

My love to you & yours.

Henry Wynkoop.

Doctor Reading Beattie.

Dear Sir—

Newyork, 22nd April, 1790.

The Assumption of the State Debts is again the Subject of Debate, as you will perceive by the Newspapers. Madison this day spoke in opposition more than one hour, expect Ames will follow him to-morrow & possibly on monday a Discussion may again take place. I must confess for my part no Proposition hitherto before Congress has so much embarrassed my mind, it is like Sylla & Charybdis, Dangers on every Side, & how the Ship will yet with perfect Safety be piloted into Port, Time will discover. The State Debts proposed to be assumed are those incur'd in consequence of exertions against the common Enemy during the late War. Your Register for last week No. 9. I sent on by Mr. Cornet to Vreden's Berg. Shall enquire of Mr. Loyd respecting the others.

Congress have this day agreed to wearing the customary mourning for four weeks in commemoration of the Merit of Doctor Franklin.

If your ground be in order, it is high time your flax & Oats were in. Long to hear Nance chatter. Give her a kiss for grand: pa. My Love to Crissey & Nicholas, which accept likewise from

Yours &c

Doctor Reading Beattie.

Henry Wynkoop.

N. B. have walked to & from the Hall this day & as yet feel no inconvenience.

H. W.

Newyork, 29th April, 1790.

Dear Sir—

You will perceive by the Debates of Congress that this week has been more propitious to Busyness than some time past, that the State Debts are put out of View for the present. A Committee appointed to report a Bill making Provision for the public Creditors, agreeable to the Principals established, and also one for a Bill to lay additional Duties on certain enumerated Articles, since which the House has been perfectly harmonious, and the files are clearing off fast, see nothing at present which will be likely to embarrass except the return of the Assumption Affair, which will inevitably be brought forward again.

* * * * *

Several members of Congress are unwell. Mr. Madison this morning was said to be dangerous, the Air is so damp, raw and disagreeable, as must necessarily endanger the Lives of many people, from such Situation good Lord, deliver us, is the prayer of

Your affectionate

Henry Wynkoop.

Doctor

Reading Beatty

Newyork, 20th May, 1790.

Dear Sir—

Left home between 10 & 11 on monday morning, & came here at 12 on tuesday, had an agreeable ride & good company.

We have been greatly alarmed for the safety of the President, but happily he is again out of Danger, owing, I am informed, more to the natural strength of his Constitution than the Aid of Medicine, the Disorder being seated in the Lungs, an uncomon Discharge

taking place afforded immediate relief, am not without hopes we shall be able to rescue him from a third attack arising from Disorders occasioned by the cold Damps of this place, and prolong his days by breathing the more temperate & salubrious Air of Pennsylvania.

The Bill for the payment of the National Debt is now under Discussion, in Committee of the whole & the funding the old Continental money yet in the Hands of individuals is the Subject of the Day.

The House have this day agreed to meet at 10 in the morning, an Omen this predictive of an Adjournment being not far distant, as the Committee Busyness, which otherwise consumes the morning, is nearly disposed of.

* * * * *

My love to Crissey & Nicholas, which accept also from

Your affectionate

Doctor

Henry Wynkoop.

Reading Beatty

Newyork, 27th May, 1790.

Dear Sir—Yours of Sunday last received yesterday, the President is so far recovered as again to attend to Busyness & ride out. On Monday last the motion for fixing the next Meeting of Congress at Philadelphia was made in the Senate by Mr. Morris, & seconded by Mr. Langdon,²² which lay on the Table until yesterday, when it was again brought forward & postponed to that day week, to afford time for Rode Island to send forward their Senators, the votes stood 13 for the postponement & 11 against, thus you see our sanguine Prospects of going to Philadelphia are at last rendered precarious, tho' we will not consider it as lost yet. *Perseverendo*, you know was the Motto of one of our Continental Bills.

²² *John Langdon*, born Portsmouth, N. H., 1741, died there 1819. Member of Congress 1775-76.

The Assumption of the State Debts was again brought forward, as you will perceive by the papers, but was rejected as part of the funding Bill, which this day has been completed, so far as to be engrossed for a third reading on monday next; this done Mr. Fitsimmons introduced the following motion, *That Congress meet & hold their next Session in Philadelphia* this was seconded from various parts of the House & now lays on the Table, what will be its fate time will discover, many gentlemen are yet sanguine, while others wear long faces upon it. The coming in of Rhode Island is yet precarious, as the communications from thence are various in Opinion, some gentlemen conceiving they will adopt the Constitution, while others are positive in assertions to the contrary.

Coll. Bland is extremely ill, & what is somewhat remarkable, I believe is the only gentleman from Virginia who prefers this place to Philadelphia.

Mr. Boudinot in the form of Resolutions agreeable to what is contained in the Report of the Secretary & the propositions of Mr. Gerrey of Monday last, again this day brought forward the Assumption of the State Debts, these now lay on the Table.

The adjournment of Congress cannot yet be ascertained, much busyness is yet depending, & little probability that it can possibly take place before some time in June.

I send you Child's paper of this day, containing the speeches of Sherman & Boudinot on Mr. Gerry's propositions of last monday, but the Cream of that Debate is in the Speech of Ames not yet published, as that probably will appear to-morrow, shall send it to you on monday.

My love to Crissey, Nicholas & Nancey which likewise accept from

Henry Wynkoop.

Doctor Reading Beatty.

Newyork, 31st May, 1790.

Dear Sir,

This day the Proposition for meeting & holding the next session of Congress at Philadelphia was taken up in the House of Representatives. A world of maneuvering as usual was introduced for the purpose of embarrassing, but the Friends of the Measure were proof against every attack, & by two o'clock the Question was fairly brought before the House, when the votes stood 38 for & 22 against it, so that we had a majority of 16 on the floor & the Speaker makes 17. I believe I told you in my last that the convention of Rode Island were sitting, they met last monday, Debated until Saturday, when at 5 o'clock in the afternoon the Question on the Adoption of the general government was put, 34 were for & 32 against it, perhaps by Saturday next we may expect their Senators; thus you see, Doctor, it is hot work here, our getting into Pennsylvania now entirely rests with the Senate, with whom the great majority in the House of Representatives must have an influence, two more Votes in that Body previous to the coming in of Rode Island does the Busyness.

* * * * *

My love to Crissey, Nicholas & Miss Nancey, which accept also from

Yours &c

Henry Wynkoop.

Doctor Reading Beatty.

Newyork, 4th June, 1790.

Dear Sir—

Those sanguine expectations expressed in my last respecting an adjournment to Philadelphia have since been somewhat allay'd by the Proceedings of the Senate, which you will see in the papers, however do not yet despair of success, the popularity of the Measure in the House of Representatives & the respectability of the minority in the Senate, must undoubtedly ac-

comply it in some Shape or other. I send you Child's paper of this day, by which you will perceive how the Shoe pinched, the newspaper wiffets are barking, they snarl & shew their Teeth, so much for the treatment the Pennsylvanians received here last Fall, for which tho' I believe our Newyork Brethren are now sincerely penitent. Their superior address saved our 100,000 Dollars, & I hope by the time this Matter is ended our Reputation will be saved also.

The funding Bill passed the House yesterday, that making provision for the Settlement of the Accounts between the United States & individual States is now under discussion, hope this will in some measure quiet the minds of the Advocates for the State Assumptions.

* * * * *

Hope to be at home on Sunday week, unless Busy-ness prevents.

My love to you, Crissey, Nicholas & Nancey
Doctor Henry Wynkoop.
Reading Beatty

Newyork, Fryday morning
25th June, 1790.

Dear Sir,

I left home on tuesday morning last at 5 & arrived here at 7 that evening, the Bill for raising additional Revenue was rejected on monday, arising from two causes, the eastern people voted against it on account of the State Debts being unassumed & the southern from an aversion to an Excise. The Committee appointed to prepare another Bill have not yet reported.

* * * * *

It is not yet impossible but that Congress may hold their next Session at Philadelphia The funding Bill yet lays with the Senate undecided, that Body being desirous first to see the ways & means provided by the Representatives.

H. Wynkoop.

Newyork, 29th June 1790

6 o'clock in the morning.

Dear Sir—

With this I send $\frac{1}{2}$ doz. pair thread stockings, of the manufacture of Hartford, for the use of my Boys, 2 pair are for Nicholas, the others for John & Jonathan. If no other opportunity presents for forwarding the Letter to Mr. Hutchinson, let it be left with Linton at Newtown.

Yesterday the Joint Committee reported the Business yet to be decided upon during this session, & the time of Adjournment, which is y^e 15th July, by far the greatest part of those Matters Reported by this Committee, having passed the House of Representatives, now lays with the Senate, so that it chiefly depends on that Body whether we shall get away at the time allotted: The Senate also took up the Propositions respecting Residence understand the permanent, was fixed on the Potowmac 16 to 9, how it is with the temporary Residence, have not heard. The paper will afford you the general Information of what is doing here.

My love to Crissey, Nicholas & Nancey, which accept also from

Your affectionate

Henry Wynkoop.

Doctor

Reading Beatty

Newyork, fryday morning, 2^d July, 1790

Dear Sir—

You are altogether mistaken respecting the Adjournment to Phila., the Bill passed the Senate yesterday, will come down to us this day & probably as we have a decided Majority, be assented to to-morrow, by this the permanent Residence is fixed on the Potowmac, & the temporary for ten years in Phila., to which place all the public offices are to be removed by the first monday in December next; thus we have a prospect at length to put an end to this disagreeable busyness, &

upon Terms tho' not altogether so advantageous to Pennsylvania as might have been wished, yet the best possible to be procured, and such as must be considered a great Acquisition to the State, for the Financial Arrangements once established there, it is improbable that their Removal to an Inland Situation will be convenient to Government; the credit of this Measure is due to our Senators, Mr. Morris, who is ridiculed, insulted & abused here, is entitled to the gratitude & Esteem of every man who regards the Interest of Pennsylvania.

The funding Bill is yet with the Senate, the additional Ways & Means you will see in the papers, which were adopted in Committee of the Whole yesterday, & probably will pass the House this day, tho' not without Opposition, chiefly arising from the non-assumption of the State Debts. Could you command the money, you would do well to furnish yourself with Indents sufficient to redeem your Continental certificates, by doing that you add the whole of your interest to the principal Stock, by this even at 2% your annuity will be equal & perhaps more & that in actual Specie, than you have received at 6% on account of the increase of your principal: I have directed Lombaert to get mine in Philadelphia, here they were a few days ago at about 7s to the pound.

The Indian Corn you must have, tho' I relied on that to supply myself with some necessary cash. My love to Crissey, Nicholas & Nancey which accept also from

Your affectionate

Doctor

Henry Wynkoop.

Reading Beatty

Newyork, fryday morning, 9th July, 1790

Dear Sir—

Was in hopes before now to have informed you of the final Determination of the Question of Residence,

but that is not yet in my power, the Bill passed by the Senate was taken upon tuesday in Committee of the whole, & Debated until yesterday, when it was reported without any Amendment, the lowest majority I think was six votes, this Day it will be taken up in the House, when, as usual, we shall have Yeas and Nays in abundance, tho' the majority is decided & there is not the most distant Prospect of defeating the Bill, yet the Opponents are determined to dispute its Progress in every part, if it be got thro' to-day I shall slip home to-morrow, that I may have an opportunity of viewing the Fields of Grain before Harvest, but this at present is doubtful. Your Conjecture respecting Indents is right, on redeeming the Continental Certificates the State must be furnished with Indents to the amount of the Interest paid by her, otherwise she must retain that sum out of the Certificates themselves. Wish you & Crissey could dine with me at Vreden's Berg on Sunday, and yet, thro' uncertainty, dare not ask you.

Henry Wynkoop.

Doctor

Reading Beatty.

Newyork, 16th July, 1790

Dear Sir—

The authority respecting the opening of Roads & declaring them either public or private, is in the Viewers & the Court, I take the general Distinction between a public & private Road to be, that the one is a general thoroughfare or Passage for the community at large & the others a mere private Passage to accommodate one or more Individuals in getting to & from a public Road: the expense of the first is borne by the public, that of the latter by the Individual.

The adjournment of Congress was yesterday postponed to y^e 27th. The funding & consequent revenue Systems are yet far from being completed, Report was yesterday that the President has signed the residence

Bill, but no official information was given. My love to Crissey & Nicholas & kiss for Miss Nancey & am

Yours &c.

Henry Wynkoop.

Doctor

Reading Beatty.

Newyork, 29th July, 1790.

Dear Sir—

The funding Bill received the Sanction of both Houses this day between 3 & 4 o'clock, majority generally six, the Creditors will have two-thirds of their principal funded at 6 y^e ft., the remaining third at the like Interest after the expiration of ten years, & the indents & back interest up to the last day of December next at three y^e ft. this is doing less for them than what was agreeable to the wishes & inclination of a majority of the Representatives, but they were at length reduced to the Alternative of agreeing to this or loosing the Bill, the Representatives of Pennsylvania to a man prefer'd the former. The Ways & Means are yet with the Senate, but hoping that will meet with little Difficulty, conclude there is a fair Prospect of an adjournment being effected in the Course of next week, shall therefore order my light wagon to meet me at Morton's on the evening of Saturday week, when I hope, if not before, to take a night's Lodging with you.

* * * * *

The State Debts are included in the funding at 4 y^e ft. The interest will not commence until y^e 9th of Jan. 1792, whereas that of the domestic Debt takes place Jan. 1791, so that the Interest thereon, which is to be paid quarterly, will be discharged for the first time in the April following.

My love to Crissey, Nicholas & Nancey, which accept also from

Your affectionate

Henry Wynkoop

N. A Proposition laid on the table on tuesday last for the appointment of a Committee to bring in a Bill for repealing the fifth Section of the residence Bill, relating to the temporary Residence in Philadelphia, was this day withdrawn by the Mover, wether this ill-natured thing will again make its appearance is uncertain, but should it, I do not conceive the least probability of its succeeding.

H. W.

Newyork, fryday morning, 6th Aug. 1790.

Dear Sir—

Notwithstanding the confident expectation of being at your House to-morrow evening it is now tollerably well ascertained that I am to be disappointed, for the revenue Bill was not returned from the Senate until yesterday about two o'clock. It is so amended as to alter its complection much & adds greatly to the uncertainty of the time it will yet consume, so that should Mama be at your House, she must return without me, & I must get home as soon & as well as I can.

Conceiving you must be anctious to see the funding Bill, I send it enclosed, as also some of the caricatures sold about the streets, expressive of the Spleen of the Citizens on account of the Removal of Congress: You probably must have heard of the motion for repealing part of the residence Bill, this was brought forward yesterday & rejected by a majority of 12, so that I hope we shall not hear any more of it. The Rabble here are very free in bawling out some one or other of the dirty expressions you will see in the Labels, when they perceive a Pennsylvania Delegate passing the Streets, from which you may judge somewhat of the agreableness of our Continuance here, but be that as it may, I believe not a man of us will leave the place until all is over & safe, which probably will be tuesday or wednesday next.

* * * * *

Expecting Mama will be with you to-morrow afternoon, this must serve for you both. My love to her, Crissey, Nicholas, & Nancey which accept also from
Your affectionate
Henry Wynkoop.

Newyork, 8th Aug. 1790

Dear Sir—

Yesterday the Senate concurred with the House of Representatives for Adjourning on tuesday, think therefore may now without danger of Disappointment, make Disposal for getting Home; Therefore request you, if convenient, to give notice to my family to send a Light waggon to be at Morton's by sunrise on Thursday morning next, or if you can not conveniently give that notice, then to send some Vehicle to Morton's by that time to take me & my Baggage: writing this at Doctor Elmer's¹ who is just going off, is the Reason I send you no papers, but in a few days you shall have all the news.

Henry Wynkoop.

Doctor

Reading Beatty

¹*Jonathan Elmer.* See *PENN MAG.* Vol. xxxv, p. 103.

LETTERS OF GENERAL JOHN ARMSTRONG TO
THOMAS WHARTON, PRESIDENT OF
PENNSYLVANIA, 1777.

Camp near Bartholomews, 22nd December, 1777

Dear Sir:

General Washington has requested me to write Council, that the same number of Militia may be kept up throughout the Winter as are at present in the Field, or as thro the course of the campaign. Of these with me, I look for a return this morning, but shall not detain the Express for it. I take the number to be about 1600, and with General Potter, yet in Chester, 4 or 5 hundred. Of these a considerable number look to be free in January.

I am in doubt, but think my last letter will fully explain to the Legislature of this State, altho addressed to the representative body, as well as to both branches of Government, the much exposed situation of the eastern part of this State, but in a particular manner, the extensive Country on this side of the Schuylkill. The Winter position of the Continental Army, at what is called the Forge, or Valley Hill, Will, we hope, chiefly preserve the County of Chester, with several other good effects, whilst the attempt for the defence of the Counties of Philadelphia and Bucks appears to remain chiefly, or rather wholly with the Militia of the State; an effort as laudable as it is arduous, and if attended with only a partial degree of success, will be all that the most sanguine in reason can expect.

The Winter arrangements on this side of Schuylkill, the General has thought proper, at the same time add-

ing his instructions, to commit to me. This I have digested in the best manner I can, in order to meet his Excellencies' approbation. The essential parts, or outlines whereof, are none other than to take a variable station on every leading road, betwixt Schuylkill and Delaware, the which I find there are the number of nine, that may be called capital roads. The General service on which can only be to compete with smaller parties of the Enemy and prevent any such from reaching into the County, and intercept the business of marketing, or any other intercourse of the disaffected with the Enemy, as far as circumstances will admit. Standing Piquets must be placed on every Road, and Patriots aided by a few Light Horse to proceed to as near the Enemy as may be reasonable. This mode will necessarily throw the troops into detachments. In that way must they be employed, if employed to any purpose at all. This method will be subject to its inconveniences, particularly feeding the men, changing the Battalions when some are free, delivery of Arms, &c., but in a choice of difficulties, we have nothing for it, but the least. The general arrangements, with particular instructions to the Commander of each Road, is all that the season will permit me to do. The various movements and lodgings are already too much for me, and severer weather must be at hand. General Potter says he can by no means tarry this Winter. And some head these people certainly must have very suddenly, else all will go to confusion. I had therefore, flattered myself that from my letter per Dr. Duffield, a new appointment would have been made, and the person ready to do duty. A notice of this sort I hope soon to be favoured with, and think it already on the road, Having the Honour to be,

Your Excellencies' most humble Servant,
John Armstrong.

To his Ex. Thos. Wharton, Esq., Lancaster.

Camp Eastward of Bartholomews,
30th December, 1777.

Sir:

You will readily recollect that the tenor of my last letter to Council respected the keeping of the Militia of this State up thro the Winter in the same numbers as has generally been done through the course of the campaign, and that this was the desire of General Washington, at whose instance I then wrote. By the further reflexion on the matter, and taking into consideration that both branches of Government might be now concerting measures to continue the usual succession of the Militia, I have thought it my duty to throw off the following hints. Having been now for some time on this weak and exposed station, my first thoughts were that an effort of security to this part of the State, preventing an intercourse with the Enemy, or marketing of Philadelphia, &c., would require the service of 2000 men habitually throughout the Winter, but wish to be rightly understood, that I never imagined that 2 or 3 thousand men or any number of Militia that the State could be supposed to send, would be sufficient to do that business effectively if the Enemy should think proper to oppose them in force. I'm however, now rather of opinion that One Thousand on this side of Schuylkill might answer all the purposes that are to be expected, and render in effect all that service to this part of the Country and to the Publick that 2000 could possibly do. To this 1000 Foot should be added about 20 or 30 Light Horse, which latter, peradventure General Washington might contribute. If the number mentioned above should be agreed to, the Council will readily conceive the great ease to out Militia at this severe season, as well as the great saving to the Public that must ensue. Whether the General expects any of our Militia to be stationed on that side of Schuylkill where his Excellency has now taken post,

I cannot tell, but shall write to him by this conveyance, in order that he may have an early opportunity of correcting this opinion if he thinks it wrong, or communicating what line he pleases. At present there are on this station about 2000 men, but in the space of 2 days Eight Battalions will be free, nor can they be kept an hour beyond that time. The residue will also be free in a short time, perhaps 10 days, so yet there is danger of a chasm. I am about getting some of the less things that appear necessary here, and shall, God willing, in 2 or 3 days begin my journey westward, being already half frozen in this frigid zone. I expect General Potter will come over and stay a few days longer, at any rate shall leave the Adjutant-General to see orders executed until some further appointments takes place.

The bearer, a Light Horseman of Bucks County, has by an accident lost his horse in our Service. How is he to be paid, I have not been able to assure him, but think him entitled, and beg leave to recommend him for that purpose. However, ill judged the following may be, at a time when I have just been recommending another person, I must only say that on being summoned to an evening Council at White Marsh, I had a nice young horse, with my saddle and Bridle, stole from the General's door, had him put in General Orders by way of advertisement, with every other means of search, but to no effect. 31st. General Potter is now here, and will remain in command some 10 or 12 days. I have heard a good character of a Col. Any. Morris, who at present lives near the White Horse, on the Lancaster Road.

I am Sir, your Excellencies' most
Obt. Humbl. Servt.,
John Armstrong.

P. S. The distance and even uncertain residence of the Paymaster General has been a matter of frequent

complaint, and now I borrow the money I want, as are some of the County Pay Masters, as Mr. Edwards tells me.

To his Excellency Thos. Wharton, Esq., President of the State of Pennsylvania.

EXCERPTS FROM THE MASTER'S LOG OF HIS
MAJESTY'S SHIP *EAGLE*, LORD HOWE'S
FLAGSHIP, 1776-1777.¹

Edited by WILLIAM M. MERVINE.

The English fleet under Vice-Admiral Lord Shuldham, arrived at Staten Island, New York, July 3, 1776, with "the whole fleet of transports, victuallers, and store ships under his convoy, without any loss or separation; . . . his Majesty's troops under the command of Gen. Howe were landed on that day and the next, upon Staten Island." *H. M. Eagle*, Lord Howe's flag-ship reached New York on July 13th, and continued there until about the first of August, when she sailed south as far as the Potomac River.

Following the Battle of Brandywine, September 11th, 1777, the British army entered Philadelphia, September 26th. On October 6th the *Eagle* was standing up the Delaware Bay, with the purpose of conducting the English fleet and supplies to General Howe's army in the captured city; on the seventh the flagship anchored off Chester.

As early as July of 1775 the citizens of Philadelphia had prepared to defend their city against an enemy's fleet, by placing the *chevaux-de-frise* in the bed of the Delaware between Mud Island and Red Bank, New Jersey.

Lord Howe's vessels; retarded by these obstructions, were attacked by the Pennsylvania Navy under Commodore John Hazlewood, by the garrisons of Fort

¹ From the original log, deposited in the Public Record Office, London.

² *The Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1776.

Mercer at Red Bank and Fort Mifflin on Mud Island. Count Donop was hurried across from Philadelphia by General Howe to reduce Fort Mercer, and Lord Howe sent up the *Augusta*, *Roebuck*, *Liverpool*, *Pearl*, *Merlin*, and the *Cornwallis Galley*. These vessels managed to pass the *chevaux-de-frize*, but the channel having been altered by the obstructions, the *Augusta*, *Merlin* and *Roebuck* ran aground near the mouth of Manto Creek. "The *Roebuck* got afloat; the firing became hot and furious, the forts joining in, and other British vessels warping up, when the *Augusta* took fire, either from hot shot or from her own guns, and her magazine exploded before all the crew could be removed, involving a considerable loss of men. The other ships were driven back, and the *Merlin* was abandoned and burnt by her own crew."

The British army could not hold Philadelphia unless the Delaware was opened for the English fleet with supplies, and General Howe's efforts were now turned to the reduction of Fort Mifflin. Batteries were placed on Province Island and at other points along the shore in back of Fort Mifflin. The British ship *Vigilant* was cut down to enable her "to pass through a shallow and very confused channel on Hog Island and the Pennsylvania shore, to arrive and act upon the rear and less defensible part of the work."

The Province Island batteries opened fire on Fort Mifflin, November 10th, and the garrison responded with spirit. The firing continued until the sixteenth, when the fort, after a most gallant defense, was entirely destroyed, and the commandant, Major Simeon Thayer, set fire to the ruins and retired.⁵

The following entries from the log of the *Eagle*, refer to the above events.

⁵ Scharf & Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, Volume I, p. 363.

⁴ Lord Howe's dispatch.

⁵ Scharf & Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, Volume I, p. 364.

Friday 3^d, May 1776.—Fresh gales and hazy w^r. Sailed to S^t. Helens H. M. Ship *Strombello*, & several transports wth troops, the Jersey Hosp^l Ship also sailed to S^t. Helens.

Mond^y 6th, May 1776.—Fresh gales & Cloudy W^r. Various employ'd A M, hoisted L^d Howes flag (Viz) White at the fore Salluted, S^r James Douglas with 13 guns, which he return'd with the same number dry'd saild Washd & Cleand between Decks.

Frid^y 31, May 1776.—Hoisted a boat out and Spoke the *Malaga* transport with Hessian troops on board, try'd the Curr^t. found a small drain to the W^w^d. Stay'd the Mainmast & sett the rigg^g up sett up the Topmost rigging fore & aft. Lat: Ob: 44: 33 N°.

Frid^y 7th, June 1776.—Fresh Breezes and foggy w^r. read the Articles of war & punished W^m Lacey seaman with 12 lashes for drunkenness.

Saturd^y. 8th, June 1776.—Will^m. Ingerfield seaman fell from the Main Shrouds on the booms & died on the spott in 3^d Reefs & hand^d. Bro^t to & spoke the *Adventure* from Ports°. for Hallifax.

Mond^y. 17th, June 1776.—Fresh Gales & hazey. Punished Jn°. Cummins seamⁿ with a doz: lashes for gaming.

Thursd^y. 4th, July 1776.—Light breezes & hazy w^r. Smoked the Ship with Spirit of Salt.

Mond^y. 8th, July 1776.—Spoke a Small Schooner from Newf^o^l^d. for Nantucket who inform'd us, we were on the Soundings of Nantucket.

Saturd^y. 13, July 1776.—Employ'd turning into Sandy Hook,⁶ found at the Hook H. M. Sloop, *Swan* who

* *New York, July 15.* "Last Friday morning it was reported in town, that Lord Howe was arrived at Sandy-Hook, with a large fleet from England: Between 1 and 2 o'clock, P. M. two ships hove in sight and joined the fleet at the Watering place, about an hour after a ship, supposed to be the *Phoenix* of 44 guns, a frigate of 28, and 3 tenders; got under way at Staten-Island and stood up for this city." (*The Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 17, 1776.)

- Sallut'd the Adm'. which we return'd. Anchor'd under Statten Island in 10 f^m. Veerd away & moord a cable each way B B^r to S^o w^d. Town of New York N E $\frac{1}{2}$ N. Ferry pt. on Statten Island S b E. Bedlows Island N. N. E p E. Found lying here Vice Adm^l. Shuldham in H. M. Ship *Chatham* with the *Centurion*, *Asia*, *Liverpool*, *Greyhound*, & *Kingsfisher*, with a great number of transports Storeships Victu^r. &c. the Troops in possession of Staten Island all the fleet Salluted the Adm^r. The Sig^l was made for all Capt^r.¹
- Tuesd^y 30th, July 1776.*—Anchored here H. M. Ship *Nijor* with a Convoy of Light horse from Halifax.
- Frid^y 2^d, Aug^t. 1776.*—Anch^d here the *Solebay*, *Borcas* & *Thunderbomb* with a Convoy of 23 Sail with troops from S^o Carolina.
- Thurs^y. 8th, Aug^t. 1776.*—Sent an armed boat to meet a Canoe from Long Island, in which were four deserters from the rebels.
- Frid^y 9th, Aug^t 1776.*—The Carpenters returnd on t^d having finish'd their work on the Sloop which was converted into a row gallery, & mounted two twelve pounders, sent carpenters on board the *Centurion* & *Thunder* to work, saild the *Alert* Arm'd Schooner. dry^d sails, punish'd James Selly seaman with a doz: lashes for drunkenness.
- Tuesd^y. 13, Aug^t. 1776.*—P. M. made the *Chatham*, *Asia*, & *Solebays*, sig^l. for P. officer Arriv'd here Com^o Notham in His Maj^r. Ship *Preston* with the *Repulse*, *Emerald*, *Rainbow*, *Tamer*, *Carcass* bomb & *Strom-*

¹ "By the latest advices (authenticated by the General Congress), a flag from Lord Howe was met by the Adjutant-General of the army at New York, on the 14th of July; but as the letter which was presented was directed for George Washington, Esquire; the Adjutant could not receive it. The Congress afterwards, on the 19th, resolved, That General Washington, in refusing to receive said letter, acted with a dignity becoming his station. . . . Lord Howe joined the army so long ago as the 13th of July." (*The Gentleman's Magazine*, for September, 1776.)

belo fire ships, with a Convoy of 104 Sail of transports with Hessian troops & Guards & some Victualers, the transp^{ts}. Anchor'd below the flagstaff p^t. under the Care of the *Orpheus* & *Greyhound* who came in from sea with them, as also did the *Niger*.

Thursd^y. 15, Aug^t. 1776.—Light Breezes and fair W^t. P. M. Sig^l. for all Lieut^s D^o the Parole sig^l. clear'd house $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 saw a great light up the N^o river & several flashes which we Judg'd to proceed from firing of Guns, sent an officer to examine the Gu^t. boats A. M. the *Syrens* sig^l. for a P. officer. open'd Beef. No. 48 Cont. 154 p^t. over 1 p made the Sig^l. for Cap^t. of the *Flora*; *Chatham* & *Thunder* sig^l for P. Officers.

Sunday 18, Aug^t 1776.—At 7 A M Came down past the Town His Maj^s. Ships *Phenix* and *Rose*, with the *Tryal* Schooner, they rec^d the fire of all the Batterys as they pass'd but rec^d no damage made the Sig^l for Cap^{ts} of the *Renown* and *Repulse*. sail'd hence the *Flora*.

Thursd^y. 22, Aug^t. 1776.—Light Breezes & Cloudy made the *Phenix* sig^l. for the Cap^t. at 6 a heavy squall with thunder lightning & rain at 7 the *Phenix* & *Rose* fell down & Anchord in the Narrows at 2 A M sent all the Boats in order to land the Troops on Long Isl^d. at 5 the *Phenix* & *Rose* warp'd into Gravesend bay to cover the landing, the *Thunder* & *Carcas* bombs also Anchord there as did all the transports wth troops on b^d at 9 the Sig^l was made for all the boats with troops on board to advance which they did & landed the troops without the Smallest opposition.*

Tuesd^y 27th, Aug^t. 1776.—At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 A M heard a Brisk

* "New York, August 26. Tuesday last a number of ships with troops on board sail'd from Staten Island out of the Narrows; next day they were followed by many more, and about 10 o'clock Thursday morning, about 10,000 men landed between New Utrecht and Gravesend, on Long Island." (*The Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 28, 1776.)

firing of Musquetry on Long Island at 6 made the sig^l. and weigh'd with H. M. Ships *Preston*. Com^r. S^r Peter Parker, *Asia*, *Renown*, *Rainbow*, *Roebuck*, *Repulse* & *Mercury*, with the *Thunder* and *Carcas* bombs, Emp^a workg up towards New York at 9 the Ebb mak'g Strong made sig^l & Anch^d. in 7 f^m. Bedlows Isl^d. N B E $\frac{1}{2}$ E Red Hook N E B E $\frac{1}{2}$ E. Saw from the Ship, our troops attack many partys of the rebels and defeated them all.

Sunday 15th, Sep^r. '76.—Light Air and fair W^r. made the sig^l. for Mid^d. from the *Pearl* & *Emerald*, & Master of the *Thunder*. Parole sig^l. red & white strip^d pend^t. at 6, Six Transports got under way & sail'd up the E river & were fir'd at from the Town &c at 10 saw the flashes & heard the report of several cannon fir'd at the back of New York. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 A M made the Sig^l for the *Renown*, *Pearl*, & *Repulse* to get under way, they immediately weighd & made sail up the N^o river at ten minutes after 7, the Batterys on York Island and those on Paulus hook began to fire on them, which they return'd, the firing continued till a quarter of a hour aftwd, at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 they anchor'd up the N^o river in sight of the fleet at 10 the *Renown* hoisted a Dutch flag at the fore top'g mast head, which we Answ^d, by a White red & blue flag at the Main D^o at noon saw the smoak & heard a very heavy firing up the E river.

Mond^y 23^d, Sep^r. 76.—At 2 A M saw a fire Vessel coming down the N^o river which was fir'd at by our ships lying there at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 saw a second fire vessel & soon after a third at $\frac{3}{4}$ p^t. 5 the *Renown* Anchor'd having been oblig'd to Slip her cables to avoid the fire Vessels.

Monday 23^d, Sep^r. 1776.—At 11 the *Roebuck* & *Tartar* & *Carcas* Weigh'd but falling calm Anchor'd again at Noon they weigh'd again as also did the *Emerald* Boats employ'd towing the *Roebuck* towards Powlus

hook, from which place they began to fire at the Ships.

Friday 22^d, Nov^r. 1776.—Arriv'd his Maj. Sloop *Raven* & *Cherokee* Arm'd Ship. . . The *Tamer* came out of the E^t. River made the *Experim^t*. sig^t. for a L^t. & several other ships for P. Officers at Noon arriv'd several Transports with troops from the W^t. Indies, & an Arm^d. Ship from England.

Wednesday 22^d, Jan^r. 1777.—Mod. and Clear W^r. at 9 P. M. the Alarm was given that some part of the town was on fire, hoisted the boats out, sent a party of seamen with proper officers, buckets & fire Engine on shore, got every thing ready for hauling the ship off into the Stream, at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 the party return'd on board the fire being extinguish'd. A M at 8 saild his Maj^s. Ships *Solebay* & *Orpheus* at 10 saild H. M. Ships *Lively*, *Flora* & *Daphne*. rec'd Beer & Water by the Launch. Sail'd also the *Harriet* packet for England.

Friday 18th, April 1777.—Mod^r. & hazey W^r with small rain. P. M. arrived here a brig privateer calld the *Defence*, prize to the *Roebuck*, at 8 rec^d. information of the *Daphne's* being ashore on Robin's reef sent the Launch & other boats to her assistance.

Saturd^y 19th, April 1777.—Little wind & hazey W^r sent boats to the *Daphne* for the prisoners she had on board Arrivd a Sloop privateer, prize to the *Perseus*, thick foggy W^r.

Frid^y 25th, April 1777.—Fresh Breezes and Hazey W^r A M dry'd sails — — — wash'd & Cleand between decks.

Sund^y 4th, May 1777.—Cap^t. Roger Curtis of the *Senegal* came on board & superceded Cap^t. Duncan in the command of the Ship, he being appointed adjutant to the fleet.

Frid^y 11th, July 1777.—Mod^r. & Clear W^r A M Arriv'd here H. M. Ship *Daphne* punishd John Wilson sea-

man with 4 Doz. lashes for attempting to desert to the Rebels.

Monday July 21st, 1777.— at 4 made the Sig^t. to Weigh, Weighd & Came to sail with the rest of the fleet at 6 fell calm Anch^d in 13 f^m point of Statten Isl^d.

Monday 4th, August 1777.—Bearings at Noon: Cape Henlopen N 22 : 00 N. . . the *Dispatch* returnd from chace with a schooner loaded with flour.

Tuesd^y 19th, Aug^t. 1777.— . . . at 3 anchord with small B^r in 13 f^m. off the Entrance of Potomack river.

Saturday 23^d, August 1777.— . . Entrance of the river Elk.⁹

Monday 6th, Octo^r 1777.—Mod^r Weather. Standing up the Delaware bay depth of water fr^m 6 to 8 f^m. No M^t. point of Bombay hook N W B W about 4 Miles. . . . Weighd and made up the river Delaware crossd Bombay hook flats in 4 f^m Morris listens¹⁰ high land W S W 1½ mile from shore.

Tuesd^y 7th, Octo^r 1777.—Fresh breezes & Clear W^r passd by the *Dispatch* & her convoy at Reedy Island. depth of water from ½ less 5 to 8 f^m pass'd the *Lizard* at 3 P M off the Town of Newcastle¹¹ at 4 Wilmington N W b N 4 f^m water the last water over Wilmington flats was ½ less 4 f^m near high water, the *Vigilant*¹² & 2 Packets in Co : at 6 Anchord off Chester with

⁹"The moment that victory on the Brandywine opened the gates of Philadelphia to the British Army, the British fleet was in motion down the Chesapeake around Cape Charles and up the Delaware, in order that it might give, by opening our own great water course, completeness to the capture. (John William Wallace, *Colonel William Bradford*, 1884, p. 170.)

¹⁰Morris Liston purchased 1200 acres of land in 1680. "His name is still perpetuated in *Liston's Point*. Conrad, *History of the State of Delaware*, Volume II, p. 572.

¹¹Colonel William Bradford to President Wharton, October 8, 1777. "A large fleet of vessels are now as high as New Castle." *Pennsylvania Archives*. First Series, Volume V, p. 649.

¹²*Vigilant*, armed ship; Captain Henry, 150 men, 16 guns.

B^r in 5 f^m found here the *Solebay* and *Merlin*¹³ at 9 saw 2 false fires made by the Guard boat, the *Merlin* made sig^l for a sail in N E at 12 the Guard boats return'd A M made the *Harriot & Eagle* packets sig^l for their Capt^s. saild down the river the Packets the *Roebuck*,¹⁴ *Pearl*, *Liverpool* & *Camilla* dropt down the river & Anch^d here.

Wednesd^y 8th, Octo^r. 1777.— . . the *Roebuck* made sig^l for the *Pearl*, *Liverpool* & *Camilla* to prepare to sail at 3 they weigh'd & Stood up the river . . . Arriv'd the *James & William* Hospital Ship.

Saturd^y 11th, Octo^r. 1777.— . . a heavy cannonading in the N E ar 9 the G^d boats went up at 4 A M they return'd A M a heavy cannonading in N. E. clean'd below, observed several shot to be fir'd by some row Galleys at the *Liverpool*.

Sund^y 12th, Oct^r. 1777.—Mod^r. and Clear W^r. the Cannonading continues. Parole sig^l. Dutch pend^t. Anchord here the *Viper* Arm'd Schooner, sent away the Guard boats at 10 P M at 5 A M Guard boats return'd sent two 9 pounders & 30 rounds of Ammunition on bd the *Zebra*¹⁵ the *Camilla* anchord near Darby Creek Arriv'd the *Cornwallis* Arm'd Galley,¹⁶ a Constant firing of Cannon in the N. W.¹⁷

Mond^y 13th, Octo^r 1777.—Light Airs and Clear W^r Cleard hawse, sent 2, 9 pound^m with 30 round of ammunition on board the *Merlin* at 9 Anchord the *York*

¹³ *Merlin*; 18 guns.

¹⁴ *Roebuck*, 280 men, 44 guns. *Pearl*, 220 men, 32 guns. *Liverpool*, a frigate, 28 guns. *Camilla*, 20 guns.

¹⁵ *Zebra*, 16 guns.

¹⁶ *Cornwallis*, galley, with a 32-pounder.

¹⁷ On Monday, October 13th, Colonel Bradford wrote from Fort Mifflin to President Wharton: "Yesterday morning a party of about one hundred and fifty men were landed from this Fort on Province Island, with an intent to take the redoubt, under the fire of three galleys and the floating battery. But the number of the enemy were much greater than was expected; all under cover." (*John William Wallace*, Colonel William Bradford, p. 180.)

Arm'd Sloop at 10 the *Somerset*²⁸ Ancho^d here, sent the Cap^t of Marines with a party on shore at Chester at 2 A M saw a fire on the water E b N and several guns firing at same time in diff^t directions Observ'd another fire E N E the Guns continued firing, at 6 the *Isis*²⁹ Anch^d. here, the *Roebuck*, *Liverpool*, *Pearl*, and *Vigilant*, dropt higher up the river, saw the *Roebuck* fire several guns & Musquetry, at 9 arriv^d the *Augusta*, the *Camilla* and *Zebra* mov^d higher up Tinnecum chan^l.

Tuesd^y 14th, Octob^r 1777.— . . . A M the *Vigilant*, *Camilla* & *Cornwallis* Galley fired several shot at the Rebel Gallies who row'd up the river, sig^l. for the Cap^{tn}. of the *Augusta* & *Somerset*.

Thursd^y 16th, Octob^r 1777.— . . . Guns firing in N. E.
Saturd^y 18th, Octob^r 1777.—Fresh breezes and Cloudy $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 P M sent the Guard boats up the river. Parole sig^l, a blue and white stripd pend. Guns frequently firing in the N E. A M flat boats emp^d landing the troops at Chester at 10 the landing completed.

Mond^y 20th, Octob^r 1777.—D^b. W^r. the *Augusta* & *Isis* weigh'd & Stood up the river the *Isis* ran aground on Tinnicum Spit, sent boats to her Assistance, Parole Sig^l. a red pend^t. at 10 sent a L^t with 4 flat boats & a row of Galley with Agent Chad. A M they return^d the *Roebuck* mov'd higher up the river as did also the *Pearl*, the *Vigilant* mov'd up Tinnicum passage sent 2 flat boats on b^d the *Vigilant*.³⁰

Tuesd^y 21st, Octob^r 1777.—Light Airs and Cloudy w^r. P. M. the *Isis* got off the Shoal and anchor^d in the stream at 4 the Rebel galleys came down & Can-

²⁸ *Somerset*, 500 men, 64 guns.

²⁹ *Isis*, 350 men, 50 guns.

³⁰ "By the 20th of October a passage for the British vessels being now opened through the lower *chevaux de frize*, the brothers Howe conceived themselves prepared to attempt the capture of the two forts." John William Wallace, *Colonel William Bradford*, p 183.

nonaded the *Vigilant* & *Cornwallis* which they return'd. Parole sig^t a White pend^t. A M the *Isis* got under way & grounded on the E^t shore made *Somerset* sig^t for a L^t. & *Merlin* for a Mid.

Wednesd^y 22^d, Octo^r. 1777.—Fresh gales & Clear, the *Isis* got off and Anch^d in the stream Parole Sig^t. a blue pend^t. sent the boats armd up the river with provisions for the Army. *Merlin* Sig^t for a L^t.

Thursd^y 23^d, Octo^r 1777.—Little wind and Clear W^r. the *Isis* & *Merlin*²¹ went up the river. *Somerset* sig^t. for boats to Assist the *Isis*, the *Camilla* came down Tinneccum passage, at 5 saw a firing of Musquetry & Cannon at red bank²² which Contin^d near half an hour at 6 the *Augusta*, *Roebuck*, *Pearl*, *Liverpool*, & *Merlin*, with *Cornwallis* Galley, got under way and fir'd at the Rebel galleys, a heavy cannonade commenc'd & Contin'd till 8 o'Clock sent several flat boats mann'd by Volunteers from transports to assist the Ships engaged, at 6 A M the *Camilla* Anch^d at Billingsport some Vessels went up to Assist the *Augusta* & *Merlin* which were aground²³ $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 a Cannonade began,

²¹ "A diversion was proposed to be made at the same time by the *Isis* and *Augusta*, in the eastern or main channel of the river, as well for engaging the attention of the enemy at Fort Island [Mifflin] and the redoubt [Fort Mercer, Red Bank] as to restrain the motion of the galleys and other armed crafts which had retired from the works at Red Bank, when they discovered the danger which they would be exposed to from our batteries on the western shore." Lord Howe's dispatch. Wallace, *Colonel William Bradford*, p. 184.

²² Count Donop's attack on Fort Mercer at Red Bank was in the evening of October 22d.

²³ "The change in the natural course of the river, caused by the obstructions, appearing to have altered the channel, the *Augusta* and *Merlin* unfortunately grounded some distance below the second line of *chocaux-de-frise*." Dispatch of Admiral Howe. Wallace, *Colonel William Bradford*, p. 186.

"At an early hour the next morning empty transports were making their way up from the fleet, and other preparations made for lightening the grounded vesels. It was too late, Hazlewood, the Pennsylvania navy, and Fort Mifflin were upon them."

at 8, 2 ships of war moved up towards the Rebels $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 we perceived the *Augusta* to be on fire, cannonade cont'd at 11 repeated the sig^l. made on board the *Roebuck* for the Ships to weigh, $\frac{1}{4}$ before 12 saw the *Merlin* on fire, at 12 the *Augusta* blew up.^a

Frid^y 24th, October 1777.—Mod^t. and fair W^r. the *Camilla* came down the river $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 P M Saw the *Merlin* blow up, Parole sig^l. a red & white strip'd pend^t. at 6 A M Anchor'd here the *Apollo*, the *Camilla* went up Tinnecum passage.

Saturd^y 25th, Octo^r 1777.—At 5 P M Sent a L^t. and an Agent with 16 flat boats up the river with provisions for the Army. Parole Sig^l. a blue & white stripd pend^t. $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 A M the *Vigilants* boat came down with Dispatches for the Adm^l. at 8 the *Nonsuch's* boat came up with Dispatches for the Adm^l. Foggy W^r with small rain.

Sund^y 26th, Octo^r 1777.—D^o W^r at 5 P M Sent an Officer with several flat boats with provision for the Army. Parole Sig^l. a dutch pend^t. sent 2 of the quarter Deck guns with 60 rounds of amunition up to Billinsport A M sent several flat boats with the Marines of this Ship & *Somerset* also a part of the 71 Reg^t. up to Billinsport, three transports saild up the river, cleard hawse, the Pearl fird several shot at the Rebel Galley.

Thursday 30th, Oct^r 1777.—Mod^r and Cloudy sent 28 flat boats up the river with provisions for the Army, at 5 A M they return'd, sigⁿ for Mid from the *Somerset*

^a A volume of thick smoke "rising like a pillar, and spreading from the top like a tree," was seen ascending to the heavens. The region for leagues around, rocks as if riven by an earthquake. Windows miles away are broken. The magazine of the *Augusta* has exploded, and her men are torn into pieces, or, blown into the air, meet death by falling into the river and being drowned. The magazine of the *Merlin* soon follows. These successive explosions were so disastrous to the British fleet that only three boat-loads of men were saved from the well-manned vessels." *Ibid.*, p. 187.

employd Securing the Main yard for getting some of the Lower deck guns out.

Saturd^y 1st, Nov^r. 1777.—Sent 26 flat boats & the Galley with prov^s up the river for the Army. A M Carpenters emp^d. repairing the Launch, also in fitting a Sloop to carry cannon, rec^d some wood on b^d.

Sund^y. 2^d, Nov^r 1777.—The *Somerset's* boat bro^t. out 3 Deserters from the Rebel army.

Tuesd^y 4th, Nov^r 1777.—At 11 P M Sent the flat boats wth Baggage & Amunition for the Army at 7 A M heard several guns fir'd to^{wa} S W cut up the outer small B^r cable, to Barricade some Armd Vessels.

Thursd^y 6th, Nov^r 1777.—The Ships above & *Cornwallis* Galley cannonading the Jersey shore, at 12 sent flat boats with Baggage &c for the army.

Saturd^y 8th, Nov^r 1777.—Mod^r. & fair W^r got three of our 18 p^{dr}s into the Sloop, rec^d Seamen Volunteers for the King's service from the Victuallers & transports. Parole sig^l. blue & white strip'd pend^t. Saw (at 10 P M) a firing of Cannon & Small Arms heavy, E B N $\frac{1}{2}$ past 1 A M 11 flatt boats went up to the army.

Mond^y 10th, Nov^r 1777.—A Cannonading from Province Island at 10 A M Anchord here the *Cabot* Arm'd brig.²⁵

Tuesd^y 11th, Nov^r 1777.—Squally with rain. Cleard hawse A M Mod^r and fair with frost. Sailed up the Tinnecum passage the Armd Sloop commanded by L^t. Botham, made the *Experiments* sig^l. for a L^t. at 11 the *Vigilant* got under way, made her sig^l to Anchor again, & repeated it with 7 guns.²⁶

²⁵ The British "batteries on Province Island opened fire on Fort Mifflin, November 10th, killing Lieut. Treat, wounding many, and damaging the defences and barracks." Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, Volume I, p. 363.

²⁶ "In addition to the erection of the battery on Province Island intended to play on the rear of Fort Mifflin, and, as Admiral Howe tells us, on the galleys and other armed craft, the squadron from the British fleet had come up the river." Wallace, *Colonel William Bradford*, p. 183.

Wednesday 12th, Nov^r 1777.—Fresh breezes and fair, much firing of Cannon up the river. Anchord here several transports, Parole sig^l a blue pend^t. A M got down topg^t. y^{ds} at 9 Anch^d here H. M. Ship *Bristol*. The forts, *Somerset, Isis, & Galley* firing.

Thursd^y 13th, Nov^r 1777.—Cloudy. W^r Anch^d here several transports. Parole sig^l; a yellow pend^t. sent up the river some flat boats with Artillery Stores, A M our forts on Province Island and the *Isis* Cannonading.

Saturd^y 15th, Nov^r 1777.—A M Sent several flat boats up the river under Com^d of Capt^t Reeve, much firing up the river from the forts & ships.

Sund^y 16th, Nov^r 1777.—At 1 A M Saw a great fire on Mud Island²⁷ & heard several Cannon fir'd. Cleard hawse. made the *Bristol* sig^l for a L^t. Saw the English Col^{rs} on Mud forts.

Wednesd^y 19th, Nov^r 1777.—Clear frosty W^r. rec^d. from the *Nonsuch* 100 bar^{rs} powder. Parole sig^l. a blue pend^t. rec^d. some powder from the *Nonsuch* at Noon sent 29 flat boats under Com^d. of L^t. of the *Bristol* with prov^s. for the Army, up Schuylkill.

Frid^y 21st, Nov^r 1777.—D^o W^r Parole sig^l Strip'd red & white pend^t. at 5 A M Saw a fire²⁸ in the N E & heard the report of Cannon & Musquetry at 9 up topg^t y^{ds}.

²⁷ The fort having been destroyed, after the fight of six days, Major Thayer "evacuated his no longer tenable post, carried off his wounded, stores, and garrison, set the ruins of the fort on fire, and retired, in the blaze to Red Bank. It was the most gallant defense of the war." Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, Volume I, p. 364.

²⁸ This was the burning of the American boats. The evacuation of Fort Mifflin left the American fleet between the English war ships and the British batteries in Philadelphia. Twenty-five of the boats managed to pass the city at 3 A. M., October 21st. "An attempt was made to get the Continental fleet up but failed, and its vessels *Andraea Doria, Xebec, &c.*, with the Province ships and the two floating batteries, were set on fire and burned. The State Navy wintered at stations along the river." *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Volume I, p. 263.

Thursd^y 4th, Dec^r 1777.—Got on board our Six lower decks guns that were on the battery of Province Island.

Frid^y 5th, Dec^r 1777.—At 10 Saw a large fire in N N E A M Sailed up to Billinsport H M Ship *Experiment*.²²

Dec^r 1777.—Light Airs. came down the river & Anch^d here H M Ship *Isis*. Unbent the Topsails & Coarses & bent New ones. Anchd here the *Stanley Arm'd* brig. Parole sig^d a Dutch pend^t. A M made Agent Tolmand sig^d.

Tuesd^y 9th, Dec^r 1777.—Light Breezes and hazy. Cleard hawse. Emp^d working up Junk. Sailed up the river to Philadelphia several ships from New York.

Wednesd^y 10th, Dec^r 1777.—Sent 26 Invalids on board the *Grosvenor*.

Thursd^y 11th, Dec^r 1777.—The Marines return'd from Billinsport.

Wednesd^y 24th, Dec^r 1777.—Mod^r. and Cloudy W^r at 3 P M Weigh'd & made sail at 4 . . ½ past 10 anchored off New Castle.

Friday 2^d, Jan^y 1778.—At Noon Anch^d with small B^r in 5½ f^m in the harb^r of Rhode Island.

Captain's Log of H. M. Ship Eagle.

Sunday 5th, Septem^r 1777.—At 4 the light House of Cape Henlopen N W ½ N. 3 or 4 Leagues. At 7 the *Dispatch*, *Stanley* Brig, the *Thames* & a Convoy from New York Joined Company; At 10 Anchored with the Best Bower, in 10 fathom. At ½ past 8 Weighed and made Sail, with the *Vigilant*, the Boats employed ahead, Sounding.

Monday 6th, Septem^r 1777.—Standing up the Bay of Delaware.

Thursday 16th, October 1777.—At 5 P M Received a New Bower Cable from the *Adventure* Store Ship.

²² *Experiment*, 50 guns.

At 6 Made the Parole Signal, and the Signal for the Captain of the *Carysfort*, At 11 Sent a Flat Boat to row Guard. At Noon observed Guns to be fired from the Red Bank, and Rebel Colours flying.*

Tuesday 21st, October 1777.— $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 observed some Rebel Vessels to fire on the *Vigilant & Cornwallis* Galley the Galley advanced and returned their fire.

Thursday 23rd, October 1777.—Little Wind and Clear Weather. At 4 P M the *Camilla* got under Sail & Stood down Tincum Channell. At 5 observed the firing of Musquetry, at red Bank which Continued about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an hour. At 6 the *Augusta*, *Roebuck*, *Pearl*, *Liverpool* and *Merlin*, Weighed and fired several Shot at the Rebel Galleys a heavy Cannonade Comenced and Continued till near 8 o'clock. At 7 sent several Flat Boats Manned by Volunteers, to assist the Ships Engaged. At 6 A M two or 3 Vessels went up to assist the *Augusta* who was a Ground a Cannonade began. At 8 two of the Ships of War weighed and Stood towards the Rebels $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 Saw the *Augusta* take fire the Cannonade Continuing $\frac{1}{4}$ past 11 repeated the Signal made on board the *Roebuck* for the Ship to Weigh, $\frac{1}{4}$ before 12 Saw the *Merlin* on fire, the *Augusta* blew up.

Saturday 25th, October 1777.—At 5 Sent Boats with Provisions for the Army. At 9 A M the flat Boats returned from Philadelphia, bringing Troops of the 71st Regiment from Bow Creek, which was sent in Different Transports.

* Fort Mercer.

LETTER OF PETER MILLER, (BROTHER JABEZ OF THE EPHRATA COMMUNITY) TO JAMES READ, 1776.

Worthy Sir!

As I intend to go on a great Journey to Virginia, I would discharge my Duty to you wards before my Departure. We ought to abhor all War both off—and defensive for it is unnatural; and the Party injured ought to suffer, as thereby our Master hath conquered all his Enemies. It seems, as if the Dispute is only between two Parties, and it is supposed, that whosoever doth not join with the one, must needs belong to the other. But on a strict Examination, this Supposition is wrong: for to subject all Men without Distinction to the Civil Law, is injurious to the Christian Cause, as some may be under a higher Magistrate, and also consequently emancipated from the civil Government. It is very like, that in the present struggle there is a third Party, who observe a strict Neutrality: but whether it is lawful for any to be so, I donot know, at least is the Opposition thereby weakened. When Solon gave Laws to the Athenians, he was very severe against this Party saying: “Si ob discordiam dissensionemqz seditio atqz discessio populi in duas partes fieret, et ob eam causam, irritatis animis utrimqz, arma caperentur pugnareturqz, tum qui in eo tempore in eoqz casu civilis discordire non alterutrae partisese adjunxerit, sed solitarius separatusqz a communi malo civitatis seressent, is domo, patria fortunisqz omnibus careto, exsul ex-torresqz esto.” Vide A. Gell noc. Abt: Lib. 11 cap 12:

In all Probability, when Peace is re-establish'd between the two contending Parties, neither of them will think well of the third Party, which might in Time

produce disagreeable Events and raise a Persecution, if God will permit it. The first mention of Government is made Gen: 3 but it extended then not father than over the Wife, in order to restrain her from criminal Conversation with the Spirits of Deceit: but that one Individual should bring under Obedience another, was not then the divine Intention; yet when Menkind multiplied so fast, the Evil grew so much, that it could not be restrained neither by the Sword or Gallows. Also must now among these Men-Beasts be introduced an Authority, in Order to curb them in their Insolence; and as this is a tedious Business, being occasioned by the wickedness of mankind, I have with them the most tender Compassion, and wish from all my Heart, that the Time would appear, in which all Magistracy would be abrogated, and the World befilled with innocent men, who would not stand in need of any Government. And here I communicate to you another Quotation from Gellius, for he conversed with St. Paul in the Suburbs of Athens, when Paul talked to him in manner following: "Virum sepientum non peceaturum esse, etiamsi peceasse eum Dü et homines ignoraturi forent, non eum pocnae ant infamice Metu non esse peccandum, sed justii honestiqz studio et officio. Si qui tamen non essent tali ingenio vel disciplina praediti, uti se vi sua ae sponte facile a peceanda tenerent, eos omnes [torn] percure proclivius existimabat, [torn] posse id peceatum putarent, impunitatemqz ex ea latebra sperarent." Vid. A. Gell: Lib: xii cap. xi.

I humbly conceive that the Church should be under the sole Government of the holy Ghost, and therefore exempted from civil Government: but I take here the Word Church in the strictest sense, having no Possessions in this World. It is now forty-one years, when I listed under the Banner of Christ, and since that Time as temporal Authority had over me any Power. Soon after I had listed, we were put to Lancaster Goal for

refusing to pay the Single-men's Tax: for as we then hath been so useful to the country, we claimed the same Immunity, which by Theodosius M. and other christian Emperors was granted to the Fathers of the Egyptian Desarts, whose Lives we followed *etsi non possibus æquis*. The Result was, that personal Freedom was granted, but a Tax laid upon the Estate, against which we made no Objection.

You please here to observe, in what Relation we stand to the civil Government, and yet it pleased God, to lay a Part of the present Struggle upon our Hearts, seeing that the Sword maketh such a Devastation among our Fellow-Creatures: and my Opinion is, that if the good People of this Province had stood better for the Cause of God, the stroke might have been prevented. This Province stood many Years under the immediate Protection of God, as the French Invasion is a Witness 30 years ago, we had then no Force to trust upon; but at present hath the Lord our God lost his Honour, and how He shall regain it, I do not know.

Notwithstanding all this do we wait upon better Times; which to introduce, it is easy matter with God, altho' the mode is to us incomprehensible, for we know nothing. Your Remark is just: that before Day-break is the greatest Darkness: by all appearance are we come to the Evening of the sixth Day of this World, whether the ensuing Sabbath shall have therewith connexion, without the Interposition of Night, is uncertain. All the Days of Creation are made from Evening and Morning, except the Sabbath, for of him it is only said: *et benedixit Deus disi septimo, et sanctificavit cum*. Gen. 2. which rendered the Case probable, as if the Transit from the sixth to the seventh Day shall be without an intervening Night. I have not the Gifts of Prophecy, yet do I think, that the seventh Period of the World is nigh at Hand: if you live so long, you shall see with delectation, how Warriors unbend their Bows,

sheath their Swords, and convert their Spears into Sickles: for the Land shall then be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the Bottom of the Sea is covered with Water. The Beast and the Whore shall then be put alive in the firey Lake, and have there their nuptial Feast, whilst the Children of the Superior Woman shall have theirs on the Earth, & the Dragon, the principal Cause of all Wars, shall be chained and put to Dungeon. This chain can be nothing else, but the Philadelphian Love acquired under many Tribulations. The Concord and Peace of the Saints on Earth is the great Bullwark against the Powers of Darkness.

Before I take my leave, I intend to trouble you with another Quotation and that from Tasiti Annalium Libro xiii, where he says: *Et Pomponia Graeiena, insignis femina, Plantio, qui ovans se de Britanis retutit, nupta, a c Superstitionis externæ rea, marti judicio permissa. Isqz priseo instituto, propinquis coram, the ceapite fama qz conjugis cognovit, et insontem nunteavit. Longa husi Pomponiae aetas et continua tristitia fuit: nam post Juliam Drusi filiam dolo Messalinae interfectam, per quattoginta Annos non cultu nisi lugubri, non animo nisi miesto egit. Itqz illi imperitante Claudio impune, mox ad gloriam vertit.*” If this Matron was christian, as I do not doubt she was, for *Superstitio externa* cannot be interpreted in another way: it appears, that Christians have been at Rome at the Time of Claudius. I should be fond to see such Matrons in our Days: but the Spirit of God has now met with so many Obstructions, that no man goeth farther in the Christian cause, than is permitted by Self-interest. I pity very much your Case, as also all, which bear any Office, for the Generality is much corrupted and inclined to Anarchy, arising without Reason on Conscience. I hope your inward Guide will intrust you in the fluctuating situation of our present affairs, since we are brought between two Fires. I have hitherto been actuated by Principles

of Love, and I hope not to deviate therefrom, let the consequence be what it will: for Wrath is very much incensed, and would influence all human Beasts, if no Resistance is made. I spoke to all the Gentlemen Prisoners about the Illegality of their Errand, and have found them all well disposed; but to make War against Flesh and Blood, as our Brethren the first Christians did, is beneath their Dignity. I take herewith my Leave, recommending You to the Favours of God and am

Worthy Sir
your obedient Servant
Peter Müller.

Ephrata the 10th of Oct.
1776.
To James Read Esq.

**SOME INCIDENTS OF THE YELLOW FEVER
EPIDEMIC OF 1793.**

Contributed by *MISS ERRA M. KNIGHT*, Middletown, N. Y.

Plumstead, October 18th 1793.

Respected Son,

We receiv'd thy Letters & John Kinsey's by Aaron Cohoon and were exceeding Glad to hear from you for I had been in much Concern about you as we had heard nothing a great while. As to the Letters to H. Drinker I was under a great Concern what to do, the Boys were both of them loth to go such a Journey as to Downings Town, traveling being somewhat difficult & dangerous especially for Strangers, neither could I let in any Belief that they were remov'd there, I inquir'd of Isaac Child he said they left the City about the same Time he did but he knew not certainly where they were gone but it was his opinion they were gone to At Sion, as being less out of the Way of their Business, And more out of the way of such as were moving out of Town & might carry the Disorder, I knew not what to do but I bethought myself that Hugh Ely was much at Oliver Paxson's & thereabouts and frequently back & forward from there to Philadelphia, and was the likeliest Person I could think of to learn where they were & find out a Means of Conveyance I advis'd Cohoon (as he said he was going that way) to deliver the Letters into the Care of Hugh Ely if he should see him or into the Care of Oliver Paxson or Jn^o Watson for him . . . soon afterward I had certain Accounts that their Removal was only into Germantown with a Design to stay there till they might remove back into Philadelphia. I immediately wrote a Letter myself directed to Henry Drinker or his Family, informing them that there was

Letters come from Stockport & Union Farm by a Messenger sent on Purpose, and that you were exceeding desirous to hear from them, not only respecting the distressful Situation of things in Town, but in Relation to the Conducting affairs up there, and if any of them would be so kind as to be pleas'd to write up & send it to me. I expected a certain Means of Conveyance up to Stockport in a Short Time. I had a very quick means of sending the Letter by a young Man who works Smith Price's Place to the Shares who was going with a Load of Oats, and I desir'd if it could be any Way Convenient that he would deliver the Letter himself, he did not see Henry Drinker nor any of his Family, for it seems their Place of Abode was far from where his Business lay, and I believe he was loth and rather fearful to travel much about, or stay long but dispatch his Business as soon as possible & depart but he said he gave the Letter to a man who said he would deliver it carefully & soon. I make no doubt but they must have receiv'd it, if they are living and very likely the Letters Cohoon brought too; but whether they are Sick or in too much Trouble to attend to such things or whatever else may be the Reason, I hear nothing from them as yet, and if we cannot hear from them nor stir up their attention to such things, we must all endeavor to be as patient as possible in waiting the Event of things in these exercising Times of Calamity & Distress and not be too unfortunate; It must certainly be a Time of exceeding great Affliction & Trouble of Mind to such whose Properties, Concerns and Connections are in Town for according to the present Prospect of things if the Mortality should continue long as it has been this some Time past, it looks as if the City of Philadelphia must become almost a Desolation; the latest, most moderate and most credible Accounts say that the greater half of the Houses in the City are shut up & without Inhabitants occasion'd by the Deaths and Removals,

and of the few that remain the Number of Deaths in common are above a hundred a Day, some Reports go much higher, I was in hopes that cool mornings would cause some Abatement but Cannot hear that it does some Reports say that it rather aggravates the Mortality. We do not hear who dies except some remarkably noted Particulars, or some with whom some of our Neighbours or Friends are nearly connected it is said and so credibly that I believe it is true that John Pemberton, Daniel Offley, William Savery, Thomas Scatterood, Huston Langstrath & John Parish are of the Number of the dead Jacob Lindley & Joseph Moore were at the Yearly Meeting and are both since dead, I believe they both reach'd home before they dy'd, however Joseph Moore did & dy'd very soon after he got home. Francis Goode had two Daughters living in Town one married the other a young woman, they are both dead, Hugh Ely's Partner in Trade (Jacob Tomkins jun') is dead, a Son of Edward Penington's that was a Doctor is dead, and several other of the Doctor's, among whom we may reckon D^r Ingham, a loss that is felt with such general & sensible Concern to the neighbourhood and such sorrowful affliction to his Family that I shall endeavour to give some Account of it according to the best Information I have been able to obtain & hope John Watson may write something better as he was nigher & better acquainted with Particulars. After Doctor Ingham had been to Town the first Time and got the best information he could of the Nature of the Disorder and the Doctors way of treating it and came home & consider'd on it, he thought the Doctors Mode of Treatment not the best, but that something better might be done, and was so far concern'd to be of some Use therein that he thought he must go again; but it seems he did not go so soon as I at first heard he did, but spent some Time in Study & consulting his Books and preparing himself against taking the Infection, his

Father & Friends advis'd him not to go again but to no Purpose, he went. What he did there I have not heard but he did not stay many Days before he came home again; perhaps he might have some Reason to think he had taken the Infection some Accounts I have heard makes that look likely. He had not been long at home before he begun, and finding the Illness come upon him he remov'd from his family and went into one of the little Houses near the Fulling Mill and his wife resign'd herself up for Life or Death to go with him and attend him, and I have no doubt but they did all that their Knowledge, Art & Skill in Medicine could do, but to no Purpose, though it does not look unlikely to me, but that they might in some Measure check or delay the Course of the Disorder for he held it longer than it is reported People commonly do; being as near as I can learn almost six Days from the Time he was taken till he dy'd—however—they could not overcome it, it grew upon him till he had to confess it was something out of the Reach of Medicine, and despair'd of Life except he could get to the Mineral Springs; he was so far gone it was very unlikely he could live to reach the Springs but he was willing to try as looking upon it all the Chance he had for his Life. William Kitchen's Riding-Carriage was procur'd and his Wife went with him in the Carriage to drive the Horses, and Nathan Wright & one of the Coryels went in another Wagon along at a small Distance to be near on any Occasion, they drove through the River and I have no doubt but they made the best Way they could for the Condition he was in but he dy'd on the way next Morning after they set out somewhere near Bonnells Tavern, it seems they found some negroes to bury him, and buried him somewhere not far from where he dy'd without a Coffin, between the Feather Beds on which I suppose he lay in the Carriage; and his wife & the others went on to the Springs to try what effect the Water might have to-

most convenient I receiv'd the Account from Andrew Ellicott jun' who with his Family is remov'd up into our Parts some time Past. I write as short & as close as I well can & cannot write all—we have been very busy about our Indian Corn for Silas to come up with G. Emsley the Letters to John Kinsey's Daughters were directly put into the Care of Oliver Paxson & Isaac Kinsey who were to take the proper Care. Jn^o Simpson told our Paul he expects to come up & pay you a visit soon, & I have heard that John Kinsey's Daughters are one or both of them to come with him; we put the Letters for H. Drinker into the Care of William Michener who was going to Germantown & to see two of his Brothers who live not far from there, and was to stay some Days and was willing to try to find Henry Drinker himself and we thought it best for G. Emsley to stay for his Return, we expect him up to-morrow some flying Report say H. Drinker is dead but I have learned to pay no Regard to such Reports in any Case, the Countrey is full of them & many Times quite contradictory to each other.

I have a great Opinion of Tar Water and have followed drinking it this great while and as many of our Family as I can persuade to drink it, I think I find a very percieveable Benefit by it, but its Effect depends upon a long continued Course of using and as I look upon it to be but an unhealthy air this Summer & Fall I think it one of the best Preservatives that can be used against Sickness & Disorders. the Drought is very extraordinary & likely to continue we are almost out of Water for our Creatures or ourselves, very poor Prospects for Winter Crops for the Ground is so dry the Seed dont come up; no Trade nor Market very little to be turn'd into Money, and if you have but enough to live upon at home you are in as good a Condition as we are here.

10 o'clock at Night. This Evening about Sun Set

very unexpectedly arrived here Henry Drinker himself & his Son Henry in good health, they had all the Letters that thee & John Kinsey sent, and said they had sent up some Letters by John Stroud & wrote more here and George Elmsly & our Silas is to start sometime this Night and to call at Stroud's for the Letters that Stroud took & that now I suppose you will have all the Accounts you stood in need of. He tells me he has sent you a list of the Names of such as are dead that he thinks you have much Knowledge of, and tells me to my great Satisfaction that John Pemberton, John Parish, William Savery & Thomas Scattergood he thinks are not dead, nor Jacob Lindley the Account I heard was only at second Hand brought from Frankfort from a Man that was said to be very credible and seem'd so direct that I believ'd it, but there is no trusting to Reports and I thought I had been cautious, but it is difficult to tell who can be believd with Safety.

Young H. Drinker was wonderfully pleas'd with thy Description of the Millet & went about to copy it, but their other Writing interrupting he took the Paper the sent down, and very desirous to have some of the Seed, he has bought two hundred Acres of Land Part of Pennsbury Manor adjoining the River without any Buildings or much Timber on it for three thousand Pounds; and think, it will answer for raising Millet on very well, I do not know whether they put some thing in the Letter relating to it or no.

We are all in pretty good Health, but my Sight and hearing fails much, I am hard set to know People by Sight or heare what they say accept they speak loud. We had a good Crop of Oats pretty good Crops of Indian Corn & Buckwheat, and a large Number of good Hogs and yet the Times do not seem to admit of turning much into Money this Year. I must conclude

Paul Preston

Minute on the Death of Charles Morton Smith.

Charles Morton Smith.

Elected an Active Member May 29, 1876.

Life Member December 13, 1905.

Elected Councillor January 28, 1901.

On March twenty-third, 1914, the day on which the last meeting of the Council was held, Charles Morton Smith, Esquire, who for the past twelve years was a member of this body, died at his home on Locust Street. He was constant in his attendance at the sessions of the Council, as well as the meetings of the Committee on Hall and Buildings on which he served. He was clear in his convictions, sound in judgment and unwavering in his decisions. He presented valuable manuscripts to the Society and was liberal in contributions of money, never failing to respond when appeals were made for special purposes. His presence at the Receptions added much to the pleasure of those occasions, where his charming manners and graceful demeanor will always be remembered by those who had the privilege of conversing with him.

His fellow-councillors, valuing very highly Mr. Smith's friendship and interest in the Society, being desirous of placing upon the records of the Council their sincere appreciation of their late friend, order that this minute be entered on the records of this meeting, and that a copy of it be transmitted to the members of his family. [*Minutes of Council, April 27, 1914.*]

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

CHARGES FOR GOING AS MESSENGER OF THE GOVERNOR TO LEWESTOWN,
DEL., AND TO WATCH THE CONNECTICUT SETTLERS IN PENNA.—

Philadelp^a Novemb^r 1785.

M^r James Steele

S^r

You were pleas'd to talk of Seven Pounds you would pay me for my Trouble of Coming up from the Capes; and for my Going down to New Castle I am sure is not worth less than three Pounds which I am apt to think you cannot think an overcharge.

I had from a Certain Merch^t in this Town Seven Pounds for Coming up from the Capes with only a Bare Packett of Letters— and from Geo. Claypoole Five Pounds for Carrying one Single Letter down to y^e Capes and Wee Pilots for Transporting a Vessell from Philadelp^a to New Castle allow one another fourty Shillings— However must leave it to your Self and believe you'l Conclude it deserves Ten Pounds.—

Please to pay my Son and Shall be Glad to Serve you and Yours
I am S^r Your Humble

Serv^t

Tho^s James.

Rec'd 17th 9th 1785, of James Steel
Seven Pounds on account of the above Letter.

Edward James.

N. Castle Rec'd this 25th Day of Octo^r 1788 of M^r James Steel the Sum of Ten Pounds in full for my Services in Travelling to Philad^a thence to Lewes Town & up to Philadelphia again by Order of the Honble Tho^s Penn Esq^r & for his Service.

£10.0.0.

Recd pr. ThoosNoxon.

Received the 18th June 1762 of Richard Peters Esq^r five pounds for my trouble and expence in going to Cushietunck to inquire into the State of the Settlements made there by the Connecticut People,
I say reced as afores^d

John Williamson.

RITTENHOUSE'S SURVEY OF THE RIVER DELAWARE, 1774.—

Please to pay to Jeremiah Denke or his Order the Sum of Fifty pounds, And Charge the same to account of David Rittenhouse now Taking the Courses & Distances of the River Delaware.

Yours

Jn^s Lukens.

To Edmond Physick Esquire.

Bethlehem December 6th 1774.

Endorsed: Please to pay the Contents of the within unto Daniel Benezet Esquire or his Order

Jeremias Dencke.

SOME BILLS OF THOMAS PENN.—

The Honble Thomas Penn Esq^r to Francis Sherrard Dr.

1735. Ap ^r 17: To 6 Copys of Queries and Opinions &	£1: 4: —
To 2 Copys of L ^a Baltimore's Petition	16: —
To 1 Copy of Petition of Friends &	6: —
	<hr/>
	£2: 6: —

Reced One Pound
Fifteen Shill^{ing} in full of
y^e within Acco^t Ap^r 29: 1735.
pr. Fra^s Sherrard.

The Hon^{ble} Tho^s Penn Esq^r to Tho^s Mullan.

May 9 th To Mending 2 Mohogny Chairs	0— 2— 0
1737 14 th To a Large Wigg box	0— 5— 0
June y ^e 7 To a Dos ^e of Arrows	0— 12— 0
11 th To Men: a table	0— 1— 0
To 4 Paper boxes	0— 6— 0
To a billiard Tab.	0— 3— 0
To a beir to Cary Goods on	0— 5— 0
To brasswiew & 3 handles for bell	0— 4— 6
To 7 & $\frac{1}{2}$ Days work att 5 ^s p ^r D.	1— 17— 6
To mend: y ^e Linen Press & Drawers	0— 5— 0
To 2 Locks & brasses for Ditto	0— 10— 0
To 6 Cain Chairs att 12 ^s p ^{ce}	3— 12— 0
	<hr/>
	£3— 3— 0

James Steel Jun^rPay this Bill and place to my Acco^t

T. Penn

Reced 20th Octob 1737 of James Steel
the full Contents of the above

Tho^s Mullan.

EXPENSES IN ATTENDING COURT AT NEWTOWN, BUOKS CO., PENNA.—
D^r Mess^{rs} Thomas & Richard Penn, Mess^{rs} Will^m & Ja^s Logan &
Dr Moore (to be divided in Fifths by Agreement).

Dec^r 18 1769 To cash p^a Expenses, at y^e Sign of M^r Pitt, W^m Logan & E Phyick wth a Servant £1.1.; To cash p^a D^r Moore, Money expended by him for Entertainm^t of himself & Comp^y in a Waggon going to Newtown, £1.15.; To cash p^a Expences of sundry Witnesses going to Newtⁿ to att^d y^e Trial, £1.11.8.; To cash p^a Expences of the Comp^y at Newtown, consist^d of 18 persons wth 2 Serv^{ts}, £3.; To cash p^a for Entertainm^t at the Four Lane Ends, where D^r Moore & Comp^y in the Waggon lodg'd on y^e 18th at Night & Breakfasted y^e next Morn^g, £2.16.7.; To cash p^a for Entertainm^t at d^o on y^e return of the whole Com^y from Newtown, £4.5.5.

15, To cash paid Exp^a at Bussletown, £1.10.2.; To cash p^a Expences of Jn^s Ross at Bussletown, £1.3.1.; To cash p^a for Wine at Frankford, £1.5.; To cash p^a Driver of the Waggon 20/—to a Servant 3/9, £1.3.9.

21 To cash p^a W^m Parr for sundry Exemplifications, £1.5.

23 To cash p^a T^m Robinson for serving Subpœnas & attend^{ee} on y^e Court, £4.

29 To cash p^a D^r Moore his Expences going to W^m Streiper wth L. Weiss, £1.3.3.; To cash p^a D^r Moore money he paid E. Shippen for Subpœnas, 17.; To cash p^a D^r Moore his Exp^a going twice to Ab^m Tyson 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ & 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ £1.5.7.: To cash p^a Ja^s Logan Money he p^a Lewis Weiss for gen^l Services, £3.; To cash p^a Lewis Weiss who acknowledges himself generously paid for all Services to this day,

& this sum is to include his trouble in translating 19 Letters rec^d from Paul Kripner, £15.

30th To cash p^d Jn^o Lukens for 7 Certif^d Copies of Warr^{ts} & Surveys &c at 5/, £1.15. Total, £42.17.1.

This account was settled by the following cash payments: The Proprietors, 2/5, £17.2.10.; Dr. Moore, 1/5, £8.11.5.; W^m Logan, 1/5, £8.11.5.; James Logan, 1/5, £8.11.5. Total, £42.17.1.

RENT OF GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA'S RESIDENCE, WITH THE USE OF STABLE, LEASED FROM THE POWEL ESTATE, 1757-1759.—

Philad^a 9th Jan^r 1759.

Rec^d of Richard Hockley Eighty Pounds for one Year's Rent of my House in Second Street where the Governor lives let to Tho^s & Rich^d Penn Esq^{rs}.

Mary Powel.

£80..0..0

(Endorsed) 9th Jan^r 1759

Charges p^d the Widow Powell

£80..0..0

Memdm y^e 31st Dec^r 1757: We y^e Subscribers do hereby promise and engage that the Stable w^{ch} stands on the Lot N^o 1; lately purchas'd by us from Tho^s Penn Esq^r by his Attorneys, on the Westside of Second Street, w^{ch} is now occupy'd by the Governour with the House there belonging to the Heirs of Sam^l Powel jun^r, shall continue to be held with the s^d House (as it now is held & enjoy'd) until Samuel Powel shall come of Age, clear of any Rent to us or our Assigns; And that in case the Prop^{rs} or either of them shall come to live in the s^d House, before that time, then we farther promise & engage to permit them or either of them to hold and enjoy the s^d Stable, clear of any Rent to us or our Assigns, for Two Years after the s^d Sam^l Powel's attaining to 21 Years of Age, or we will be obliged to build & provide a Stable for them on another part of the s^d Lot, at least of equal Dimensions & as comodiously situated—
Witness our Hands—

Samuel Rhoads,
Jacob Lewis,
W^m Griffiths.

Received April 7th 1758 of the Hon^{ble} Thomas Penn Esq^r Eighty Pounds for one Years House rent where Gov^r Denny dwels, due the 4th of January last.

Mary Powel.

£80.0.0

SOME EXPENSES IN DETERMINING THE BOUNDARY LINE BETWEEN PENNSYLVANIA AND MARYLAND, 1738.—

The Hon^{ble} the Proprietaries D^{ns} to Edward Scull For himself & a Chain man wth each of them a horse for sixteen days spent in assisting the Commissioners appointed by the Governour of Pennsylvania to fix the Temporary Boundary between the said Province & Maryland in the Month November in the Year 1738 at 10/ pr. day
£8.0.0

approved of by Benja Eastburn

Received of

James Steel the above Contents

pr. Edw^d Scull.

. The Hon^{ble} the Proprietaries D^{ns} to Patrick Burn for carrying the Chain in measuring the boundary lines betwixt the Provinces of Maryland and Pennsylvania from the 10th of Nov^r 1738 to the 23th of the same Month within which time he was employed in measuring the s^d lines & in his Return homeward 16 days, at 3/ pr. day—

£2.8—he also gave his attendance in Town several days before the said work was begun on expences

Recd of James Steel eight & forty Shillings
on the above Acco^t

his
Patrick X Burn.
mark

**SUNDEY ITEMS OF EXPENSES OF THE PROPRIETORS OF PENNSYLVANIA.
1733-1759.—**

1733, Dec. 14,	Thomas Williams for building the Proprietor's boat	£25. 0.0
1736, Oct. 5,	James Macky sold Proprietor 10 guns, 25/ea.	12.10.0
Dec. 1,	Jonathan Loring sold Proprietor 2 pr. Pistols	4. 5.0
1737, Aug. 24,	Reynier Tyson supplied 150 bush Lime at Springettsbury	7.10.0
Sept. 16,	Est. Alex. Wooddrop. pr 12 doz. Dutch Tiles.	2. 8.0
1739, Feb. 8,	Saddle and Bridle for Indian Shualamy	1. 8.6
1743, Sept. 20,	I. Johnson, making Tho ^s Penn's negro Caesar a coat	15.6
1744,	John Saunders, Huntsman to Proprietors, 1 years salary	5. 0.0
1745, Nov. 1,	Lynford Lardner for 4 yds Strouds for Indians	2.16.0
1749, July 10,	Nathan Cook, making Tho ^s Penn's negro Caesar 1 pr. breeches	1. 7.0
1759, March 1,	Coffin for negro boy who died at Pennsbury	0.12.0

DEED OF MANUMISSION OF A SLAVE OWNED BY ISAAC NORRIS, THE SPEAKER.—

In the account book of Isaac Norris, the Councillor, is an entry in 1717, of the purchase of a man servant, John Kite, bought by him of Capt. Pearse for £17.10.0. His eldest son Isaac, the Speaker, owned a slave named Peter, who in 1739, ran away to England, and his correspondents in London, Lawrence Williams and Robert Charles, were given full powers to have the fugitive arrested. That he also owned one other slave is proved by the fact that his daughters Mary and Sarah, after their father's death, manumitted the negro Samuel. We are indebted to Dr. Isaac Norris, for the original parchment deed of Manumission, which reads as follows:

KNOW ALL MEN by these presents that we Mary and Sarah Norris joint administratrices of the Estate of Isaac Norris late of Fairhill in the County of Philadelphia Esq^r deceased, have granted and agreed that a certain Negro Man named Samuel late the property of their dear Parent the before mention'd Isaac Norris, upon Conditions shall be free, these therefore Witnesseth that for and in Consideration of his faithfull Services to his late honoured Master they do jointly agree that he the said Samuel shall from and after the thirteenth day of July next be free and discharg'd from his Servitude and shall have a bill of Manumission for that purpose in due form of Law. Provided Nevertheless that in the mean while the said Samuel doth faithfully and honestly serve them the said Mary and Sarah Norris on the same Conditions and in the same manner he has hitherto done otherwise this Obligation to be void and of no Effect. In Witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and Seals this eighteenth day of September ANNO DOMINI 1766.

Mary Norris [Seal]
Sarah Norris [Seal]

Sealed & deliver'd } Mary Griffitts
in the presence of } Hannah Harrison, jun^r

ADDRESS OF THE MANAGERS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA HOSPITAL TO WILLIAM DENNY, ESQ., ON HIS APPOINTMENT AS LIEUT. GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCE.—

To the Honourable WILLIAM DENNY, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania,

The ADDRESS of the MANAGERS, and TREASURER, of the Pennsylvania-Hospital.

May it please the GOVERNOR,

THE Managers of the *Pennsylvania-Hospital* beg leave to testify the Share they take in the general Joy on his Accession to the Government of this Province.

Thro' the Favour of the Government, the Contributors to our Hospital were incorporated by Law, and vested with the Powers and Privileges necessary for the well ordering, as well as increasing, this extensive Charity. The Institution has ever since flourished, and we have the great Satisfaction to find, that our Care and diligent Endeavours to relieve the Miseries, and heal the Diseases, of the Poor, have been blessed with much Success, and that our Power of doing Good, is, by the Benefactions of well disposed Persons, daily increasing.

While this right Use continues to be made of the Privileges granted us, we hope our Corporation will be favoured with the Governor's Countenance and Protection; and we request he would accept of our sincerest Wishes for his Health, Happiness and successful Administration.

Signed, by Order of the Board of Managers,
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, President.

To which His Honour was pleased to make the following

ANSWER.

GENTLEMEN,

THE Satisfaction you are pleased to express on my Arrival, lays me under particular Obligations, and your good Wishes deserve my hearty Thanks.

I am glad to find so generous and humane an Institution, as yours is, managed with so much Prudence, supported by Law, and encouraged by publick and private Benefactions.

It will give me a sincere Pleasure to contribute all the Means in my Power to carry on this Charity in the most extensive Manner.

Sept., 1756.

CLIPPINGS FROM THE PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE, published by Hall and Sellers, Philadelphia.

Non-Importation Agreement Notice:

PHILADELPHIA, June 7. [1770.]

At a General Meeting, held at the State-House, on Tuesday Afternoon, the Subscribers to the Non-Importation Agreement, having met by themselves, and duly and deliberately weighed the Matter for which they were convened, agreed, almost unanimously, to adopt and abide by the Opinion of 21 Gentlemen, chosen at the last General Meeting, which is, "That there should not at this Time be any Alteration made in the Agreement, so generously entered into by "the Merchants of this City, on the 10th of March, 1769."

The Brig Good Intent, Captain Errington, is arrived in London, from Maryland, with a large Quantity of Goods, imported contrary to the Non-importation Agreement of the Merchants of that Province.

Reed's Map of Philadelphia.

To the Subscribers for the Plan or Maps of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia, with the Catalogue of Purchasers, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE the Pleasure to inform you that the Maps are now ready to be delivered, and the Book of Explanation, which is to accompany the same, is in the Press, and will be ready to be delivered in about three Weeks Time at farthest, at my House, between Sixth and Seventh-streets, in Arch-street.—There needs very little to be said, in regard to the Usefulness of these Maps, as it is so well known at this Time. Let it suffice, that it is a short and full Account of all the Lands granted by William Penn, Esq; Proprietor and Governor of Pennsylvania, to the several Purchasers in England, Ireland, Scotland and Germany, with the Number of their Lots appurtenant to their Purchase, whereby the Descendants may, at first View, see the Inheritance of their Forefathers, and those inclining to Purchase, may do it with Safety.

And whereas, in the Pennsylvania Packet, No. 140, the following Note is published, viz. "Reed's Plans of the Liberties of Philadelphia, with a List of Subscribers, and Book of References to each Plan, to be sold by Benjamin Davis."—I think it necessary to inform the Subscribers, that these Maps are not sold by Mr. Davis, nor by any other Person on my Account, except by Mr. NICHOLAS BROOKS, between Market and Chestnut-streets, in Second-street, near Black-horse-alley, and that the Book contains a List of Purchasers, and not a List of Subscribers. I am, Gentlemen, your most obedient humble Servant,

July 6, 1774.

JOHN REED.

N. B. Any Gentleman inclining to have their Maps framed, painted, gilded and varnished, may have them done in the neatest manner, by applying to Mr. Brooks, or to Mr. James Gillingham.

Post Office Notices.

General Post-Office, New-York, July 15, 1774.

NOTICE is hereby given, that, for the further improving of correspondence, a RIDER will set out from Philadelphia for Baltimore every Saturday, on the arrival of the Post from New-York, and return to that place on Thursday morning following.

By command of the Dep. Post-Master General,

R. N. COLDEN, D. Secretary.

WHEREAS there is a new POST established by John Foxcroft, Esq; Deputy Post-Master-General in America, from Philadelphia to Baltimore, once a week; he sets out from Philadelphia every Saturday, gets to Baltimore every Monday, returns from Baltimore every Tuesday, and arrives at Philadelphia on the Thursday morning following. And as the subscriber has undertaken to ride, he takes this method of acquainting the public that he will, for whoever pleases to employ him, take down horses, or bring them up, to any part of the road, and carry parcels likewise. Any gentlemen who are pleased to favour him with their commands, may depend on the greatest punctuality and dispatch, by their humble servant to command,

Philadelphia, August 5, 1774.

JOHN PERKINS.

Obituary notice of Miss Polly Franks.

PHILADELPHIA, August 24.

On Sunday evening last, after five days illness, died, in her prime of life, Miss POLLY FRANKS, second daughter of DAVID

FRANKS, Esq; of this city—a young lady whose sweetness of temper, elegance of manners, cheerful conversation and unblemished virtue, endeared her to all her connexions, and especially to her now mournful parents, who found her in every part of life a shining example of filial duty and affection.—Her remains were interred, on Monday forenoon, in Christ-Church burying ground, amid the tears of her numerous acquaintance and relatives.

Inoculation.

We hear the Physicians of Philadelphia have agreed to inoculate no patients for the small-pox, *during the fitting of the Congress*, as several of the northern and southern Delegates have not had that disorder.

A Rector's Menu.

August 5. Thursday died at his house near Hampstead, the Rev. Mr. Southcoat, remarkable for having a leg of mutton every night for his supper during a course of 40 years, smoking ten pipes as constantly, and drinking three bottles of port.

YORK IN 1782.—The following records are copied from the diary of a Moravian clergyman:

1782, January 7.—Today a part of the prisoners from the army of Gen. Cornwallis, passed through the town.

January 8.—More prisoners of war passed through here.

February 4.—Today 1500 Cornwallis prisoners passed through the town, under guard, to the camp located in Hallam township, five miles from here. (The past few days quite a number have passed through here.)

July 31.—Today an infamous plot was discovered to burn down Yorktown and Bottstadt in one night, with the cooperation of the British prisoners in the camp.

August 1.—We passed a very restless night on account of the rascals who swarmed around our house intent on evil deeds. These persons are becoming very offensive. The British officers who are here as prisoners, with their servants, especially try to spread their wicked designs to the young people, like a pestilence stalking abroad.

August 3.—Between 12 and 1 o'clock tonight, as also the night of Aug. 1, we were disturbed by these wanton menials.

September 13.—The deserters from Burgoyne's Convention troops who free themselves from all obligations on the payment of £30. to their captains, they are considered citizens of this land.

October 14.—Visited Mr. Morris, who can scarcely find words to express his disgust at the insolence of the British officers towards those who have taken them as boarders or lodgers—they can scarcely bear it.

October 22.—Visited Mr. Deutsch, the Lutheran schoolmaster, who condemns the influence of the British officers.

November 3.—This afternoon Mrs. Maria Billmeyer called, who deplored the wickedness of the British officers and their servants, who act like brutes, and curse those who do not submit to their lustful desires.

November 11.—We heard today that at Crice Creek, Major Morgan was murderously assaulted by British deserters, who had entered the Continental service.

November 27.—Major Morgan, who was assaulted, died a few days ago.

December 29.—Tonight a number of prisoners of Cornwallis' army arrived here. The Continental Dragoons which accompanied them

as a guard were quartered in the houses of our citizens, owing to the bad condition of the barracks.

LETTER OF GEN. WILLIAM SMALLWOOD TO GEN. WASHINGTON, 1778.—
Pennsborough, June 5th 1778.

Dear Sir,

I had Intelligence yesterday afternoon from New Castle, that upwards of one Hundred sail of Transport Ships lay off reedy Point, the Admiral off New Castle, & that upwards of fifty sail more passed down yesterday. I have not heard from that Quarter to Day, I have understood that a draft of Marines from each armed Vessel was ordered up to Philadelphia, and Capt. Rumford informed me four sloops very full of men had passed up the Day before yesterday. I have heard that most of the Transports have come down, & that only some ships of Force remain above. I imagine the Enemy have few Effective men on Board their Fleet, & cannot have in view the destruction of our Stores, am therefore prepared to march for head Quarters and only wait Col^o Pope's arrival who I have ordered from Wilmington, I shall set off this afternoon or very early in the Morning. I have received from Maryland 890 stand of good French arms all with Bayonits, the Residue after arming the Troops here, I shall endeavour to carry up with me.

Last night about 10 o'clock, between the Fort, and the mouth of Christiana, a Corporal & seven men posted out of Pope's Party at the mouth of the Brandywine as a Picquet, attacked and took a Sloop loaded with 300 Bushels of Salt, nine Barrels limes, two Chests of Tea, twenty-four Barrels Flour, several Turtle &c., &c. Commandant & owner David Shoemaker, cleared from Philadelphia for New York; I have order'd Pope to send her up to Christiana, in charge of an officer & six men, with directions to store securely, & Inventory the Cargo, & wait for further Orders, & I remain with great Regard Dear Sir

Your Obed^t H^o Ser^t

Gen' Washington.

W. Smallwood.

DOCTOR JOHN WHITE OF PHILADELPHIA, born in the city of New York, June 25, 1759; baptised July 8, 1759, in the First Presbyterian Church, New York: married to Elizabeth Standley of Philadelphia, born there 1760, baptised October 21, 1761, in First Presbyterian Church, died Philadelphia September 22, 1806, aged 46. She was daughter of Valentine Standley and Susanna Chevallier, the daughter of Pierre Chevallier, the immigrant. A portrait of Dr. White is in the collection of Mrs. James Carstairs, 1018 Spruce street, Philadelphia.

From a sermon delivered by Rev. Cornelius C. Cuyler, D.D., in the 2d Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, July 16, 1838:

"He was a member and Trustee of the 2d Presbyterian Church, of Philadelphia, County Commissioner and a prominent manufacturer of chemicals. He received the rudiments of his classical education under Dr. Peter Wilson, then an eminent teacher at Hackensack, N. J., and after for many years the Professor of Languages at Columbia College, N. Y. At the commencement of the Revolutionary War, he was a student at Princeton College, N. J., but the unusual excitement produced by the battle of Lexington rendered it impossible, amid the preparations for war and the din of arms, to apply the mind to study, and most of the students soon dispersed. He then removed to Philadelphia and entered upon the study of medicine. Shortly after the Declaration of Independence he joined a company of militia under the command of the former Governor McKean, which was sta-

tioned for about three months at Amboy, N. J. In January, 1777, he was appointed Surgeon's Mate in the General Hospital at the Bettering House and continued there in the discharge of the most arduous and dangerous duties, notwithstanding the ravages of the hospital fever, introduced there by the prisoners recently liberated from New York and a mortal dysentery prevalent among the men belonging to the Flying Camp, which carried off hundreds of the men and many of the physicians and nurses. Here he was twice brought to death's door by the Hospital fever and learned on his recovery, that two of the Senior Physicians who had attended him during his illness had fallen victims to it. The alarm on account of it was so great, that the inhabitants of Philadelphia and the surrounding country, avoided the pestilential atmosphere of the Hospital. He remained there doing severe duty, notwithstanding his enfeebled health, till the British threatened the city and was afterwards successively attached to the Hospitals at Burlington, Princeton, New Brunswick, Valley Forge, Yellow Springs and Lightfoot's Barn, and upon the evacuation of Philadelphia was again stationed at the Bettering House. Having suffered in health from sickness and hard duty, and when his month's pay, from the depreciation of the currency was not sufficient to purchase him a pair of shoes, medical aid then being abundant, he left the Hospital in August, 1779, but not the service of his country. He accepted the office of Surgeon on board of a small privateer, 'The Morning Star,' commanded by Captain Gardner, made two cruises in her, one of them in the company of the elder Decatur; during which among other prizes, they cut off a British transport loaded with Hessians and sent her into Egg Harbour. He was then appointed Surgeon of 'The Rising Sun,' a ship of 20 guns, was captured by the British on January 1, 1780, carried to Charleston, S. C., and confined on the prison ship for four months. Many of the prisoners died, and he, with the survivors, was sent to New York and confined on board the Jersey prison ship of infamous memory. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the sufferings and deaths experienced on board. But in addition to other cruelties inflicted 150 of the prisoners were taken out at midnight, sent to Sandy Hook and distributed among the British fleet, to wage war against their own country. Dr. White and twenty-seven others were put aboard the 'London,' the flagship, carrying 90 guns. Upon remonstrating, stating his inability to labor on account of feeble health and the commission which he held from his country, after one night's detention he was returned to the prison ship. He was not detained a close prisoner long after this, for the British Surgeons, in order to relieve themselves of a dangerous and disagreeable duty, procured the attendance of American Surgeons for the prisoners, which enabled them to be very serviceable to their suffering countrymen. The Department was first under the charge of Dr. Nathan Dorsey, who upon being exchanged, was succeeded by Dr. White. After an imprisonment at Charleston for four months and seven months at New York, through the instrumentality of Thomas Bradford, Sr., and David Sproat, Commissary of prisoners, he was released and restored to his friends and country. He held public office during some of the later years of his life, in which he was distinguished for his integrity, as he had been before in conducting his private affairs. He possessed also the best qualities of the heart. He was kind hearted, benevolent, liberal and affectionate. . . . Truly he was a worthy compeer of the men of '76."

Dr. White's oath of allegiance, taken before Maj. Gen. Greene, at Valley Forge, June 2, 1778, as Surgeon's Mate of the General Hospital, Middle Department, is on Record at Washington, D. C.

Contributed by request, by CHARLES FIELD HASELTINE, of Philadelphia, the great-grandson of Dr. White.

LADY WASHINGTON AT BETHLEHEM, 1779.—

Lady Washington after spending from December 22, 1778, to February 2, 1779, with the General in Philadelphia, while he was in attendance on Congress, accompanied him to the headquarters of the army at Middlebrook, where among other festivities during her sojourn there, a ball to celebrate the first anniversary of the French Alliance was held on February 18th; a dance at Headquarters in March, in which "the General and Mrs. Greene danced upwards of three hours without once sitting down," and a grand review of the army held in honor of M. Gérard, the French minister, who visited the camp to confer with Washington respecting the operations of Count D'Estaing's fleet. The enemy threatening the forts on the Hudson, the army was marched to the Clove, where Lady Washington parted from the General at Smith's Tavern and started on her return journey to Mount Vernon.

Early on the morning of June 15, states the chronicles of Bethlehem, Lady Washington reached that town via Easton, and was given rooms at the Sun Inn. She was escorted from the latter town by Generals Sullivan, Poor, Maxwell and some twenty more officers, who were organizing the expedition against the Indians in Western New York. The military men spent the forenoon in looking at objects of interest in the town, and then returned to Easton. Lady Washington, after dinner, with her suite, escorted by Bishop Ettwein, and von Marschall were shown the sights, and at evening attended an English service in the chapel. Early on the morning of the following day she set out for Virginia.

JACKSONIANA. The following excerpts from the private correspondence of a former widely known and distinguished member of Congress from Pennsylvania who served in that capacity during the Jackson administration, preserve some details of historic interest respecting the times to which they relate, and I therefore communicate them.
Reading, Pa. L. R.

A DINNER AT THE WHITE HOUSE IN JACKSON'S TIME.—

January 27, 1830. Yesterday I dined at the President's, being invited at five o'clock. Sat down to dinner fifteen minutes after six in company with the Judges of the Supreme Court, the President of the late Virginia Convention, Gov. Cass. of Michigan; the late Gov. Houston, of Tennessee, who went among the Indians, and a number of other great men. The whole of the table which with us is usually set with dishes, was decorated with elegant ornaments and candles, about fifty in number. At the side immediately before our plates were small dishes, samples of what we were to dine on, except at the two ends where were two large silver turreens—these contained noodle soup. After this was served a small bit of a part was handed—then fish and successively, boullie, turkey, ham, partridges, fried fowls, canvas back ducks, oyster pye, salads, celery and lettuce. Then calf foot jellies, blanc monge, ice cream, preserves, raisins and hickory nuts. Madelra and claret were on the table, choice chateau margaret—a single glass was given—and two glasses champagne. We then adjourned to the next room to take a dish of coffee, standing, then home to repose. I mentioned only some of the dishes; there were others I forgot, such as toasted cheese in a paste like a pudding cut like noodles and kisses in plenty. There were half a dozen ladies at table; a good deal of form, but every one must do at least as if he were at home, even if he does not feel so.

ATTEMPT UPON THE LIFE OF PRESIDENT JACKSON.—

February 1, 1835. We had quite an excitement here on Friday, caused by an attempt to assassinate the President by some man who

I presume must be deranged. I was not by, not having gone to the House on Friday, but yesterday I saw the President, who says that he had passed out of our Hall and through the rotunda and advanced a short distance on the eastern portico when he observed a man leaning with his back against one of the pillars who had leveled a pistol at him, and that very instant fired it. It being a percussion lock the cap exploded like a cracker and caused general attention. "I saw him drop the pistol," said the President, "for he was not more than two yards from me, and pull out another which he was raising, and felt that my only safety was in closing with him. I therefore raised my cane, with which I knew I could give such a stroke as to break his pistol arm, and was rushing on him when some of my friends seized him by the collar and pushed me back, thereby placing me in great danger, as I saw his pistol again leveled, but the cap exploded like the former without taking effect. Providence will not suffer me to fall by the bullet of the assassin." It was indeed a Providential escape, because it is said that locks do not miss more than once in a thousand times, yet here were two failures at once. The President had examined the powder, and told me it was five double F, real duelling powder, and the ball a small rifle ball. But you will have seen the account in the papers.

THE KREFELD SOCIETY. In response to an invitation to take part in the celebration of Founders' Week in October, 1908, as representatives of the First Settlers of Germantown, a number of gentlemen met on the evening of October 3, and arrangements were made to participate. The sentiment appeared unanimous that the time was an opportune one for founding a society for honoring the lives and deeds of these first settlers, and for securing and preserving information concerning them and their descendants. The Krefeld Society was the outcome of that meeting; a constitution and by-laws were adopted and eligibility confined to those who are lineally descended from one or more of the following original heads of families who settled Germantown: *Lenart Arets, Johannes Bleikers, Peter Keurlis, Thones Kunders, Jan Lensen, Jan Lucken, Abraham Op den Graeff, Dirck Op den Graeff, Herman Op den Graeff, Francis Daniel Pastorius, Jan Seimens, William Streypers, Abraham Tunes, Reynier Tyson.* The number of members at any one time shall not exceed three hundred, and the annual meeting is held on October 6, in each year, the day on which the ship Concord, anchored in the Delaware river in 1683, bringing the heads of families, who on the 25 of that month, under the leadership of Francis Daniel Pastorius, founded Germantown. The Secretary of the Society is J. E. Burnett Buckenham, M.D., Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM CHRISTOPHER KILBY, IN LONDON, TO NORRIS & GRIFFITHS, about sending supplies of food to Halifax, for the new settlers, March 21, 1753.

* * * * "This affair is new to you, and therefore I must be again particular. The Fund is Bills of Exchange, and Nova Scotia Bills have been brought into Discredit at Philadelphia. It is not necessary I should trace all the Bills that have passed thro' your Colony, which are but part of a much larger number indiscriminately drawn without provision made for their discharge. The doubt of their being paid precisely in point of time, and for which large allowances were made to the first Receiver, because a very favorable Circumstance, at New York & Philadelphia, where the Provincial Laws are understood to subject Endorsers to exorbitant damages, & it was undoubtedly the prospect of the damages, and not the despair of the Principal money, that became the Circumstance of discrediting

Esther M. Wagner Wass Born March 12th, 1787.

John Wagner 13th of October, 1793.

John M. Gardner and Sophia C. Gardner.

Catharine Deprefontaine was born January 16th, 1823.

Amanda Deprefontaine was born June 27th, 1830.

Book Notices.

A HISTORY OF ENGLAND AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE. By Arthur D. Innes, New York. The Macmillan Co., 1913. Vol. II, 8vo, pp. 553. Map. Price, \$1.60.

The second volume of this history, covering the period 1485-1688, has been received. The following is a synopsis of the chapters and contents: Medieval and Modern Henry VII, 1485-1589; Henry VIII, 1509-1547; the Struggle of the Reformation, 1547-1558; Reconstruction, 1558-1578; Elizabeth, "Dux Femine Facti"; Aspect of the Tudor Period; Europe, 1603-1660; James I and VI, 1603-1625; The Rule of Charles I, 1625-1642; The Great Rebellion, 1642-1649; The Commonwealth, 1649-1660; Charles II, 1660-1685; James II and VII, 1685-1688; Under Stuart Kings, 1603-1688, with genealogical tables, notes, maps and plans. A full index of 34 pp. will be found helpful.

A HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN MODERN TIMES. By Frank Pierrepont Graves, Ph.D. New York, 1913. The Macmillan Co. 12mo, pp. 410. Price, \$1.10.

The present work is a continuation of *A History of Education before the Middle Ages*, which gives a comprehensive account of the history of education before the day of the monastic schools, and *A History of Education during the middle Ages and the transition to Modern Times*, in which an accurate picture is afforded of educational history between the sixth and eighteenth centuries. Probably the most striking characteristics of the work under notice will be found in the emphasis laid upon educational institutions and practices, rather than upon theoretical development, and in the larger place given to American education. The account given of each educational movement has included at least an attempt to trace its influence upon the content, method and organization of education in this country, and three chapters are devoted exclusively to the rise of our educational systems. While this volume has been written to complete a series, by itself it will serve as a text-book or a work of reference. Prof. Graves' works are all known for their careful research and his narratives full of interest.

ANNUAL PROCEEDINGS PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY OF SONS OF THE REVOLUTION, 1912-1913. Philadelphia, 1913. 8vo, pp. 79.

This patriotic hereditary society has issued its usual attractive Year Book. In addition to the lists of its Founders and officers, the reports of the managers and proceedings of the twenty-fifth annual meeting, it contains the sermon preached before the Society at St. Peter's Church, by the Rev. G. Woolsey Hodge, S. T. D., chaplain of the Society.

PHILADELPHIA IN THE CIVIL WAR, 1861-1865. By Frank H. Taylor, Philadelphia, 1913. 8vo, pp. 360. Illustrated from contemporary prints and photographs and from drawings by the author.

This work compiled by Frank H. Taylor for and published by the City of Philadelphia, is essentially a history of the prompt and patriotic responses of men and money to the struggle for the perpetuation of the Union of the States. The sketches of the regiments organized, both volunteer and militia, are compiled from authentic

sources, and it is impossible to read them without realizing their historic value. The text is copiously illustrated from contemporary prints and photographs, and drawings by the author, and it is scarcely a matter of opinion, that he must be a dull reader in whom this history does not arouse a feeling of pride on the part that this loyal city contributed to the cause of national integrity.

HUNGARY'S FIGHT FOR NATIONAL EXISTENCE OR THE HISTORY OF THE GREAT UPRISING LED BY FRANCIS RAKOCZI II, 1703-1711. By Ladislas Baron Hengelmüller. Macmillan & Co., 1913. 8vo, pp. 342. Map. Price, \$3.25.

No European country has a history more dramatic in its vicissitudes than that of Hungary, nor one better worth studying for the political lessons which may be drawn from its alternations of independence and of depression under foreign rule. The history of the struggle against the House of Hapsburg, which Rakoczi led took place during the years when England, Holland and Austria had united to curb the domineering ambition of Louis XIV of France. For the fortunes of Hungary, Rakoczi's war was of permanent significance, for himself it ended sadly, and it obtained for the Magyars less than they had fought for. Yet it saved the national liberties from extinction, it secured a measure of religious freedom, and it kept alive that flame of patriotism which rose into a stronger plane in the first half of the nineteenth century. The present volume gives the history of the movement up to 1406, and another volume is in preparation. Baron Hengelmüller was Austrian Ambassador at Washington for many years.

PENNSYLVANIA FOLK-LORE.—

Pennsylvania Mountain Stories. By Henry W. Shoemaker, Reading, 1913. [Ed. 1. 1907.]

More Pennsylvania Mountain Stories. By Henry W. Shoemaker, 1912.

Tales of Bald Eagle Mountains. By Henry W. Shoemaker, 1912.

Indian Steps, and Other Pennsylvania Mountain Stories. By Henry W. Shoemaker, 1912.

Susquehanna Legends. Collected in Central Pennsylvania. By Henry W. Shoemaker, 1913.

These volumes are a most interesting collection of rural legends. A sixth volume, *Tales of the Seven Mountains*, is in press. The books exploit the legendary lore of a mountain region which has hitherto received scant attention. They are works of real genius. The author modestly calls himself a compiler, and insists that he took the stories down from the mouths of old and young among the mountains of Central Pennsylvania. Born in a great city, he summered among the mountains of our State, and there collected his material. Few go back to Colonial and Revolutionary times, as no one systematically collected the rich fund which those stirring days accumulated. Francis Penn, however, figures in one story, while in yet another the character of Frederick Stump is indicated. But most of the tales appear to belong to the nineteenth century. Many are ghost stories, and we understand that the author has been incited to hunt for good ones by Dr. James H. Hyslop, under whom he studied at Columbia University. Those stories which tell of the forest life, of the dangers of lumbering in the mountain streams, and describe hermits and other strange characters, make the most appeal. The utter lonesomeness portrayed is apparent when Williamsport and Sunbury are spoken of with awe as great metropolises where man is cut off from nature and cannot meditate on the deep mysteries of life! Philadelphia is a dream-city a long way off, where young

girls go on their honeymoons and awestruck mountaineers walk down Market street by night to see the electric lights. There are charming pictures of old age and also of youth and beauty. The girls of the stories are as fresh and pure as the mountain snows, and one feels tempted to take the Sunday express, to see if any more like them survive.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF HARRISON GRAY OTIS, FEDERALIST, 1765-1848. By Samuel Elliot Morison, Ph.D. Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston—New York. 1913. 2 vols. 8vo, Illustrated. Price, \$6.00 net.

This life of Harrison Gray Otis, politician and jurist, who was born in Boston ten years before the Revolution, is based upon his correspondence and other records. He entered national politics during Washington's second administration; was a member of the Fifth and Sixth Congresses, and United States Senator 1817-1822, and lived to participate in the Presidential campaign of 1848. He was a leader in the movement that culminated in the Hartford convention of 1814. As a Federalist he stood high in the councils of his party, and his correspondence reveals much of the inner workings of the Federal party from its rise to its fall. We also gain intimate accounts of the personalities of many conspicuous figures of the day, notable events, and the social and political conditions of the country. The chapter on "The Republican Court," based largely on his letters to Mrs. Otis, freely criticises the local families of the temporary capital in their homes and at private and public functions. In treatment and style, it is one of the best informative books, covering important epochs in the history of our country, published in a long time.

THE DESCENDANTS OF JORAN KYN, OF NEW SWEDEN. By Gregory B. Keen, LL.D., Philadelphia, 1913. 8vo, pp. 318. Published by the Swedish Colonial Society.

This valuable genealogy of one of the early Swedish settlers on the Delaware, Dr. Keen states in his Foreward, is published not merely as the record of a particular family but also as a striking example of the wide diffusion of the blood through descendants of other surnames and other races residing both in the United States and Europe. The first six generations given, is genealogically as complete as present researches can make them, and members of later generations are mentioned in foot notes in such numbers, as will enable others to trace their lineage from the first progenitors with little difficulty. Among the names mentioned of the descendants of Joran Kyn and persons intermarried with them are the following: Allen, Anderson, Ashbrook, Ashburton, Ashton, Astor, Atlee, Balch, Bayard, Biddle, Bingham, Blanchard, Bond, Bradford, Bringham, Brinton, Buckley, Burtis, Cadwalader, Calhoun, Carpenter, Carroll, Cattell, Claxton, Clymer, Conyngham, Coxe, Dale, Donaldson, Evans, Ewing, Finney, Fisher, Fobes, Francis, French, Gardner, Garrett, Gist, Goldsborough, Gummere, Hall, Hand, Harris, Hayes, Hoffman, Hopkins, Hornor, Ingersoll, Inglis, Jackson, Johnston, Jordan, Kane, Keating, Keen, Kuhn, Law, McCall, MacLeod, Macpherson, Massey, Middleton, Milner, Montgomery, Patten, Patterson, Pepper, Peters, Pettit, Plumsted, Rawle, Reeves, Sandelands, Scudder, Sellers, Shippen, Smith, Souder, Spencer, Stillé, Stryker, Swift, Thomas, Toland, Trent, Turner, Wales, Wallace, Wethered, Wharton, Whelen, Whitredge, Willing, Wrenn, Yard, Yeates, Zantzinger. The book is well printed, attractively bound, and will be much in request.



CAPT. CHARLES WILLSON PEALE

PAINTED BY HIMSELF CIRCA 1776

SIZE 6" X 6"

THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. XXXVIII.

1914.

No. 3.

CHARLES WILLSON PEALE, ARTIST—
SOLDIER.

BY HORACE WELLS SELLERS.

Writing from Arlington House in August 1857, to Rembrandt Peale the son, George Washington Parke Curtis pays this tribute to the father:—

“Honor to the memory of the Soldier Artist, who hung up his palette in the Spring, girded on his sword and fought a campaign in the War of Independence—then resumed his palette and painted the portraits of the general officers and without whose artistic labors we should not have had the likeness of the illustrious soldier (Greene) who was only second to him who was first of all.”

This reference to the artist's services during the Revolution recalls an interesting period in his life but little known to his biographers and overshadowed perhaps by his later and better remembered activities.

It is interesting to note that the career of Charles Willson Peale as a portrait painter had its beginning coincident with the events leading directly to the War, for it was about the year 1765 that he determined to make the art of painting his profession and finally abandoned the occupation on which, until then, he depended for a livelihood.

The death of his father in 1750, had left his family in reduced circumstances and four years later, at the age of thirteen, young Peale was apprenticed to one Nathan Waters, a saddler at Annapolis. In his autobiography* he dwells at length upon his early experiences, and it appears that in return for special diligence and attention to his master's interests the term of his indenture was shortened, thus enabling him, at the age of twenty, to gain his freedom.

Recalling this happy circumstance he declared that "perhaps it is not possible for those who have never been in such a situation to fully feel the sweet, the delightful sensations attending a release from a bondage of seven years and eight months, a release from labour from sunrise to sunset, and from the beginning of candle light to 9 o'clock during one-half of each year, under the control of a master, and confined to the same walls and the same dull repetition of the same dull labours."

* Charles Willson Peale began writing his autobiography about the year 1789, when, after a quarter of a century devoted to painting varied only by his military and other public services incident to the Revolution, he appears to have had some thought of laying aside his brush. While he continued to paint, however, at intervals until about 1795, he was then and during the following ten years chiefly occupied in collecting and preserving objects for his museum. During this period his memoirs seem to have been neglected and it was not until about 1825, towards the close of his life, that he was induced by his daughter, Sophonisba Sellers, to again undertake the work for her and her children, and it seems, with some thought to its future publication. His correspondence, journals and other papers used in the preparation of the biography subsequently came into the possession of his daughter, whose husband, Coleman Sellers, after Mr. Peale's decease in 1827, administered his estate. The material was thus kept together and carefully preserved until shortly before the death of Mrs. Sellers, when others were allowed to borrow or to have access to it for reference especially about the time when Peale's sons endeavored to have Lossing edit the autobiography. Since the recovery of the original manuscript and many of the journals and other documents the present writer has undertaken to arrange the material for publication, supplemented by a record of such of Mr. Peale's paintings as are mentioned in his writings or can be located and identified through the co-operation of their present owners.

Sometime before he had finished his apprenticeship, James Tilghman, Esq., of the eastern shore of Maryland, a son of Peale's godfather, made him an offer of £20 towards the purchase of materials should he wish to set himself up at his trade. When free to take advantage of this, his master, learning of his intention to go to Philadelphia to purchase the necessary articles, offered to supply him with a proper selection at the same cost. Instead, however, of proportioning the amount to Peale's means, Waters persuaded him to take a much larger assortment, with the promise of credit until he might find it convenient to pay; but having thus committed him to the purchase, when Peale came of age a few months later, demanded his note and bond with interest.

As soon as he was free from his apprenticeship Peale married; being then he tells us, "four months short of 21 years" at the time, while his wife,* to whom he had been engaged for several years, was but seventeen; and in a letter written about this time, 1762, he refers to his birth, family and circumstances, as follows:—

" . . . I doubt not, sir, but you have heard about what time my Honoured Father departed this life, which was in November 1750, at a place called Chestertown on Chester River in Maryland, where in his life time he kept the Free School, by the stipends and perquisites whereof, we lived in a genteel and creditable manner, and with just esteem by all who knew or were acquainted with him. But as his spirit was such, he left but small matters for my Honored Mother with five children of us to be supported namely, myself, the eldest, two boys more and two girls, My birth is registered in the Vestry records of St. Paul's Parish, in Queen Ann's County where I was born, in this manner (i. e.), 'Charles Willson Peale, son of Charles

* Rachel, daughter of John and Eleanor (Maccubin) Brewer of South River, Anne Arundel Co., Maryland.

Peale, by Margaret his wife, born April 15th, 1741, which said Charles as he says is the eldest son of the Reverend Charles Peale Rector of Edith Weston in the County of Rutland, and heir entail to the Manor of Wotton in Oxfordshire, the estate of Charles Willson, Doctor of Physic, who died in Stamford in Leicestershire, in March 1724.' And the next eldest is Margaret Jane who has been married upwards of two years. The next eldest is St. George, being born 23d April was distinguished by that name after the English Patron; a genteel, hopeful and gentlemanly youth, a complete penman and principal clerk in the Land Office of this province of Maryland, and only continues therein until a change of better times and things. The next to him is Elizabeth Digbie who lives with and in conjunction with my brother St. George, cherishes our Honored Mother. The last of us is James, a youth living with me and learning my trade of a saddler by which I am but a young beginner, and not long since married to a discreet and loving wife, also of an honest and good family, hoping to get my bread in an honest way altho I would not by any means lose sight of my just claim of inheritance to the Manor of Wotton aforesaid."

After establishing himself at his trade Peale seems to have had some measure of success, notwithstanding his youth and the debts he had to contend with, but very shortly he joined with a man engaged in chaise making who, he states, after a time collected all the monies due them and decamped considerably in his debt. To add to his difficulties his former master now demanded the payment of his bond, and to find a wider market for his labor as way out of his embarrassment, he undertook clock and watch making which soon led him into silversmithing, and he tells us that in these crafts he had not only to make his tools, but to acquire knowledge and practice in the use of them. In after life he was want to pride himself upon the manual skill

and resourcefulness thus developed during his early struggles and which he found occasion to turn to good account in various emergencies, besides as a diversion, in what he termed his hobbies.

From boyhood he had a fondness for drawing and when he was his own master with greater freedom to indulge such fancies, he attempted landscape and portrait painting, and these efforts he tells us being praised by his friends and attracting some notice, resulted in his being called upon to draw the portraits of a certain Capt. Maybury and his wife, for which he was to receive £10. This encouragement led him to believe that he might find painting more to his advantage than his other pursuits, although, he confesses, that by engaging in so many trades his difficulties were possibly increased rather than lessened and despite his industry they finally culminated about the year 1764, when, with characteristic enthusiasm, he became involved in politics.

“Now about this time” he writes, “happened that remarkable period in the Annals of Annapolis when the election of Samuel Chase, Esq., in opposition to Doctor Stuart (a judge of the Land Office and of course belonging to the Court party), which greatly agitated the minds of every class of inhabitants in the City. From the beginning of government in this country, until this notable time, the King’s and Proprietary officers had always such ascendancy over the minds of the inhabitants as to have their friends elected into any and every public office. The influence of office with the power of wealth carried like a rapid stream all that fell within its Vortex. Charles Carroll, Esq. (Barrister), being unconnected with office and possessing every manly virtue, with highly accomplished manners, became the principal support of Mr. Chase whose popular talents now first became conspicuous.

“At this hard-contested election every engine was employed that each party could apply. The court de-

pendents of office were threatened to be put out if they voted for Chase. On the other hand, banners were displayed to designate the freedom of tradesmen, and parades of this nature were made through all the streets with the friends of Chase at the head of them."

Threats of persecution, Peale adds, could not deter him from joining the Sons of Freedom, and in consequence he had four writs served upon him for money he owed to persons of the Court party. In this emergency one of his friends, Isaac Harris, became his security and he was advised to withdraw from his various occupations until some adjustment of his affairs could be made or he could find other means whereby to meet his obligations.

Thus in 1765, when in his twenty-fifth year, he finally determined to make portrait painting his profession and entered upon the career to which the following thirty years of his life were devoted.

In reviewing these youthful experiences, Peale found consolation in the thought, as he expressed it, "that those things which we conceive great misfortunes, in the end become great blessings," for he adds, "had I not exerted myself to acquire knowledge of more advantageous professions than I first set out with I might have been contented to drudge on in a unnoticed manner through life."

With the exception of a few lessons from John Hesselius, "the younger," who was then living in the neighborhood of Annapolis, and subsequently some slight instruction from Copley at Boston, Peale depended thus far upon his native talent as a painter. After leaving Annapolis in the spring of 1765, he found some employment in New England and later in Virginia. He was at Newburyport in Massachusetts at the time of the excitement following the passage of the Stamp Act and in his diary written at the time, he notes that he "assisted in making emblematical designs

showing with what unanimity of detestation the people viewed that odious act of Parliament.”

In 1767, while engaged in painting portraits in Virginia he was advised by Barrister Charles Carroll who had a friendly interest in him, to return to Annapolis and upon learning that he had been chiefly in New England, the Barrister is said to have remarked: “There is no fear of Peale living anywhere if he can make out in that country!”

Shortly after his return to Maryland the Hon. John Beale Bordly happened to be in Annapolis attending the Governor’s Council, and seeing one of Peale’s paintings, was impressed by its merit and determined that something should be done for the young artist’s advancement. Accordingly with the co-operation of Barrister Carroll, Governor Sharp and eight other gentlemen, all members of the Governor’s Council, a purse was made up sufficient to send Peale to London to study, and Chief Justice William Allen of Philadelphia, provided him with a letter to Benjamin West, Mr. Allen having been one of West’s patrons on the occasion of his going abroad to study.

West at this time was in his thirtieth year, but three years Peale’s senior, and had only recently received recognition from the King, being then engaged upon his first royal commission, “The departure of Regulus from Rome.”

Peale states that he was called upon to pose for the figure of Regulus in this painting, and that afterwards during his studies he frequently accommodated West in this manner. His first service of the kind was directly after his arrival in London, when West, who was painting a whole length portrait of William Hamilton of Philadelphia, asked Peale to pose that he might paint the hand resting upon the table as seen in the picture. This to Peale was a very memorable occasion for having just landed after a rough ocean passage, he tells us that he was weak from seasickness, and in

standing "with all possible steadiness," he became faint in the attempt.

During the following two years in London Peale devoted himself closely to study, rarely varied by recreation, the amusements of the city, he claims, not making him lose much of his time. It might have been different, he adds, had his wife been with him for "the mere novelty of sights was soon satisfied when not aided by the converse with a dear friend," and he ventures the belief that had his wife accompanied him, he would have enjoyed not only greater happiness but the issue most probably would have been more fortunate by prolonging his studies and with diligence in his profession he might have advanced his fortune more considerably abroad than he could in America. Situated as he was, however, he felt it necessary to accomplish all that he could whilst he had the opportunity and to hasten his return. He was not, he says, "content to know how to paint in one way, but engaged in the whole circle of arts, except painting in enamel, also learned modeling and casting in plaster and made some essays at mezzo-tint scraping."

While his patrons in Maryland continued their generous support he endeavored to relieve them by obtaining some employment in painting portraits and miniatures, and among the works that he executed at this time was the full-length portrait of Lord Chatham that Edmund Jennings, Esq., then living in London, sent to Virginia as a gift to the "Gentlemen of Westmoreland County."

As bearing upon his later activities during the Revolution, Peale's residence in England does not seem to have lessened his patriotism for he records that when he learned of Parliament having annulled the Charter of New York he would not thereafter pull off his hat when the King passed by vowing, should occasion offer, to do all in his power to render his country independent, while consistent with his expressed belief

that the colonies should encourage home industries he would not purchase any English goods to bring to America on his return.

He arrived at Annapolis in the spring of 1769 and the improvement in his art and the influence of his friends soon found him profitable employment not only in Maryland and Virginia, but in the neighboring provinces.

Among his earliest patrons in Philadelphia were Mr. John Cadwalader and Mr. John Dickinson, and in 1770, referring to the encouragement he had received through them he mentions in one of his letters that he had some thought of settling in Philadelphia. This determination was not finally reached, however, until 1775, when, in a letter to Benjamin West, he refers to it and to his activities as a painter, which had at last enabled him to repay his patrons and to satisfy his old creditors at Annapolis, and he adds, "Thank God I owe nothing but debts of gratitude." Writing to Mr. Edmund Jennings of London at the same time, he mentions the disturbed condition of the country which then promised to interrupt his activities, stating, "I rejoice that the times have allowed me to do so much but alas, I fear I shall have no more to paint, and I well remember your once telling me that when my brush should fail, that I must take the musket and I believe you foresaw all that has since happened." . . . "About the time you receive this many Torys will have arrived in England but more in Scotland. The fear of being handled roughly for not signing the enclosed Association will hurry many of them away. This inclosed was trod under feet at the election of officers, it is the only one I could get. I am well acquainted with General Washington, who is a man of very few words, but when he speaks it is to the purpose, what I have often admired in him is he always avoided saying anything of the actions in which he was engaged in last war, he is uncommonly modest, very industrious and prudent, we

have been sometime expecting to hear of some engagements but believe that General Gage thinks we are quite too strong for them. The out Sentinels are only at 40 yards distance from each other and sometime past it was a practice for the Sentinels to go as far as a pole which was fixed between them and converse but now General Washington has forbid it, one of the Captains who went to relieve guard was shot at by three of our rifle men at 250 yards distance and tumbled from his horse, this is a practice which General Washington now discountenances, General Gage has dismantled Castle William and it is supposed it is ready to be blowed on any alarm, there is no appearance of the Troops leaving Boston, for sometime past it was expected they were going to evacuate it and make an attack elsewhere as you'll find by the prints which I suppose Mr. Bordley supplys you with. I hope soon for a happy conclusion of this War and of seeing you on this side the water which would be a singular happiness to Dear Sir your very Humble Servt.

C. W. Peale."

In 1776, Peale removed his family to Philadelphia and established his painting room on Arch Street. He attended the mustering of the militia, and at one of the first elections after he became a resident to the City he was elected a lieutenant of a company although he remarks, "but a stranger among them." This activity seems to have given his family some concern for he states that when the militia was called out his mother asked him "to accompany her on a visit to Barrister Carroll, then a member of Congress from Maryland. The mother fondly thinking that if she could get the barrister to say something to disuade her son from going out with the militia it would be effectual, as she well knew his gratitude to the barrister for past favors. After the first civilities were made, she began to talk on the subject, expressing her fears for the life of her son and the situation he must leave his family in a

strange place without friends to assist them." Peale states that he interrupted his mother to say that he had promised to do his utmost in the common cause of America and when called upon he would never withhold his personal services "which declaration," he adds, "was spoken in such an emphatic manner that the barrister did not say anything in favor of his mother's wishes."

The operations of the British causing general alarm in Philadelphia, Peale took the precaution to secure accommodations at a house at Abington and intrusted one of his friends, a Mr. Hollingsworth, to assist in the removal of his family to this place should the occasion arise during his absence.

The situation of Peale's family was probably similar to that of many citizens at this critical period, and his account of it is therefore interesting. He states that when it was expected that the British would cross the river into the city, "every family of Whigish principles that could move did so, although in many instances they removed into situations no more secure." This was true in his own case, for he found that at Abington his family would have been placed "directly in the line of march had the British crossed the Delaware, and of course, would have exposed them more readily to be plundered by the soldiery than if they remained in the city."

After Peale had marched with his company to Trenton, his family set out on a snowy day with two wagons full of household goods, with all of his paintings rolled up and the journey of twelve miles to Abington brought them to their destination at night, only to be told that they could have no quarters. "The poor old folks," he explains, "who owned the house excused themselves by saying that although they had agreed to receive the family yet their obligation was such to the persons who then occupied their rooms that they could not do other-

wise, being in debt for this same habitation and all they had.”

Peale's household at this time consisted of his wife and children, Raphael and Angelica his mother and also his sister, the wife of Capt. Nathaniel Ramsey, of the Maryland line. In the predicament they found themselves on their arrival at Abington, Mrs. Ramsey, he tells us, boldly declared that they could go no farther that night and inquired who had possession of the house. To their joy and relief they learned that it was a Captain Bourne and his wife with whom they were intimately acquainted, and received a cordial welcome by this couple when their presence was known. The entire family, however, had to be lodged in the small garret, “the beds covering the whole floor, leaving no spot uncovered to stand and dress upon,” and in this situation, Peale writes the family remained one week, when the fear of invasion having passed they returned to their home in Philadelphia.

In referring to these experiences in his autobiography Peale states, that when the militia was first called out he went personally to the men who had mustered in his company and secured their enlistment upon his promise that they would “get everything they should want, and told their wives that they would be supplied with necessaries while their husbands were doing their duty in the field.” On one paper, he states, he set down the number in each family to be supplied, and on another paper the wants of the soldier to make him comfortable in the field (it being in the month of December), and in this manner secured the enlistment of 81 men, and with this very respectable company pushed off with all possible dispatch to join the Army.

Peale was now in his thirty-sixth year and already widely known and recognized as the leading portrait painter in the colonies, Copley having already taken up his permanent residence abroad. Stuart then barely of age and Peale's junior by fourteen years, was

at the threshold of his career and also among those who left the colonies at the outbreak of the Revolution. Trumbull, Stuart's contemporary, remained to render patriotic service to his country before taking up his studies in England where like Stuart he remained until some years after the close of the war and peace under the new republic was established.

Throughout the entire period of the Revolution and until the advent of the younger men who followed toward the close of his active career as a painter. Peale's services seem to have been much in demand as evidence by the large number of portraits executed during this period, and while the condition of the country in 1776 threatened his employment for the time, it was at no small sacrifice and with willingness to risk his personal interests that he entered upon his military career. The issue, however, proved to his advantage for in camp he found opportunities to paint the portraits of his fellow officers including Washington and others in command, which laid the foundation for his gallery of paintings and contributed largely to his fame as well as to his fortune.

John Adams, then a delegate to Congress, writing to his wife from Philadelphia in August, 1776, gives an interesting account of a visit to Peale's painting room in which he refers to his portraits as "very well done but not so well done as Copley's." "Copley," he declares, "is the greatest master that ever was in America; his portraits far exceed West's."

After this loyal tribute to the New England artist, he says of Peale, the Marylander. "He is ingenious. He has vanity, loves finery, wears a sword, gold lace, speaks French, is capable of friendship and strong family attachment and natural affections."

However true to life this impression of Peale may have been, he pictures himself at this time in referring to his military experience, as being "a thin, spare, pale

faced man in appearance totally unfit to endure the fatigues of long marches and lying on the cold wet ground sometimes covered with snow. Yet by temperance and by forethought in providing for the worst that might happen," he states, "that he endured this campaign better than many others whose appearance was more robust." It was his practice he adds, to carry a piece of dried beef and biscuits in his pocket, and water in his canteen which he claims to have found "better than rum."

From early manhood and throughout his life it was his habit to keep a journal, usually in small pocket memorandum books in which he noted daily happenings, especially in his journeys, which were frequent while he was a painter and in his latter years when as a naturalist he was in search of specimens for his collection.

Upon these diaries he based his memoirs supplemented by his recollection of details and events, assisted by his correspondence. Such was the following diary kept during the campaign of 1776 in which he took part, and commenting upon it his son Rembrandt calls attention to its peculiar interest in that "few soldiers oppressed by active duty, hunger and fatigue are disposed to lose the moments of rest in tracing a journal as a self-imposed task."

While Peale in his autobiography gives interesting recollections of his experiences and impressions whilst on the march and at Trenton and Princeton, following the events already mentioned, his diary, written as these events were happening, affords us a more intimate and personal view of a soldier's life in the field.

The entries begin during the preparations that followed the calling out of the militia in December, 1776, and when, as already mentioned, Peale was engaged in recruiting his company, providing the necessary supplies and arranging for the removal of his household to Abington.

*JOURNAL BY CHARLES WILLSON PEALE.**

Dec. 4th, 1776.—Got of Mr. Towers 15 guns and bayonets, 30 knapsacks, 15 bayonet belts. Received yesterday about 30 guns, 55 havresacks, 5 cartouche boxes, belts and canteens.

Received of Captain Bernie 27 dollars, being a month's advance money. Memo. to supply David Taggart with any necessary money he may want.

5th.—Paid for a cot 55/. Mrs. ——— lent me a frame for it. Sent my bookcase and desk, books, chests and breakfast table, paint box, pictures and carpet, to ———. Paid for the 2 wagons 30/; paid for fur gloves 3 dollars. Went on board the shallop in the evening, in company with Messieurs Banker, Tatem, Jackson, Grimley, Smith and We do not get more than about 10 miles from the city. We make use of the tents for lying, and have a very tolerable night.

6th.—Very little wind, and ahead. At sunrise we weigh anchor, and get as high as Bristol with the first tide. The wind now coming fair, we are able to stem the tide, by making use of the tents as helping sails. We got a little beyond Bordentown this night.

7th.—Go with Mr. Barker on shore, and buy some milk. Settle our expenses; I pay 1s. 3d. We arrive at Trenton about one o'clock. Have just rested and eaten, when Major Bradford says we must cross the river. Each man having received his complement of cartridges, we are ordered to prepare to march, and send our heavy baggage across the river. I expected we were to advance toward the enemy, but it was to retreat across the river, which we accomplished in the evening. We put a few tents for the night on the shore.

* Lieutenant Philadelphia Militia, 1776, and promoted to Captain, 4th Company, 4th Battalion, Col. John Bayard, January 1777, and afterwards Captain of a company of Foot in 4th Battalion Philadelphia Militia, Lieut.-Col. William Wills, January 17, 1777. Present at Whitemarsh, Germantown and Valley Forge.

8th.—We are ordered to remove about a mile back, and encamp round a field enclosed by a pine wood. I am ordered to take a few men, to press the first wagon coming from Bristol with bread, which I accomplished by marching about three miles. Mr. Ramsay,* Jemmy† (his brother James Peale), and other Maryland friends, came to see us. A cannonading a little way up the river, we are ordered to parade, and 25 men of our company to join others in the battalion. We march a little way out and return, and are dismissed. I was sent out with our men; the captain is so affected at seeing his men out without his heading them, that he shed tears.

9th.—I have had a good night's rest. The weather is fine, more like spring than winter. I went to see the Maryland battalion, and found them scattered through the woods in huts made of poles, straw, leaves, etc., in a dirty, ragged condition.

10th.—Opposite the ferry was a sheep which the regulars had killed, but were prevented from going out for, as some men with rifles on this shore shot at them whenever they came out of the house. We are paraded in battalion. Went in the evening as far as the sentries would let me, to see whether the enemy had any lights on the other shore, and think I discovered a light at a distance, rather below the town.

11th.—Had a good night's rest. Changed our tents from the wind, which is easterly. Lost my silver buckles on the road, Mr. Sutlaleer accidentally found them. Received at the ammunition wagon 863 cartridges. Cannon heard below in the evening. The first battalion marched lower down. We are hourly

* Nathaniel Ramsey (Peale's brother-in-law), Captain under Col. William Smallwood, 1776, afterwards Lieut.-Col. under Brig.-Gen. Smallwood.

† James Peale, Ensign in Maryland Battalion, Col. Smallwood, 1776, afterwards First Lieutenant, 1st Battalion of Regulars, Col. John H. Stone, March 1777, and Captain, 1st Regiment Maryland Continental Line, 1778. Member of Society of the Cincinnati.

expecting to set out. Snow with rain. We have tents covered with boards.

12th.—Some rain. Three days' provision ordered to be cooked for a march. Send off all our heavy baggage in a wagon. My chest contained a new mattress and a green rug, my miniature apparatus, 3 or 4 dirty shirts, etc. Ordered to be ready to march early in the morning.

13th.—Rise at the beating of the reveille, ate our breakfast, and began our march at 9 o'clock. We arrive at Bristol before dinner. I dine with Col. Belastre and Major Lonqueal (prisoners taken at St. Johns). Capt. Bernie and Mr. Bonham have a difference. Mr. Bonham wanting a leave to Philadelphia, accused the captain of opposing his going, which the captain denied—Mr. Bonham insisted—the captain said it was a lie. They were going to fisticuffs, when Mr. Jackson and I parted them. Gave 1s. 8d. for biscuits.

14th.—Paraded in battalion. Paid for shaving Capt. Bernie and self 1s. 3d. Got furlough for Mr. Knight and Supee. Capt. Bernie goes to see his wife, about 8 miles distant.

15th.—Very cold and clear. Six men ordered for main guard. I dined at a farmer's house about a mile from town—paid 2s. 6d. We paraded in battalion, and ordered to get our complement of 36 cartridges. The ammunition of our company was sent with the heavy baggage towards Philadelphia. I go with the company to the Bath house, and get all the men except those on guard. I write to Mrs. Peale, and go to rest.

16th.—I carry 5 shirts, one pair stockings, and handkerchief, to Mrs. Tumbleson's, one mile out of town, to get them washed. We parade in brigade, and march a few miles to exercise the men in the manner of attack in line of battle. Mr. J. Hambleton came to town. He said that he went with Mr. Baxter to Philadelphia, with the intention of moving my family to Charleston.

17th.—Got my shirts—pay 3s. 9d. Begin a miniature of Capt. Bernie.

18th.—And one of Capt. Boyd.

19th.—Battalion join in brigade, and are exercised in the manner of attack on the banks of the river, and then in the field, supposing the enemy to have surrounded us—the ground very wet and muddy.

20th.—Worked on Capt. Bernie's miniature.

21st.—Capt. Bernie was on guard this day. I have orders to parade the company, to attend the funeral of a lieutenant of flying Lancers. Another company does that duty, and I do nothing but loiter this day.

22d.—Finish Capt. Bernie's miniature; he owes me twenty-eight dollars for it. He goes to see his wife. Just at dusk the colonel sent for me, when he gave me an order to have the company on parade ground at 12 o'clock, with two days' provisions cooked, and complement of cartridges, blankets, etc. Have delivered the ammunition, provisions, etc., and was informed we were to cross the river. Our men were paraded, when even those who had been too unwell to attend duty turned out to face the enemy. Two of the poor fellows went to the parade ground, and these were so ill, as to be obliged to leave the ranks to vomit. They were sent back to their quarters, greatly mortified. I then learned that we were to cross about a mile up the river, and march towards the Black Horse, to join Capt. Griffin, who headed a body of Jersey Militia, to attack some Hessians in that quarter. We were about to move, when Colonel Cadwalader came up, and informed us that Col. Griffin had been skirmishing all the day—that he had driven the enemy from all their outposts, and that his troops were fatigued, and wanted sleep. They had expended all their ammunition and shot for this night, and he had the general's orders not to cross. He thanked the men for their readiness on this occasion, and dismissed them.

23d.—I learn that Col. Griffin's party had seen sev-

eral fall during the day, who were conveyed off, whether dead or wounded was uncertain. That he had only three wounded, one in the foot, another in the leg, and a third in the hips. That Jersey Militia were flocking to him fast. I worked on Capt. Boyd's miniature. In the afternoon am desired to go on the main guard, in the room of Lieut. ——— who was sent for by the Council of Safety.

24th.—I went the round of main guard between 12 and 1. The night very fine, and all quiet. A young doctor wanted to go over the river to Burlington, had got a pass, but an order was sent to the captain of the guard to detain him, should he apply, which he did; and I carried him to Col. Cadwalader, who asked him for the pass. He rummaged his pockets, and not finding it, he said he had given it to the captain, which I denied, but said I had seen him with it, after he had left the guard room. I was mistaken, for, on applying to the captain, and rummaging, we found it. A sergeant that was with me, when I thought I had seen him have it, was of the same opinion. No persons, on such an occasion, ought ever to be too positive. In this instance two of us were mistaken. It gave me much concern, and I went with him to the colonel, and acknowledged my error, and he got permission to seek for some person to be his security for his behavior, as information had been given to the colonel that he was a suspicious person. I informed the colonel that the young man wanted to enter the service as surgeon's mate.

25th.—We were ordered to join brigade. Many of the men were unwilling to turn out, as it was a day (Christmas) they wished to enjoy themselves; however, with small battalions, we went through several manoeuvres. One of our men informed me that he had heard a person about three miles out of town who had butter and cheese but would only sell for hard money. I set out on foot with some men, and got there just

before dark; but on asking to buy with hard money, I found the man had been slandered. I tempted as much as I thought was justifiable, and finding the man never expected to get any other than continental money, and constantly sold his butter for it, I engaged with his wife to send me three pounds on the morrow—paid 1s. 8d. for two quarts of milk, and returned home, when I was instantly ordered to join in brigade for a march—the men were waiting, nearly ready for me. I hurried them out to the parade ground, and marched over Chamony Ferry, and down to Dunkin's Ferry, rather a round-about way, nearly six miles. When the 1st and 3d were nearly landed on the other side, the wind began to blow, and the ice gathering so thick at a considerable distance from the shore, there was no possibility of landing, and they were ordered back, with all the troops that had landed. The 2d ordered to march back to Bristol, at which place I arrived just before day of the 26th, when the wind had increased, with rain and hail. Being very much fatigued, having walked since 4 yesterday, at least eighteen miles, eleven of them with heavy baggage. The storm continues, with hail and rain.

27th.—Fine weather. We are ordered to march with what we can carry on our backs. Cross one-and-a-half miles above the town to the Jerseys. We are soon formed, and marched away in company with all the Philadelphia Militia, and county and New England troops. We are ordered to load, and march with flanking parties, one of which took a man in the woods, supposed to be a spy—another got away. We arrive in Burlington some time in the night, and get quarters. We are ordered to march at 4 o'clock. Our battalion got under way after daybreak. We had marched about four miles, when a party was sent after two Hessians we heard of. At six miles we were ordered to halt, as the enemy was advancing on us, two-and-a-half miles distant. The half of the 2d battalion was ordered back

to a cross-road, in which wing I had my company. We had halted there but a little time, when a messenger came to us, and ordered us to join the battalion again, which we did not overtake till we got to Bordentown. My company got quartered where some King's troops had been and left them full of hay, and very dirty. I ordered them to be cleaned, and, taking a walk, I found a store-house, with "King's Stores" written on it, and provisions delivering out. I got a quarter of beef and some pork. I then heard of some flour. Went and got a barrel. Delivered some to Capt. Boyd—and I went to desire a family to let a negro girl make up some bread for us, but the lady told us she would do it herself, and bake it in her oven. She said she was obliged to be a hypocrite, for she was a whig in her heart, and was extremely kind to us. We were ordered immediately to march. Having no wagon belonging to the company, we could not take our flour. The men had just begun to enjoy themselves in their newly cleaned rooms. It was dusk when we got into motion, and the ground being very slippery, I lost my foothold on the rising side of the road, and in my fall broke the stock of my gun. We got to Crosswick, four miles from Bordentown, at early bedtime; but no bed for us, who think ourselves happy to get a plank by the fire. We got quarters with Mr. Cooke, who make us very welcome. The Hessians had taken every shirt he had, except the one on his back; which has been their general practice wherever they have been. They have taken hogs, sheep, horses and cows, everywhere: even children have been stripped of their clothes—in which business the Hessian women are the most active—in short, the abuse of the inhabitants is beyond description.

29th.—This morning, several Tories who had joined the King's troops, were brought in—some belonging to Philadelphia, one, a Mr. Pierce, was shot dead as he was making efforts to escape. Some Hessians had been

here the day before our arrival, but in the greatest hurry and confusion, with a great number of wagons, carrying off plunder. They had planted some cannon on the road, expecting us every moment. Here I got a barrel of flour and some beef, which I ordered to be dressed ready for a march.

30th.—This morning General Mifflin came here, and we are informed that our friends are coming in very fast to Philadelphia. Gen. Mifflin had some regiments of New England troops paraded, whose service was just up. He harangued them on the necessity of their continuing in the service one month longer, promising them ten dollars gratuity for their past and present services—with which they showed their ready consent by three cheers. Our party took nine light horsemen without their horses.

31st.—At daybreak this morning we were called to parade, and Gen. Cadwalader ordered every captain to parade each morning at the alarm post, at 5 o'clock precisely. Whoever should be wanting would be put under arrest.

Jan. 1st, 1777.—At 1 this morning, began a march for Trenton. The roads are very muddy, almost over our shoe tops. The number of troops, badness of the roads, so many runs to cross, and fences to remove, make it a very tedious march. The sun had risen more than an hour before we reached the town, and afterwards, the difficulty of getting quarters kept us a long time under arms. At last we were provided, and had made a fire. I took a short nap on a plank with my feet to the fire; but was suddenly awakened by a call to arms—the enemy approaching, and at a small distance from the town. We soon paraded, and joined the battalion, and appeared on the alarm ground, where I was greatly struck with the appearance of so fine an army. At least a brigade paraded in the same field below the town. Soon we heard the cannon at some distance, and were then ordered to march into a road

through the woods, turning downwards. A message from the General ordered us to return to defend a road which led into the field where we first paraded. When we reached the road, we wheeled to the right, into a wheat field joining the road, where we hauled some cannon, and formed in a diagonal manner across the field, conveniently for the whole to act, should the enemy appear. After remaining some time in this order, we retired a little back to an orchard, which joined the field, ground our arms, and made fires with the fences. During this time the firing continued, and seemed to be nearer. We were now ordered to take arms—the sun scarcely half an hour high. We then marched in platoons back towards the town, or rather our alarm ground. Platoon firing was now pretty frequent. When we almost got out of the woods, word was brought that the enemy gave way, which, at different times, was the case; however, they had now got possession of the greatest part of the town, and a very heavy firing kept up on the bridge, where great numbers of the enemy fell. Some of our artillery stood their ground till the enemy advanced within 40 yards, and they were very near losing the field piece. We were now in the field below the town, and one of our cannon and a howitzer played on the town. It was quite dark before the firing had entirely ceased. Some unlucky shot from a cannon killed 1 or 2 of the 3d Battalion of Philadelphia troops, and also some of the Cumberland County Militia. We now marched to the skirts of the field, ground our arms, made fires with the fence rails, and talked over the fatigues of the day; and some, after eating, laid themselves down to sleep. Capt. Bernie joined us just before the alarm, and marched with us during the day, though his leg, which he had hurt some time ago, would not permit him to march with us from Crosswick. He now complains that he cannot hold out, and desires me to take the

charge of the company, having told Gen. Cadwalader that he is unable to serve. We took out some of our baggage from the wagons, and sent it away, and at 12 were ordered to parade. By sending away the wagons, and parading at midnight, I really expected a retreat.

2d.—At one o'clock we began to move, and directed our course through the woods, directly from the road, and after some time northerly. By this, I expected we were going to surround the enemy—but after marching some miles, I learned that we were going a by-road to Trenton, marching pretty fast; however, the sun had risen just before we saw Princeton. We proceeded as fast as possible, and were within a mile of the town, when we were informed that all was quiet. A short time after, the battalion, just ahead of us, began an exceedingly quick platoon firing, and some cannon. We marched on quickly, and met some of the troops retreating in confusion. We continued our march towards the hill where the firing was, though now rather irregularly. I carried my platoon to the top of the hill, and fired, though unwillingly, for I thought the enemy too far off, and then retreated, loading. We returned to the charge, and fired a second time, and retreated as before. Coming up the third time, the enemy retreated. I must here give the New England Troops their due. They were the first who regularly formed, and stood the fire, without regarding the balls, which whistled their thousand notes around our heads; and, what is astonishing, did little harm among us—none that I know of where we were. Some that had retreated, and then advanced through a wood on our right, engaged the enemy. We lost in all about 12 men. General Mercer was wounded in his leg, and fell into the enemy's hands, when our men were first surprised; and when they, in turn, were obliged to fly, they stabbed him with a bayonet. We lost, besides, Capt. Shippen of the 2d Battalion, and a Lieutenant of the 1st of Philadelphia Militia.

We now advanced towards the town, and halted about a quarter of a mile distant, till the artillery came up, and our men collected in better order. On the artillery firing, a number that had formed near the bridge began to disperse, and immediately a flag was sent, and we huzza'd victory. The prisoners taken at the place where the attack first began, were brought in, and we were resting, on our arms, waiting for leave to enter the town to refresh ourselves, when we heard the sound of cannon in our rear. We thought it was at Trenton, but finding it approached nearer, we perceived the enemy close upon our heels. We now began to march on through the town. I expected we should be collected in order when we got into the back of the town, but we were still continued on. I then expected we would halt when we should have crossed the bridge, which is at the lower end of the town, and have ascended the hill, which is pretty steep on the other side. Here, again, I found my mistake. We were continued on about three or four miles. We took a wrong road, going to the right, when we should have taken the left. Here, halt was cried through the army. I heard some rumors that the Light Horse were coming, and some soldiers fixed their bayonets. At last we were informed that we must return, and go to the left, which distance we shortened a little by going through the woods. The roads had now become very sloppy, and the troops so fatigued that many stopped by the way—some of my men declared they could go no further. I told them of the danger of falling into the hands of the enemy, yet this could not induce all to keep up. When I got over a bridge about five miles from Somerset Court House, I stopped to collect as many of them as I could, and got several. I there received orders from Colonel Cox to continue as far as I could, as the enemy was only seven miles distant from us—three miles farther we should receive farther orders. We were to stop at —— to

take the prisoners to Philadelphia, and that I might purchase any necessaries we might want. The Colonel offered me Money. I did not want, having sufficiency in my pocket. We then marched off, and continued our way, pretty briskly; got to Somerset Court House, expecting to have quarters in the Court House, but found it was already occupied by the prisoners. I then pushed on to a tavern a little further, and got my men into a loft amongst a fine heap of straw, where some Hessians had lain. This was gladly accepted by them, who, at other places were dainty, refusing to go into a house where soldiers had been quartered, for fear of their vermin—now they were glad to lie down, and were asleep in a few moments, so that I could not get a single man to go with me in search of provisions. I had the promise from Col. Cox of a barrel of flour, and the use of an oven, but could get nobody to assist me in bringing it to be baked. I then went to a house farther in town, and purchased some beef, which I got the good woman to boil against I should call for it in the morning. I got a small kettle of potatoes boiled where we lodged. I then laid myself down to rest amongst the men on the Hessian straw, and thought myself happy, though the room was as full of smoke as if to cure bacon—some New England troops having made a fire in an old chimney that conducted all the smoke to us—however, by covering our head with our blankets, we rested for the night.

4th.—Before day we were beat to arms. I hurried my men up and carried them to eat their breakfast of the beef and potatoes I had provided. We then got under weigh, and arrived within a mile of a little village called Pluckemin, where we halted; and orders came to pull down a fence that was at our right, at the foot of a small mountain, and march up by companies. At the same time I heard the firing of small arms at a little distance, in front of the army. This made me conclude

that some party had been hid on the mountain, and had fired on our troops. I immediately spoke to my men to stand by each other, and follow me in file up the hill. We pushed up a considerable distance, and should soon have reached the top, where, I thought, we should be able to do some service, when I was called by the men, and told that Major Bradford had ordered me to stop, and that Lieut. Means had stopped with some of the men. I then returned, and received the order to stop, ground arms, and set to making fires. I then learned that the firing I had heard was the front of the army, beginning to make their fires. I then went to the town and got a barrel of flour, and put stones in the fire to bake our bread on; and, before night, got some beef, and made sumptuous meals. The men were very industrious, in baking, all the forepart of the evening. The place which fell to our lot was rather steep, and nothing but a heap of stones. I found it to be a very hard lodging place. When one part of my body was hurt by the points of these stones, I would change my position to get relief, and was continually moving the entire night, now and then making the fire better. The wind was rather unfavorable, blowing immediately up the hill.

5th.—Some of Capt. Shippen's men joined my company, whom I supplied with rations. The weather is very favorable, though rather cold; for had it rained or snowed we should have been badly off, as many of the men had no blankets. We spent this night much better than the last. I went into town and got a barrel of flour, and engaged a negro woman to bake it by 4 o'clock at which time our order was to march. I went several times to get some of it, but could get none, yet expected I should have it before we should march. Many of the men, in their hard march on an icy road, were entirely barefooted. I got a raw hide to make them moccasins; but made a bad hand of it, for want of a proper needle or awl.

6th.—At 4 this morning I got up, taking a wagon belonging to the brigade, to get my bread; but lo! not a loaf was baked. I took my flour, and was driving back to the camp, when Capt. Erwing, Deputy Commissary, stopped the wagon, and insisted to have the flour and wagon for the stores of the army. I told him it was pressed for the use of our brigade; but he insisted that he must have it, as we had more stores than we could carry. I thought his reason good, for I thought we had not sufficient load for it. On my return I met the battalion in motion, and Major Bradford told me I had done wrong in parting with the wagon, as many things were left in the camp. I then turned back and took possession again of the wagon, and sent off some men to collect what was left on the hill and bring them to the road. I loaded the wagon, and moved on in the rear of the army. The sun was up some time, and, being hungry, I went into a small hut on the roadside and got some bread and milk, paid 1s. 3d. Marched on and joined my company. Our march was through a very mountainous country, about twelve miles to Morristown, where, after some time, we got into houses, where I slept on the planks rather coldly.

7th.—Here we are informed that some militia had killed three or four light horse, and taken one of the men. I here mended my boots. Got a hide, and made some moccasins for the men. My lodging nothing better than last night.

8th.—Continued my moccasin making almost the whole day; have used up two hides.

9th.—We have news of the English leaving Elizabethtown—that we had taken 90 prisoners, a shallop and baggage, and a number of arms. These two last nights are the first that I have taken off my clothes, and slept in a bed.

10th.—Went to Mr. Livingston's to beg some sugar for Billy Haverstick, who is very unwell.

11th.—I got him an emetic of Dr. Crackrin, and attend him. Took a walk with Dr. Redman a few miles, to get a hot breakfast. At last we found a house without soldiers, where they had sugar, which is now very scarce about Morristown. While the meal was getting ready, one of the children caught a creeper of the head, which he called a Light Horseman (a common name for this kind of cattle). We were so hungry that the sight, though disagreeable enough, did not prevent our eating heartily. Paid 1s. 3d.

12th.—Our wagons, containing our baggage, came to town. General Cadwalader harangued our Philadelphia militia, to induce them to stay over their limited time, but I think to little effect. I received some shoes, and distributed them among the men.

13th.—This morning I addressed the men to know how long they would agree to stay, their time of enlistment being out; they agree to stay till Sunday next. I attend the funeral of Col. Gord, with military honors.

14th.—This morning I order the men to parade with luggage on their backs, as ready for a march, in order to know what we have belonging to those who have left us in our different marches; also to know who want blankets, knapsacks, etc. Finding a number of knapsacks full of clothes, stores, etc., I put them in a chest till their owners call for them. We hear that the enemy have left Brunswick, and that part of the town is burnt by accident.

15th.—Capt. Boyd sat for his miniature, which I had begun at Bristol. The battalion paraded at three o'clock, to know if they will agree to stay ten days longer, till an answer can be obtained from the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania, requesting that the militia should immediately be sent to supply the places of those who had served their six weeks.

16th.—Went to the Capts. of the 2d Battalion, to know what was agreed on by the men of their com-

panies, and then tried my own, and found a majority for returning home on Sunday next. I gave a double dose of tartar emetic to Ensign Haverstick and it scarcely operated. Dr. Jackson informed me a little vinegar would make it have the effect. As it had operated a little, I did not try the vinegar.

17th.—Worked on Capt. Boyd's miniature.

18th.—Made out my account of rations not received. Delivered 16 tents, 6 kettles, and 2 shovels, to Dr. Jackson.

19th.—Rise at 5 o'clock to prepare for our march homeward. I desired the company to get their breakfasts before day, and we got under arms before sunrise. We marched off very fast, and passed through Bristol, and turning to the right of Pluckemin, we got to New Germantown, about 21 miles from Morristown, at 3 o'clock, the men exceedingly fatigued, one of them, after sitting awhile by the fire, fainted away—several complained of being entirely worked up—our march was rather fast.

20th.—Rose before day, and all having heartily breakfasted, the battalion began to move a little after sunrise. We march rather slower than yesterday. The prospects of the country hereabouts are very fine—the mountains in particular, on the right and left. We pass through Pennytown, and then through Flemington, where the men would gladly have stopped, many of them being greatly fatigued; but it was thought advisable to cross the river this evening, lest the ice should increase, though the weather is growing much milder. Many of the men stop by the way, declaring that they can go no farther. We got to Howel's Ferry after night, and fortunately found the river was not frozen.*

* The last leaf torn off. The companies, doubtless, were ready, and reached Philadelphia, and were dismissed. C. W. Peale's diary continues in the January following. In the interval he was engaged in politics.

SELECTIONS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE
BETWEEN HUGH ROBERTS AND BENJAMIN
FRANKLIN.

The following selections from the correspondence of Hugh Roberts of Philadelphia, with his friend Benjamin Franklin, while the latter was in Europe, are from the valuable collection of manuscripts presented by the late Charles Morton Smith to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

My worthy frd Ben.

If I was to attempt an Excuse for my delay of writing, 'twould be, that no pson can reasonably expect me to undertake a new employ at these advanced years, for I have not held an Epistolary Correspondence with any, nor has it fell in my way to write three letters of this Kind in my Life where Friendship was the only motive; but as I am convinced y^t no excuse can justly extenuate the omission therefore that thy Censure may fall feather-edged, I confess myself guilty of a neglect I could scarce pardon in another, nor hope it from any but one of thy generous Temper.

Thy late indisposition allarm'd thy Friends as the news of thy recovery gave new Life in proportion (when I say thy Frds, I mean every Freeman in the province, for thou hast the happiness to have no Enemies but what arise from Envy or a Servile dependence, and they are few among us) And if I have any Interest wth thee let me entreat that thou would Study to preserve the Health w^{ch} is of so much consequence to thy Frds Relatives & Country.

I sometimes Visit thy small Family where renewing the remembrance of thy presence and hearing some Acc^t of thy welfare gives a fresh and Lively joy.

Thou must not expect much information of our pub-

lic affairs fr̄m one who never inquires concerning the fluctuating News of the day, for as I am convinced I can be of little service, find most peace of mind in a disengagement but will just observe that the confining *Smith & Moor*, employed the time of the trifling Emis-saries ab^t this City, but the proceedings of the Assembly therein has had the happy effect to make the Scots Clan who were very public in their Clamours against the Conduct of the House, now communicate their thoughts to each other in whispers under the Thistle.

Since they find the Representatives claim some right to their motto—*Nemo me impune Laussit*.

I believe the general Treaty of Peace with the Indians will have a happy effect unless the proprietary Brokers should be determined to resq all for to retrieve his Reputation tho I believe there's scarce a man of them but what thinks with me that his avarice has long since eclipsed that Glory, and yet to support their designs they Labour to Spin Threads which are too fine to bear any weight.

The Hospital near the time of closing the Acco^u with the Tradesmen was almost out of Credit but now re-vives wth fresh Vigor, partly by the Gentlemen who sign'd the late Bills of Credit continuing their additional Labours for that service and I believe but few good & Charitable Institutions have failed of a support where Harmony remain'd among the managers and party views were discouraged, I have been obliged to apply to thy good wife to make 150 wafers for the Seal, and when I inform'd her, that I had fix'd them all & that each would produce at least Ten pounds she acknowledged full satisfaction—but to prevent my giving her the trouble again please to send me a Box of good wafers near 2 Inches diameter, note they should be thickest in the middle as the Inscription is deepest there.

I cannot give any particular acco^t of the old junto, for I have not been there since thy departure nor is it agreeable to meet where one must be under a continued restraint; for what I might call reason grounded on freedom, would be deem'd petulance or a turbulent disposition the major not attending to anything that deviates from the last prevailing Rules they have had the imaginary happiness to receive from their feeble Dictator—who still remains their premium mobilly vel primum mob ille and they doubt everything but what springs from that Fountain, so that they appear all-most degenerated into a state of SEPTY cism tho I would not ROB hison [sic] nor the son of any man living to explain my thoughts where nature readily dictates, aided by the early example—and for this latter freedom I have less occasion to ask pardon when I consider the Gentleman to whom I scribble has sometimes slept in the same way, Our old Frd W^m Parsons has departed this Life and its said has bequeathed more than his Estate (and Left the remainder for support of his wife and Children) to raise a Fame after Death which he had the unhappiness to fail of gaining in the Conduct of Life.

Stephen Potts is also lately deceas'd at a small publick House or rather Ordinary he kept near the soldiers Barracks, and when I consider the unhappy exit of some of our old members, I am convinced that a little speculative knowledge on various Subjects 'tho it tends to give a short elevation & some small esteem with a part of mankind, does not essentially contribute to happiness or even the prospect of it, but after all our deepest searches into matters that do not amount to a certainty nor produce real Tranquility; we must confess that a Steady conduct and well established habits of real wisdom & virtue with an humble dependance on the Omnipotent Ruler of the universe, fixes our multiform Ideas on the surest Basis—I should

have been pleas'd to have rec'd any Orders at thy departure or since, wherin I could ha' done thee or thine any service and as I know 'twould have given me a pleasure, 'tis but reasonable to confer it on my Frd when in my power therefore I intend fr my next to favour thee with orders to purchase a few Books.

I have had less leasure of late than in many years past tho I expected as age advanced to have enjoy'd more, but find the removal from my own Business like jumping from Earth into water that closely surrounds one again—but my psent confinem^t has been chiefly occasion'd by my son George's sickness who was suddenly attack'd early this spring wth what the physicians call a Rheumatic Fever but he now makes slow advances toward a Recovery.

Our frd Philip Syng has lately lost his Steady & valuable son John who by poking into a Kitchen Sink with a stick in one hand & holding a Candle in the other the Vapour ascending, instantly took fire and burnt or penetrated him to such a degree as in a few days to deprive him of his Senses and Life.

I wish thy son Billy every improvem^t and advantage in this Embassy that a Close application to Business could possibly produce and if I was to undertake the Admonition of Youth, part of my advice would be to endeavour to Choose those enjoym^{ts} that admit of a tranquil reflection and that when they are inclined to be merry, be this always annex'd, to be merry and wise,
from thy old Friend

1st June 1758 Philad^a.

H. Roberts.

My D^r Friend

I am convinc'd thou thinks it a duty to pay those debts, custom as well as friendship has introduced, in answering Epistles from thy numerous set of acquaintance; and tho' thou are bless'd with a large Stock yet the great demands on thee must engage a considerable

part of that Time which thou art endeavour'g to employ in promoting a General Benefit.

Then if there should be any merit in lessning those demands, I have been entitled to as great a Share as any one of thy real Frds, either in Europe or America, Some people here enquire, do you know what B. F. is doing, we hear so little of his proceedings? these are such who are seldom satisfied without a Tumult or a Fray; and put me in mind that when we received the important news, that General Forbes by his prudent advances caused the French to retreat from Fort du Quisne, some of these people appeared gloomy and shew'd no marks of rejoicing, because it was a Campaign compleated without the Horrors of a Battle, Ravage & Bloodshed.

Thy friends here really wish to have a sight of thee, and thou almost stands singular in this, that those who are not so, would be extreamly pleased at thy return—but since thy psence is indivisible we must rest as content as possible, who know thou cannot be absent from contributing to the real service of mankind wherever thou art placed by Providence—yet I have sometimes considered the station of thy Debby and Sally who ardently wish for thee and are in p^t deprived of so great a blessing; but from all my observations (and I frequently visit them) they bear thy long absence with a more Chearfull and Christian Spirit than could be expected; and Sally appears to be a discreet young woman.

Thy Wafers thou sent have been of great service to the Hospital which hath lately received some considerable donations, and altho it struggles under the want of a sufficient Fund for support, yet by the liberality of the people 2 or 300£ a year hath been added to make up the deficiency and I wish it was prudent and possible to endeavour to prevail on some of the good people in England to contribute to its Capital.

I know thy earnest desire for its promotion, but this I also know, your great men are not often Tenants nor form'd for prosecuting the humble employment of Begging, to advantage.

The fine painting on the Birmingham Tile thou sent was a great curiosity and I had set in a neat frame altho before it came to hand, we red it a File, which may be readily excused considering my employ, and its coming from an Iron Country.

I have endeavour'd to gain some knowledge of our Indian affairs and from all my observations, am of opinion the only way of treating with success, is by a manly freedom ever attended wth integrity of Heart, and that using cunning or Temporising with them will have no better effect than on European military power; and that many Gentlemen who might make a considerable figure at Westminster Hall; would appear but feble managers at an Indian Conference.

Pursuant to thy Order I have 2 or 3 times revisited the ancient Junto, (Gentlemen for whom I have a great esteem) and I found some relaxation from the anxiety which attends business, yet I cannot say that the variety of trivial Chat (to which I am also inclin'd) affords satisfaction when under restraint so that in some respects there must be a union of thought and affection to make Company altogether agreeable and the hours glide with ease and pleasure.

'Twas with great anxiety I heard of a late attack against thee by a malignant Fever and wish thou would endeavour to purge off the relict of every disorder that might contribute to lessen that chearfullness of heart wth which thou hast been long & happily distinguish'd, and then we shall not be concern'd whatever Dregs remain, if none are worse in their Consequences than those that have appear'd in thee from the early impressions of P— bthg.

The Politicks of our Gentlemen allied wth "a certain

northern Climate'' are now here at a low Ebb, and much the greater part of the people think right i e always as we do, and altho Smith has gain'd on the rapid credulity of some of your Pr-la-t-c-l Order, yet with men who do not aim at ingrossing of power he remains as Contemptable as ever and is shun'd by many of those who formerly appeared some of his greatest advocates; but I believe his vacation from scribbling at psent arise from the cautious manner of our G——r's conduct, since his last arrival among us. Dr Frd.

I hope thou will't receive the preceding variety of short Notes by the hands of my son George, who as far as a Parent can see is a Lad of a steady behaviour and has always been an obedient Child, his intention is to gain some further knowledge of the Iron Manu-factories in England, and I think a few of thy usefull hints respecting his conduct and journeys thro that Country might be of particular Service, and if I was to say 'twould lay me under an additional obligation, it must appear too much like a compliment to a gentleman whose Time seems aloted to the service of the psent and succeeding Ages, And therefore in some similitude of the freedom of a former Address in which thou wast concern'd I am of opinion a small share of that time is the right of (give my kind respects to Billy) thy old Friend,

Hugh Roberts.

Philad^a 15: 5^m: 1760.

Dear Friend,

Early tomorrow morning I intend for Chester where I have not been since thy departure and when I considered that was the last place I saw thee, I was spurr'd to Duty and must write;

Imprimis—I frequently visit thy little Family—thy wife and daughter Sally are well, but not quite settled in the new House.

My intended journey to Chester is to accompany my worthy Frd Samuel Neave who embarks from thence to visit his near relations in England, his great integrity of the course of 30 years, has gained the Esteem of every honest man among us, and tho' at times his warmth in censuring our Clandestine and prohibited Trade, has not obtain'd the approbation of all yet with high repute in the mercantile way he has gain'd a plentiful Fortune & with that uprightness of heart, that if generally followed would have caused the Characters of our Penns^a Traders to have stood in a much fairer view at p^{re}sent, with our masters in England, and distinguish'd us from the illicit Traders on the Continent of America—when I shall hear that you, two of my honest hearted Friends have met, tho' on the remotest part of the Globe, twill give me joy.

As to our contentious affairs thine and the Governments Enemies, Enemies to that Truth which includes every Virtue, are in a decline their Flame is expired, & no more than a feeble offensive smoke remains that has not strength enough to convey Fire and altho' thy cool reasons delivered with Truth and Energy, appear'd to make little impression on them, they are foil'd, nay drubb'd with weapons, shall I say better adapted to their Genius? and much keener than their own: So that the false names of the Dove and the Ewe-in every appearance now show the Vulture and Wolf—the Notes of the black-Smith and All-in-song united are become feeble; and their Countenances fallen as if they had no other prospect than to be All-enterred with their really dejected Patron—Excuse this Flight.

I sometimes Visit the worthy remains of the Ancient Junto for whom I have a high Esteem, but alas the political-polemical discussions have in some measure contributed to lessen the Harmony we there formerly enjoy'd. In a late pamphlet called an Address, the

authors have portray'd a Quondam frd of ours, in such strong Lines, that no pson, to whom the Man is known on this side the Atlantic, is at a Loss een at first View: yet from any description I could give, perhaps thou would be ready to ask who Isse, they have pictured 'with an air of Contempt. He is a pson that has been long accustomed to an outward appearance of humility and under that Cloak Sheaths many pernicious points, which I think he could not do under any other & is it not sufficient to give an honest Mind an high an exalted Idea of Religion and Virtue, that some of the most Cunning and meanest part of Mankind deem it the best Skreen for their Conduct.

However my D^r Frd I think by this time many more are convinced of the sincerity of thy Intentions, and tho some weak politicians & mad Zealots have not Candor enough to acknowledge it, I hope thou wilt ever stand above the reach of their Malice and if they should continue to endeavour to depress thee by Calumny: I believe thy Integer Vita will be thy preservation, and Eclipse their Tinsell'd Glory

when I began to Scribble twas with some reluctance but once engaged, I scarce know when to bid thee Adieu.

thy real frd

Hugh Roberts.

Philad^a May 20, 1765.

p^r Samuel Neave.

London, Aug^t. 9. 1765

Dear Friend,

I wrote you lately the 20 Guineas was demanded by Kirk for engraving the Hospital Seal. I have since found a Man who will undertake it for 10, but I suppose will hardly do it so well. Let me know your Sentiments of this Expense.

A Friend in Paris has requested me to procure him two of our Pensilvania Fire Places. I wish you could get me a Couple of those that were cast by our Friend

Grace, when the moulds were good and send them p^r next Ship. Mrs. Franklin will pay for them. As many People laid them aside, I hope this will not be difficult.

I thank you for your Friendly Visits to my little Family, which I beg you would continue, and give your Advice about the Finishing my Habitation, where I long to be, but cannot yet for sometime.

Adieu, my dear Friend, & believe me

Yours Affectionately

Mr. H. Roberts.

B. Franklin.

Philad^a 12 October 1765.

Dear Friend B. F.

I have thy favour of the 7 July and as every Sentence that I see from under thy hand gives me pleasure, the receiving y^r short Epistle increased the joy, & I should have been pleased to have seen one pun in ye Letter, not that I wish to be further instructed therein by my original Tutor but for the reason thou mentioned that I might have been convinced thou dost not suffer thy former vivacity of Spirits to droop rather too low—which I hope will revive a little by the acco^t of our late proceeding in Election—but notwithstand^d our old adversaries have made tryal of every new invented Fraud & falshood their inveterate hearts could suggest (and I must acknowledge my mistake in supposing they had not life remaining sufficient to convey Fire, 'tis evident they alternately Smoke and Stink, then revive and flash like a dying Taper) they have not been able to carry one point

for the Chester County Members remain the same
Bucks “ are all our Friends
Lancaster has turned out that sycophant
J. Saunders and placed a better man in
his room

and in our County we have also gained every Man and exceeded our Enemies about 500 Votes on an Average. James Pemberton was put up for a Burgess ag^t their

City Champion G. Bryan and on examining the Votes they appeared Equal; the Inspectors did not undertake to reexamine but agreed to Seal up the Boxes and deliver them over to the next setting of Assembly and I think that 6 of the late 10 Calumniating protestors have now no right to sit in the House. I have not engaged so closely at any Election for many years past thereof. It was much greater than any preceeding and continued many days: whenever I found my Spirits to droop a little, the revival of the apprehensions of the fatal consequences that might ensue and their determin'd resolution to cast on thee all the reproach in their power Spurr'd me on to the most diligent Application and I never omitted contending with the Leaders of our Enemies whenever there was any prospect of advantage and tho in the Course of many days proceeding we were obliged to receive uncivil treatment from the [torn] who, in the Language of Job 'we should have destain'd to have set with the Dogs of our Flock,' yet patients and Industry gain'd the point we aim'd at. I need not give a more minute acco^t since I know some of thy numerous Frds will transmit thee every particular relating to this and our commotions in General.

I am sorry thou hast not been able to find an Engraver to Cut the Seal on more reasonable Terms than those thou mentioned—had I been there I should had no dependence on Kirk but applied to some more benevolent Friend who after he had cheerfully perform'd the Work would have patiently waited for the Hospital pay for the Major part of it—however I leave it entirely to thy Judgm^t.

The remaining members of the good old Junto adjourned during the warm and short Ev'nings and are now endeavouring to find a House for their and thy reception where we may sit with more satisfaction than of late.

I continue my Visits in my way to thy Family—thy wife is well and daughter Sally at Burlington.

If thou hast an Opportunity give my kind respects to my worthy Frd Sam' Neave, he is not readily acquainted yet, when known his integrity of heart would attract the regard of every honest Mind tho engaged in a different scene of Life.

My time has been much employ'd the Summer in building a House at Richmond (alias Point no Point) and if I should ever have the happiness of enjoying thy Comp there with a few of our Old honest hearted Friends 'twill be a full reward for the trouble I have taken in repeatedly retiring from the hurry of Business—to which place I am just going and at present bid thee Adieu

thy very affectionate Frd
Hugh Roberts.

p' Capt'n Friend.

Dear Friend,

I am favoured with thy short Epistle of Aug^t 9th and when I considered the lesser demand thou mentions for Cutting a Seal was ten Guineas and the little prospect there is of our fixing it for a donation again (unless that pernicious Stamp Act is Repealed or Mitigated which is likely to subvert good neighbourhood Charity and Benevolence thro' the Continent) I think it advisable at p'sent to decline laying out money for a Seal and if it was intended by that Act that every donation should pay 40/ Sterling, wh sum in these times of general scarcity of money here: would be deem'd an acceptable Gift to our Hospital. does it not strike blind-fold at the foundation of the Only public Charitable Institution on the Continent of America.

“Thy request of procuring 2 Pens^a Fire Places cast when Robert Grace's Moulds were good,” is a little uncertain which of the sorts thou intended, whether

the first impression such as P Syng & I had or that with the Sun in front and Air Box, both of which are much out of use, and tho' many have been laid aside I find on enquiry y^t some parts of the plates have been apply'd for Backs or hearths of Chimneys or othe Jobs, that I have not found a second hand one Compleat.

John Potts's Family have some with the sun in front & the Smoak to pass thro a long narrow Vacancy in the lower part of the Back instead of the Bottom (without an air Box) which may be had, one size £5 one at £6 but I shall not venture to send either this Fall & there will be time to give certain Orders before another.

In my letter to thee of Octob 12 p^r Capt Friend I gave some acco^t of the proceedings at our late County & City Elections and the latter appearing equal in Votes occasion'd our Assembly to recomend a new City Election which caused a repetion of our former Controversies; as each party was of Opinⁿ they could gain one Vote but on Tryal and our more than comon diligence our opponents were distanced 171 Votes which has contributed to lower their Spirits and I hope will be a discouragement against a future attempt: yet I know they will not omit to wrack their inventions to gain on the Credulity of their dependants, tho most of their falshoods prove Abortive or continue Life but a few days.

I am sorry to observe that some of thy former intimates who really have Merit and I believe are of opinion with me that thou wilt never forfeit thy wonted Integrity for all the false Glory in Life yet such is their unhappiness and Connections with the Vulgar Great that influenc'd alternately by hopes and Fears they want fortitude of mind to execute the dictates of their Own Consciences.

Is it possible that men abounding with all the neces-

saries of Life can flatter or Cringe to gratifie little impulses of Ambition and gain imaginary applause. No if endued wth a small degree of my Spirit for I think his Condition who enjoys affluence & releases any share [of] his reason & honestly to purchase Fame is more contemptable than the most abject Patient in our Hospital and deserves less Pity.

I know my native warmth has the appearance of imprudence in the View of some in high Life. Its not on those our happiness depends but in acting consistent with our judgement in the Cool of the day, from which its a Crime to deviate when Truth and the freedom of our Country is at Stake. My Dear Friend keep up thy Spirits for thou has yet a numerous set of advocates who dare to speake their Sentiments wth freedom & vindicate thy Conduct amongst whom many more capable none more sincere than thy real Frd

Hugh Roberts.

27: 11^m: 1765

Thy wife and daughter Sally are well. Please to give my kind respects to my worthy Frd S. N.

My dear friend B. F.

On revival of the memory of the many agreeable hours I have passed in thy company; Joys of an elevating kind arise and make them appear in prospect: Yet to consider the length of time elapsed, it seems as if we had lived in a distant age, and arisen to take a View of succeeding generations, where but little of the former appearances remain, or make any legible impression, for I frequently pass the length of a street without seeing a person with whom I have any acquaintance; for our old friends are mostly departed; very few remain here but S. Rhoads with whom I yet spend some agreeable hours and often make thee our highly esteemed friend, the pleasing subject of our conversation. I sometimes visit thy daughter Sally

with her fine children, where, in thy late place of abode many things around, renew a lively impression of my worthy friend B. F. My former labours in the building, planting & Gardening way, begin to appear as Solomon has truly described, to be Vanity, and no other conduct will give so firm a hope, as seeking that Wisdom which comes from above. I expect thou wilt receive this by the hands of George Fox, a young man of our neighbourhood, of good abilities and literature, who now embarks for France, and I think intends to endeavour to improve in the study of Physic &c.; and if it should fall in thy way to impart to him some useful hints for his Conduct in a strange Land, I shall accept it as a favour and they may contribute to stimulate his Spirits to worthy Actions, when noticed by a Gentleman so much remarkt for a truly beneficent mind.

I remain with the greatest esteem for thee & thine,
Hugh Roberts.

Philad^a 29th 4 mo. 1780.

NAZARETH, PENNA., DURING THE
REVOLUTION, 1775-1779.

BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

In the summer of 1741 the Moravians purchased of the great field-preacher, George Whitefield, 5000 acres of land in what is now Upper Nazareth township, Northampton county, Pennsylvania, on which he had designed to establish a Negro charity school and lay out a town for English settlers. To this tract he gave the name of Nazareth, which in colonial records is frequently called the "Barony of Nazareth," because it was part of a grant Proprietary William Penn had given to his daughter, Letitia Aubrey, with the right of holding thereon court baron and views of frank pledge for the conservation of the peace. These dignities and privileges passed with the title through successive conveyances until the termination of the Proprietary government in Pennsylvania. The quit-rent, a red rose in June, led to the naming of the inn at Nazareth, of which mention is made in the following excerpts.

In 1743 the Moravians completed the large stone house that had been designed for the charity school, in which their first settlers lived, and the year following there was built the first of the cluster of houses and barns a few hundred rods to the south, which was known as "Old Nazareth," after the site of the present town was laid out in 1770. A second farm was laid out in 1745 two miles from Nazareth, and called Gnadenthal, which is now owned by the Directors of the Poor of the county. Touching the line of this farm and on the headwaters of the Manocacy creek the third improvement, Christian's Spring, was commenced in

1747, but with the yearly additions of colonists from Europe its mill was unable to meet the demands on it, so in 1750 a mill site on the Bushkill creek of 324 acres, held by William Allen, touching the east line of the Barony was purchased and named Friedensthal. Two more improvements were made prior to the Revolution, but no reference is made to them in these excerpts.

These old Moravian settlements were fashioned after an old-world type—a quadrangular area enclosed within solidly built structures of wood and stone, on one side stabling, on the second spacious barns, on the third a row of shops, and on the fourth the dwellings of the hard-working people, invariably hip-roofed, and one of them sure to be capped with a turret, in which swung the bell which was rung at sunrise and sunset and called the people to the sanctuary.

No wonder then that these quaint settlements with their splendid farms, orchards and manufactories attracted visitors from the provinces and abroad, who were also drawn to the Sun Inn at Bethlehem, ten miles to the south, where they were sure to be served with excellent meals and the choicest Madeira wine. While the British army and navy was operating against the city of New York and after its evacuation by the Continental forces, communication between Philadelphia and the Hudson was forced to more inland routes, and for several years Nazareth was on one of these. Owing to the limitations of the town, a hospital was not established or prisoners of war quartered there as in Bethlehem, but the passing of soldiers was frequent. That Lieut. John André nighted at the Rose Inn *en route* to Lancaster, there are good reasons to believe from the records of Nazareth and Bethlehem.

1775, December 4.—A strong column of Regulars, who had been made prisoners at the taking of Fort St. John, on Lake Champlain, passed through here on

their way to Bethlehem, and quarters over night for a considerable number had to be provided here. They were so orderly that we scarcely knew that there were soldiers in the town.

December 5.—A still larger body of the same troops arrived, and 20, 30, 40 were quartered at several places here; their conduct also was satisfactory.

December 6.—The first column left for Bethlehem yesterday morning, and the second early this morning, with their officers and the Provincial Commissioners, who lodged at the [Rose] inn.

December 31.—One circumstance caused temporary embarrassment. A traveler, passing through the town, spread the report that 100 prisoners of war with 60 guards, besides 30 sleighs full of soldiers' wives and children would arrive and spend the night here. It proved to be a false alarm.

1776, January 31.—Yesterday and to-day very many sleighs with prisoners of war, their wives and children, passed through the town *en route* to Bethlehem. Some of the men marched on foot.

February 2.—To-day from 50 to 60 prisoners of war arrived from Esopus, N. Y., and were quartered here and Christian's Spring over night.

February 3.—At 8 a. m. the soldiers marched away thankful for the hospitable treatment they had received.

December 3.—Many officers and soldiers passed through the town who came from Ticonderoga.

December 4.—Early to-day a company of soldiers entered the town with the beating of drums, and after a halt went on to Bethlehem. They came from the same place as those yesterday.

December 15.—The townspeople were busy preparing to receive 250 soldiers who were to arrive from Ticonderoga, as we were informed by Gen. Gates, but they did not come.

December 16.—In the afternoon the New England troops arrived and were distributed in the town. In the Hall,¹ 60 were lodged in three vacant rooms. They were quiet and orderly, having received strict orders to that effect.

December 17.—After these soldiers had marched off, we had to receive some more this afternoon, for most of those who arrived early and were not too much fatigued, had to continue their march.

December 20.—Some of the militia from Mount Bethel and the Blue Mountains passed through the town on their way to join the army.

December 22.—This afternoon Gov. Livingston [of New Jersey] visited the Hall and was quite friendly.

1777, January 4.—Towards evening some of the militia from Wyoming marched through the town.

February 8.—During the past week soldiers from Ticonderoga marched through the town to join the army in Jersey.

February 22.—Scarcely a day passed this week that more soldiers from Ticonderoga marched through, going to the army. One of them, from Gracehill, Ireland, made himself known to the landlord of the [Rose] inn.

April 5.—A French officer of high rank [Brig.-Gen. M. A. B. de Fermoy] passed through *en route* to Ticonderoga.

April 10.—Arrived in the forenoon Rev. Ettwein with Gen. Gates, from Bethlehem; they breakfasted at Christian's Spring, and then to the Plains, from thence the General continues to journey to Ticonderoga.

April 13.—Two Delegates to Congress spent the day here, and on account of the rain lodged at the inn over night.

¹In the year 1759 that stately structure Nazareth Hall, erected originally for a residence of Count Zinzendorf, was opened as a boarding school for boys with 111 pupils and 19 tutors, which has been continued to the present time.

May 30.—Gen. Schuyler passed through *en route* to Albany.

June 14.—Gen. Gates and some officers from Albany passed through the town.

July 8.—Capt. Webb, who is staying at Bethlehem as a prisoner of war, with his wife, who were visiting the town with Capt. Garrison and wife,³ left for Bethlehem owing to the rain.

August 6.—A battalion of militia were mustered near the inn.

September 4.—We were notified that we would have to receive a proportionate number of prisoners of war as they also in Bethlehem, and it was arranged to vacate two houses.

September 6.—An express from Bethlehem informed us that we would not receive any prisoners.

September 10.—Visitors to-day were a Prussian Colonel of Hussars, Kobasch by name, who was acquainted with the Moravians at Barby, when he was stationed there during the war at that time, and two English officers, prisoners of war, staying at Easton.

September 20.—By an express from Bethlehem we received word that prisoners of war and wounded soldiers are to be sent there, that the Single Brethren's House was to be vacated and its inmates provided for by us, and that eleven wagons be sent down to transfer their effects. It was arranged to accommodate part in the Hall and at Christian's Spring.

September 24.—Simon Meyer brought us word from Bethlehem that the baggage of Gen. Washington's army would be sent thither.³

September 27.—At the beginning of the week Mr. Anthony Benezet with his wife and one child, and Mr.

³ Capt. Thomas Webb, the Methodist preacher, a prisoner on parole, with his wife and family, arrived at Bethlehem, May 31.

³ About 900 wagons with munitions of war were parked near Bethlehem from Sept. 24—Dec. 24, 1777.

Benezet's aged mother, Mrs. Frank Schlosser's daughter with his sister and some children, retired to this place from Philadelphia. Three wagon loads of goods that came from Boston were stored in the Hall. Some light horse foragers are at Gnadenthal.

October 1.—Two French officers visited the Hall.⁴

October 3.—Drs. William Shippen and William Brown, connected with the hospital at Bethlehem, visited the town. Jacob Weiss, Jr., of Philadelphia, brought his wife, children and mother-in-law from Bristol and were furnished with lodgings.

October 7.—This afternoon Rev. John Ettwein escorted from Bethlehem via Christian's Spring Gen. William Woodford [wounded at Brandywine] and Colonels Banister and Elliot of Virginia, who visited the Hall.

October 10.—Henry Miller, the printer of Philadelphia, in his flight arrived here, but after a few days left for Bethlehem.

October 31.—Robert L. Hooper, D.Q.M.G., is here trying to find lodgings for two gentlemen, who are prisoners of war.

November 29.—The company of Light Horse at Christian's Spring, with the crowd of camp-followers who have been there so long, have been ordered to camp.⁵

December 15.—As we were about to hold our evening service two wagons came to the door for the things we had collected for the army.

1778, January 6.—Towards evening Gen. Gates with his lady [*en route* to York, Pa.] arrived and stayed over night.

January 18.—Yesterday and to-day clothing for the

⁴Probably Baron de Kalb with one of his engineer officers, who on Sept. 25, had commenced to survey the heights in and about Bethlehem.

⁵Probably of Bland's regiment, which had been sent there to recruit their horses.

army was collected here and in Gnadenthal and Christian's Spring.

February 5.—Thirty soldiers on the march to Ticonderoga arrived and were quartered on our people for the night.

February 6.—The soldiers that arrived yesterday left, but 60 others came to spend the night, and when they left the next day our farmers had to assist them with horses and wagons.

July 3.—Rev. Ettwein brought four Delegates to Congress here, and after they had partaken of refreshments in the Hall, he accompanied them to Easton on their way to Philadelphia.*

July 7.—Many women who had fled from the Indians who attacked Wyoming came here, among them Mr. Brodhead's wife and children.

July 31.—We heard cannonading, which continued until afternoon.

August 2.—About 100 militia with their officers, on their way to fight the Indians in the Blue Mountains, arrived and nighted here.

September 19.—Towards evening the militia on their return from the mountains were quartered in the barns for the night.

November 26.—Rev. Ettwein brought the French Minister [Gerard] and some other gentleman [Don Juan de Miralles] from Bethlehem via Christian's Spring and Gnadenthal, and they viewed everything. The Minister was very polite and friendly, and spoke German fluently.

December 31.—The long expected Light Horse [Pulaski's] came to stay over night—about 80—and later Col. Kobatsch. We arranged that some of them should go to Friedensthal, and 20 with their horses to Chris-

* Titus Hosmer of Conn., and George Plater of Md., were in Bethlehem about this date.

tian's Spring, where we have more stalls. Only a few remained here at the inn.

1779, *January 23.*—Col. R. L. Hooper was here and made arrangements for the quartering of six British officers, prisoners of war, with their servants, who are nearly all from Brunswick.

January 31.—The Brunswick Capt. C. von Geyso, who is staying here, attended the services held by Rev. Lembke.

February 18.—In the afternoon Rev. Lembke at the Hall, had a friendly visit from the chaplain of the Brunswick troops [Melzheimer]'. Later we had another not so pleasant a visit of 150 infantry of Gen. Pulaski's corps, and 20 of them were billeted in the Hall. As they were Germans, and nearly all of the Lutheran or Reformed Church, they requested a sermon, which Rev. Lembke preached for them on I Tim. 1:15. They and their officers were very attentive and orderly.

February 19.—The soldiers in the Hall attended the evening service.

February 21.—The departure of the soldiers appeared doubtful; they requested another sermon, which Rev. Lembke preached for them. At the close of the day a service of song was held, only Lutheran hymns used, at which the soldiers attended for the last time.

February 22.—At last the soldiers here and at Christian's Spring left, going as far as Allentown to-day. When leaving they expressed hearty thanks for all they had enjoyed, and said they would never forget it.

March 3.—About noon Rev. Ettwein came by way of Christian's Spring with two Brunswick officers, who looked about the town and Hall.

April 3 (Great Sabbath).—The two Brunswick officers billeted on us, attended the service.

' Chaplain Melzheimer, married Agnes Mau, of Bethlehem, who was quartered with her parents.

310 *Nazareth, Penna., During the Revolution.*

April 9.—About noon Rev. Ettwein, with two gentlemen from South Carolina, visited the town.

April 30.—This morning seven or eight Brunswick officers with their Chaplain [Melzheimer] came up from Bethlehem, and in the Rose Inn baptized a little daughter of Capt. Carl von Geysso, born a few days ago.

June 1.—Gen. Sullivan, who had lodged at the Rose Inn, with a few other gentlemen, visited the Hall and spring, and were very polite.

June 4.—This morning the two Brunswick officers billeted here, after taking leave in a friendly manner, left for Lancaster where the other officers are quartered.

July 28.—Rev. Ettwein escorted from Bethlehem some officers from Virginia, who visited the Hall. [One of them a nephew of Gen. Washington.]

October 22.—Rev. Ettwein came up from Bethlehem in the afternoon with Gen. Riedesel and wife, and Gen. [William] Phillips with their suite. After dining and visiting the Hall, they returned to Bethlehem.*

NOTE.—Col. R. L. Hooper writing to E. Boudinot from Easton, May 26, 1778, states: "When I was at Yorktown in March General Gates was pleased to deliver them [Messrs. Finch and Hankey] to me and they have since been on their paroles at Nazareth and are still there. Mr. Hankey is the son of a noted banker in London and a genteel, well-bred man. They are men of honor and have behaved well, and they are prudent. . . ."

* Major-Gen. Riedesel, with his wife and three children first visited Bethlehem January 5, with a letter of commendation from Gen. Gates, and two days later left for Virginia; they again returned to that town October 10. Gen. Phillips's second visit to Bethlehem was made October 11. Both were captured at Saratoga.

PAINTINGS BY GILBERT STUART NOT MENTIONED IN MASON'S LIFE OF STUART.*

BY MANTLE FIELDING.

The name of Gilbert Stuart carries us back, at once, to the distinguished men and women, who constituted the aristocracy of Colonial times and the early days of the Republic. These are the delightful and romantic periods of our American history that we all so love to dwell upon, and the portraits by Stuart of the men and women of these times are redolent with a grace, a dignity, and a charm which we do not feel in the portraiture of to-day in which is so often expressed the nervous strain of modern life.

In Stuart's portraits of men one is first struck by the vigorous personality of the subjects, and the strength and virility of the painting, in which he shows so much of the individuality and humanity of his models, these being translated to our consciousness by subtle lines of lovely color. These portraits are supremely artistic, because, with apparently slight means, they convey so strong an impression of social refinement and distinction, of real men and women conversing with us.

In an age of affectations Stuart looked with simplicity directly into the essence of things, untroubled by the mass of details which bewildered his contemporaries. He was of the school of Reynolds, and akin in feeling, taste, and method, to that group of great British portrait painters who were influenced by Sir Joshua Reynolds in the palmy days of the eighteenth century. The technique of Stuart was exquisite, simple, and

*The Life and Works of Gilbert Stuart. By George C. Mason. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1879.

sound; one critic analyzes it thus, "He paints with unequalled purity of color, very delicate and sure in half tones, varying his color to suit the individual, but with a pearly brightness which is characteristic. The paint is put on thinly, as a rule, in short, decided touches without heavy impasto, 'mingled and mottled,' as he himself says, and his execution is surprisingly sure."

His good pictures, and most of them were so, remain to-day as fresh, pure, and harmonious as in the time of their painting. Unlike Sir Joshua Reynolds he indulged in no risky experiments with fugitive mediums, but rightly judged that the simplest means were adequate to the creation of really fine works of art. His confidence and trust in "honest linseed" and simple turpentine have been justified by the verdict of time.

Stuart in his best work showed himself an artist of the first order. Judged by that he was not only the best portrait painter of his day in America, not even Copley excepted, but he has never been surpassed, or even equaled in some of the more subtle qualities of his own peculiar line of art, by the most gifted and severely-trained of our modern painters.

As an example of his skill in depicting a beautiful woman we need but examine his head of Mrs. Blodget. This lovely unfinished picture, unfinished only in so far as the accessories are concerned, hangs in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, to which institution it was bequeathed by the late Henry C. Carey. It is scarcely a painting, but rather the mirrored image of a very beautiful aristocratic woman, with light brown hair, full-orbed gray eyes, and complexion of the rarest carnation pearl. The strings of the little cap or turban which the sitter wears is indicated by one line of the brush. The portrait has been most beautifully engraved by John Cheney for the Gift of 1845. Equally fine, as an example of a male portrait, is the three-quarter length of General Knox, hanging in the Boston

Museum of Fine Arts, painted about 1800, when he was at the height of his fame and ability. It is, to a high degree, individual and virile, with lovely contrasts and harmonies of color. Pale buff and deep blue of the Continental uniform pleasantly oppose each other. The warm yellows and reds of a full-toned complexion are fringed with the cool gray of powdered hair.

I do not claim, for one moment, that the following list of Portraits painted by Gilbert Stuart not mentioned in "Mason's Life of Stuart" is complete, far from it: nor do I claim it is absolutely correct, for nothing short of omniscience could certify at this late day to some of the problems confronting the compiler. When a Stuart portrait comes to us to-day as it left the artist, without being "retouched" or "restored," we can pass upon its authenticity with a comfortable degree of certainty, although the portraits were hardly ever signed, and frequently there is little contemporary documentary evidence to go by, the artist's masterly and characteristic manner of work telling its own story. It is a far different matter, however, when the original painting confronts us "restored" and "retouched" and when the ravages of time and the restorer are sadly apparent. Equally hard is it when an unfinished portrait or head by Stuart is finished by another artist, when we have to reckon with the careful copyist. I have, therefore, thought it best to omit many pictures that are now catalogued or have been exhibited as Stuart's work, even at the risk of having my list considered incomplete or carelessly compiled. To go into the question of authenticity in a number of cases, would require the copying of numerous documents and letters, and endless controversy. I have, however, included in this list the portraits of Josef de Jaudens, First Minister from Spain to the United States, and of his wife, Matilde Stoughton Jaudens, now hanging in the Metropolitan Museum. My

attention was called to an article in the *New York Herald* of August 19, 1907, questioning their authenticity, also an article in their defence, published in *McClure's Magazine* of June, 1908. Since then I have heard many interesting opinions from students and critics on the subject. Personally, I have come to the conclusion that Stuart undoubtedly painted the heads, but that the draperies and the finishing of the paintings suggest the work of a Spanish artist. These well-known and beautiful portraits are good examples of the diverse opinions often heard expressed.

In this article I have purposely omitted any mention or notes on Stuart's numerous portraits of George Washington, as they are a study in themselves, and I would not have the space here to go into them thoroughly.

A number of Stuart's portraits have remained in England and Ireland, and where I have not been able to see the original painting I have made my notes from engravings. A number of the best British eighteenth century engravers worked from Stuart's portraits, and a fine mezzotint by Valentine Green, Hodges, or Ward, done in Stuart's own time is a pretty sure evidence of the existence of the painting. In recent years there has been a marked appreciation of Stuart's work in America, and for this reason there are few good Stuarts now on the market, even for many times the value asked a few years ago. This scarcity has undoubtedly been responsible for the appearance of some English portraits by Stuart which have been seen for the first time lately in America. Until very recently we have never had a list of Stuart's work executed in England and Ireland, except a very meagre one in Mason's "Life," but in the "Dictionary of Irish Artists" by Walter G. Strickland, published a short time ago in Dublin, occurs quite a long list of his work abroad. Stuart's Irish portraits were never painted as carefully as those he did in

England and America, presumably because there were not so many good portrait painters in this field, and the public seemed to lack in appreciation. When Stuart returned to America from Ireland he left many unfinished portraits. "The artists of Dublin will get employment in finishing them," he said. He sailed for America in 1793 and opened his studio first in New York, and afterwards in Philadelphia, Washington, and Boston where he died on July 10, 1828, and was buried in the old cemetery on Boston Common and not in Newport, R. I., as has been sometimes stated.

Eminently fitting does it seem that he who went out from the humble life in the snuff mill to achieve fame and honor in many foreign lands should come back at last to his own country and should end his days and be buried so near the spot where he was born.

LIST OF PORTRAITS.

No. 1. *Anthony*, Capt. Joseph (b. 1738—d. 1798).

There are three portraits painted by Stuart, the full bust bequeathed to the Penna. Academy by Prof. Gibbs. The half length with open letter before him, owned by Wm. R. Smith of Phila., and a third portrait now owned by Mr. Lawrence J. Morris of Phila.

No. 2. *Anthony*, Joseph, 3rd (b. 1786—d. 1804).

Son of Joseph Anthony, Jr. Painted when he was a young man of sixteen or seventeen, bust three-quarters to left, dressed in dark-blue double-breasted coat with brass buttons, white neck cloth and ruffled shirt.

Canvas 28 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 23 $\frac{3}{4}$ " (sight).

No. 3. *Arden*, Mrs. James (b. 1757—d. 1806).

She was Elizabeth Deane, daughter of Richard and Mary (Odlum) Deane of Tullamore, Kings Co., Ireland. She came to New York in 1763 and married in 1776. Her portrait was painted about 1794. It descended to her great-granddaughter the Vicom-

tesse du Fresnel, who died in Bordeaux in 1910 and bequeathed it to the Bordeaux Museum. It has been in Bordeaux since about 1815.

No. 4. *Astor, John Jacob* (b. 1763—d. 1848).

Bust, seated, head to left.

This portrait hangs in the "Brook" Club, 40th St., N. Y., and is a most beautiful painting.

The half length with hands clasped in lap, which is noted by Mason is in the English home of Wm. Waldorf Astor.

No. 5. *Ball, Joseph.*

Half length, seated, head to left. White frill and bow. Holding documents in hand.

The first president of the Penna. Company, who own a reproduction; the original painting owned by members of the family.

No. 6. *Barker, Sir Wm.* (b. — d. 1818).

Irish baronet. Painted in Dublin and owned by T. B. Ponsonby, Kilcooley Abbey, Co. Tipperary.

Stuart painted another portrait of Sir Wm. Barker in 1791, which is noted in the list of his work in "Strickland's Dictionary of Irish Artists."

No. 7. *Barker, Lady.*

Wife of Sir Wm. Barker, baronet.

Seated at tambour frame. Painted in Ireland. Owned by T. B. Ponsonby, Kilcooley Abbey, Co. Tipperary.

No. 8. *Barre, Col. Isaac* (b. 1726—d. 1802).

Half length, seated, blue coat. Mason notes a portrait as "painted in England." This portrait is in the National Portrait Gallery, London. Recently a replica (canvas 36½" x 28½"), was sold at Christie's and is now on exhibition and for sale in America.

(Engraved in "Caddel & Davis's Contemporary Portraits, 1814").

No. 9. *Bective, Thomas Taylour* (First Earl of)

(b. 1724—d. 1795).

Painted in Ireland and owned by T. B. Ponsonby, Kilcooley Abbey.

No. 10. *Beresford*, Rt. Hon. John (b. 1738—d. 1805).

Half length, seated, facing front, head to left, papers in left hand resting on book on table.

Painted in England and engraved by Chas. H. Hodges in mezzotint (pub. 1790). Also engraved by Sedgwick.

No. 11. *Bickerton*, Admiral Sir Richard Hussey

(b. 1759—d. 1832).

Painted in England; owned by Earl of Sandwich, Hinchinbroke.

No. 12. *Bond*, Phineas

(b. 1749—d. 1815).

Half length, facing front, head to left. High coat collar and frill, hair powdered. Portrait owned by Mrs. John Cadwalader and exhibited at Penna. Academy of Fine Arts, 1888.

Phineas Bond was the British Consul for the middle colonies; he was the son of Dr. Phineas Bond.

No. 13. *Bowles*, General.

Painted in Ireland. Was in the collection of Lord Fitzgerald. Sold in Dublin in August, 1843.

No. 14. *Boydell*, Alderman John (b. 1719—d. 1804).

Half length, seated, facing left, document in hands resting on table.

Sold at Christie's July, 1907.

Engraved by J. G. Facius 1802, and by H. Meyer for "Caddel's Contemporary Portraits, 1814."

No. 15. *Brackenridge*, Hugh Henry

(b. 1748—d. 1816).

Half length, seated with book in hand, facing left, high collar and frill.

Painted about 1810, now in possession of Jos. McKibben, Esq., of St. Paul, Minn.

Photograph from original painting is in the Historical Society of Penna., and a copy painted from the photo by Albert Rosenthal is in Independence Hall, Phila.

- No. 16. *Brooks, Peter C.* (b. 1767—d. 1849).

Owned by the late Wm. Everett of Quincy, Mass., and exhibited at Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 1880. Since destroyed by fire.

Engraved by H. W. Smith.

- No. 17. *Brooks, Peter C.* (b. 1767—d. 1849).

Owned by Peter C. Brooks' grandson, Hon. Chas. Francis Adams, in Washington. Mr. Adams says it is an inferior picture. Canvas 27" x 22". Painted about 1810.

- No. 18. *Brownlow, Wm. Lord Lurgan*

(b. 1726—d. 1794).

Half length, seated, facing right, powdered hair, frill, right hand holding papers on table.

Member of Irish Parliament and connected with the public works of Dublin.

Engraved by Chas. H. Hodges in mezzotint and pub. in 1792. Portrait owned in 1844 by his daughter, the Viscountess Powerscourt. A copy or replica belongs to Lord De Vesci.

- No. 19. *Bullus, Dr. John, U. S. N.*

Bust, head to right, naval uniform, high collar.

Envoy from U. S. to France.

Owned by Robert Ludlow Fowler, and exhibited with Stuart's portrait of Mrs. Bullus in the Hudson-Fulton Exhibition in New York, 1909.

Note: Mason notes only the portrait of Mrs. Dr. John Bullus.

- No. 20. *Burke, Aedamus* (b. 1743—d. 1802).

Half length, seated, facing left, right arm on book on table.

Portrait said to be by Stuart, and the painting resembles his style. Pub. in "Bowen's Centennial Washington's Inauguration, 1892."

- No. 21. *Burnett, Judge Jacob* (b. 1770—d. 1853).

Owned by Robert Ludlow Fowler and exhibited in the Hudson-Fulton Exhibition in New York, 1909.

- No. 22. *Burr*, Aaron (b. 1756—d. 1836).
Bust, facing left.
In New Jersey Historical Society at Newark, N. J.
Lithographed and etching by Albert Rosenthal.
- No. 23. *Carleton*, Hugh.
Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Ireland.
Painted in Dublin and owned by the Earl of Nor-
manton, Somerley, Ringwood Hants.
- No. 24. *Carnarvon*, Henry Earl of (b. 1741—d. 1811).
Standing, right hand on papers on table, left hand
holding paper.
Engraved by Wm. Ward in mezzotint and pub.
1795. Noted as painted by Gainsborough and Stuart.
Owned by Earl of Carnarvon.
- No. 25. *Carroll*, Charles (b. 1737—d. 1830).
Bust, almost full face to right, plain coat, neck
stock. Engraved in *Century Mag.* Vol. 43, 1903, as
painted by Stuart, and in gallery of Maryland His-
torical Society, Baltimore. It has since been re-
moved by owner, Miss Virginia MacTaviosh.
- No. 26. *Chesnut*, James (b. 1773—d. 1866).
Half length, seated, head directed to right, curtain
and column in background.
Reproduced, Vol. 1, "Ancestral Records and Por-
traits," compiled by Colonial Dames of America.
- No. 27. *Chesnut*, Mrs. James (b. 1775—d. 1864).
Half length, seated, arms crossed in lap, low necked
dress with short sleeves. Head directed to left, cur-
tain and column in background.
Was Mary Cox, of Philadelphia.
Reproduced in Vol. 1 of "Ancestral Records and
Portraits," compiled by the Colonial Dames of
America.
- No. 28. *Chesnut*, Col. John (b. 1743—d. 1813).
- No. 29. *Cleaver*, Bishop Eusby (b. — —d. 1819).
Bishop of Cork, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin.
(Probably painted in Dublin.)
Engraved by Jos. Grozer, pub. 1790.

No. 30. *Clements, Thomas.*

Elderly man, dressed in greenish gray coat and wearing a wig. Size 25" x 30".

Owned by Boston Athenæum.

No. 31. *Clonnell, John, First Earl of.*

Painted in 1790, and now owned by the Earl of Normanton, Somerly Hants.

No. 32. *Collins, Jonathan.*

Bust, head to left, three-quarter face, double-breasted coat showing buttons on right.

Engraved by J. C. Buttre.

No. 33. *Conyngham, Wm. Burton (b. 1733—d. 1796).*

Half length, head three-quarters to right.

National Gallery of Ireland.

Engraved in mezzotint by Chas. H. Hodges. Pub. 1792.

Engraved in line (oval) by Schiavonetti, 1795.

Engraved in line (oval) by J. Farn.

Note: Also written *Conyngham* and *Burton-Conyngham*.

No. 34. *Cooper, Sir Astley (Sixth Earl of Shaftesbury)* (b. 1768—d. 1841).

Half length, seated by table, head directed to right.

Celebrated English surgeon.

Property of Toledo Museum, Toledo, Ohio.

No. 35. *Cruikshank, Wm. Cumberland*

(b. 1745—d. 1800).

Bust, head to left, stock and frill.

Portrait painted in England.

Dr. Cruikshank delivered anatomical lectures in London.

(Stuart painted him twice, the engraving by Comer showing the coat unbuttoned and large frill.)

Engraved in mezzotint, folio, by Say, 1801.

Engraved in line (oval 3½" x 2½") by J. Comer.

Engraved in line (Rect. H 4½" x 3½") by W. & F. Holl.

- No. 36. *Dartrey*, Thomas, First Earl of.
Painted in Ireland and exhibited in the Royal Academy, 1785.
- No. 37. *Davis*, Aaron.
Owned in 1896 by Chas. Davis, Esq., and exhibited in that year at Copley Hall, Boston.
- No. 38. *Davis*, Mrs. William.
Half length, facing front, head to right, cap and shawl.
- No. 39. *Dawes*, Wm.
Owned by Mrs. Richard C. Dixey of Boston.
Reproduced in the *Beginnings of the American Revolution* by Ellen Chase, 1910, Vol. 11, p. 342.
- No. 40. *Dawson*, Lucius (b. — —d. 1795).
Painted in Ireland, owned by B. T. Balfour, Townley Hall, Drogheda.
- No. 41. *Derby*, Elias Hasket (b. 1739—d. 1799).
Bust, head to left, plain coat, stock, hair natural.
Engraved by J. C. Buttre.
- No. 42. *De Vesce*, Thomas Vesey (First Viscount)
(b. — — d. 1804).
Painted in Ireland and owned by Viscount De Vesce, Abbeyleix.
- No. 43. *Dick*, Sir John (of Braid).
Painted in Dublin, owned by Sir B. K. A. Dick-Cunningham, Bart.
- No. 44. *Dutton*, Mrs. Warren (Elizabeth Cutts Lowell) (b. 1783—d. 1864).
Owned by Miss Sarah Barnard in 1908, and exhibited by her in Boston Museum of Fine Arts.
Panel about 30" x 25".
- No. 45. *Earlom*, Richard (Engraver)
(b. 1743—d. 1822).
Bust, head to left, plain coated, buttons on right.
Engraved by J. Lupton, 6 St. James Place, Clerkewell. Pub. London, 1819.

No. 46. *Edwards*, Admiral.

Painted in England and owned by Earl Sandwich,
Hinchinbroke.

No. 47. *Eliot*, Wm. Havard (Painted abt. 1827-8)

(b. 1795—d. 1831).

Unfinished portrait, head to right. Canvas oval,
24" x 20".

No. 48. *Eustis*, Wm. (Gov. of Mass., b. 1753—d. 1825).

Half length, seated, head to right, holding papers
in hand.

Reproduction of painting, pub. with J. H. Daniels,
Printer.

Engraving (bust) by Geo. E. Perine.

Owned by Wm. Sweetzer, N. Y.

This note occurs in list of portraits as painted by
Stuart at the back of the Catalogue of exhibition at
Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 1880.

No. 49. *Everett*, Mrs. Alex.

Owned by Miss Susan Hale of Boston.

Exhibition at Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

No. 50. *Facius*, Johann G., (Engraver) (b. about
1750).

Painted in England for John Boydell (ex-alder-
man) for his gallery.

No. 51. *Farran*, Charles.

Painted in Dublin and owned by Miss Farran of
Dublin.

Note: Probably the "Lord Farnham of Dublin"
noted in Mason's Life.

No. 52. *Farran*, Mrs. Chas. (nee Lambert).

Painted in Dublin and owned by Miss Farran of
Dublin.

No. 53. *Foster*, Rt. Hon. John Viscount Messereene

(b. 1740—d. 1824).

Speaker of the Irish House of Commons.

Whole length, standing facing front and looking to

- right. Right hand on papers left arm extended. Columns and roof of round house in background.
Painted, 1791. Engraved by Hodges, 1792.
Bust engraved in stipple by Maguire, 1799.
- No. 54. *Fothergill*, John M. D. (b. 1712—d. 1780).
Half length, seated with right hand holding book, facing right. Exhibited at Royal Academy, 1781.
Acquired by Penna. Acad. of Fine Arts, 1903.
Engraved by Valentine Green. Pub. 1781.
- No. 55. *Gallatin*, Albert (b. 1761—d. 1849).
Bust, facing left, seated, back of chair showing above shoulders.
Engraved by American Bank Note Company from original painting. Owned by Mr. Albert Gallatin of N. Y.
Exhibited at Boston Museum of Fine Arts.
- No. 56. *Gardner*, Sam'l Pickering (b. 1767—d. 18—).
Owned in 1880 by Miss Georgina Lowell of Boston.
- No. 57. *Gell*, Captain.
Painted in England and exhibited at the Royal Academy, 1785.
- No. 58. *Gratten*, Henry (b. 1746—d. 1820).
Half length, facing right, coat with high collar and frill. Painted in Ireland.
Member of Parliament for Dublin.
Engraved in mezzotint by Chas. H. Hodges. Pub., 1792.
Exhibited at South Kensington in 1867.
Owned by Sir Henry Gratten Bellow, Bart.
- No. 59. *Gray*, William (b. 1750—d. 1827).
Owned by Mrs. Thos. Wren Ward, Boston.
- No. 60. *Griswold*, Bishop Alexr. Viets (b. 1766—d. 1843).
Bishop of Massachusetts.
The head by Stuart, drapery by Miss Jane Stuart.
Exhibited at Boston Athenaeum, 1834. Owned by Dr. Wainright.

- No. 61. *Hamilton, George.*
 Baron of the Exchequer.
 Painted in Ireland and owned by Miss Ormsby of Killiney Castle.
- No. 62. *Hamilton, Mrs. George.*
 Painted in Ireland and owned by Mrs. Ormsby of Killiney Castle.
- No. 63. *Hamilton, Hugh, Bishop* (b. 1729—d. 1805).
 Became Bishop of Ossory in 1799.
 Painted in Ireland and owned by Miss Hewitt, Milford-on-Sea.
 Engraved in stipple by W. Evans, 1807.
- No. 64. *Harvey, John, Captain R. N.*
 (b. 1740—d. 1794).
 Half length, facing right, in uniform.
 Engraved by Murphy, 1795, in mezzotint.
 Engraved by Ridley.
- No. 65. *Hastings, Francis Rawdon, Earl of Moira*
 (b. 1754—d. 1836).
 Half length, face to left, in uniform.
 Engraved by J. Collyer from original picture in possession of Dr. Hayes.
- No. 66. *Heath, James (Engraver)* (b. 1757—d. 1834).
 Painted in England for John Boydell (size 25" x 30"). Owned by Mr. Sam'l P. Avery, Hartford, Conn.
- No. 67. *Henderson, John (Actor)* (b. 1747—d. 1785).
 In the character of Iago.
 Bust, head to right.
 Engraved by Bartolozzi.
- No. 68. *Hicks, Zachariah* (b. 1755—d. 1842).
 Seated in chair, hands on table, fingers interlocked.
 High-collared black coat, white neck cloth and muslin ruffles, powdered hair tied in a queue.
- No. 69. *Holman, Joseph George (Actor)*
 (b. 1764—d. 1817).
 Played in Dublin.

Portrait painted in Ireland and owned by the Gerrick Club of London.

- No. 70. *Humphry*, Ozias (English miniature artist)
(b. 1742—d. 1810).

Painted in England.

Size 25" x 30".

For John Boydell.

Owned by Mr. Sam'l P. Avery, Hartford, Conn.

- No. 71. *Jaudens*, Josef de (b. 1764—d. —).

First Minister from Spain to the United States.

Half length, seated in uniform, sword with hand on hilt, face to left, dark blue coat faced with scarlet and lace. Metropolitan Museum of Art, N. Y.

Authenticity has been questioned, see *N. Y. Herald*, Aug. 19, 1907, page 3, also *McClure's Mag.*, June, 1908.

- No. 72. *Jaudens*, Matilde Stoughton

(b. Boston, 1778—d. —).

Miss Matilde Stoughton was a belle in New York in 1794. Wife of First Minister from Spain to the United States, and daughter of a wealthy Spaniard who was the Spanish Consul.

Half length, seated, face to right, fan in hands on lap. White dress, high headdress of feathers.

Metropolitan Museum of Art, N. Y.

Authenticity has been questioned, see *N. Y. Herald*, for Aug. 19, 1907, page 3.

These portraits are lettered on the face of the canvas "G. Stuart, R. A., New York Sept. 18th, 1794." Stuart did paint a portrait of the Spanish Minister, and probably began a portrait of his wife. It is thought by a number of the experts that Stuart actually painted the heads, but the figures were put in by some assistant or local artist.

- No. 73. *Jervis*, John Earl St. Vincent

(b. 1734—d. 1823).

Whole length, standing on seashore. Naval uni-

form, sash, star, sword, right hand holding hat, left extended, ships in distance.

See mezzotint by J. R. Smith, 25" x 18". Pub. 1797.

Probably the portrait noted in Mason as "St. Vincent Lord, Painted in England."

No. 74. *Jervis*, John Earl St. Vincent

(b. 1734—d. 1823).

Bust (in oval), head directed to left. Canvas 25" x 31". Different head and pose from full length.

Formerly in collection of Dr. Gilbert Parker, Phila.

Now owned by Mrs. Chas. Walter Amory of Boston.

No. 75. *King*, Wm. (Governor) (b. 1768—d. 1852).

Half length, high collared, black coat, and very abundant white cravat.

Portrait painted while a comparatively young man.

No. 76. *King*, Mrs. Wm. (wife of Governor).

Half length, black gown, wide white collar.

Portrait painted while a comparatively young woman.

No. 77. *Lardner*, John (b. 1752—d. 1825).

Half length, head to right. On panel 24" x 29".

Member of Penna. Legislature, 1791.

Property of Penna. Academy of Fine Arts.

No. 78. *Leslie*, Charles Powell (M.D.)

(b. — —d. 1800).

Painted in Ireland and owned by Sir John Leslie,

Bart., Glasslough, Co. Monaghan.

No. 79. *Livingston*, John H. (D.D.—S.T.D.)

(b. 1746—d. 1825).

Half length in robes, head to right facing front, right hand on book.

Engraved by J. W. Jarvis (Stauffer Am. Eng.

No. 1480).

No. 80. *Livingston*, Robt. B. (Chancellor)

(b. 1746—d. 1813).

Half length, seated, head to left, hands on table with papers and books.

Owned by John Henry Livingston, Clairmont, N. Y. Exhibited N. Y. Loan Coll. 1889.

Wood engraving *Harper's Mag.*, vol. 31, 1896, p. 165.

Copy of original painting at Independence Hall, Phila., by Pratt.

Engraved by Geo. Graham in mezzotint and pub., N. Y., 1804 (authenticity has been questioned).

No. 81. *Locker*, Wm. (b. 1731—d. 1800).

Lieut. Gov. of Greenwich Hospital.

Half length, head to left, in uniform.

Owned by Greenwich Hospital.

Engraved by H. T. Ryall, 1832.

Engraved by W. Sidney, 1801.

No. 82. *Logan*, Dr. George (b. 1753—d. 1821).

Bust, facing right, high collar to coat, and frill.

Painted by Stuart at Washington when Logan was U. S. Senator. Painting owned by Mr. Logan, 4650 Main Street, Germantown.

Photo plate made for frontispiece for book on Dr. Geo. Logan of Stenton.

No. 83. *McCall*, Richard.

Half length, facing front, head to left, hair curly, coat with fur or velvet collar showing buttons.

Original painting owned by Geo. McCall, Phila.

Photograph made from original painting by Chas. S. Bradford.

No. 84. *McClurg*, James (b. 1747—d. 1825).

Half length, facing right, plain coat, high collar, own hair.

Original said to be owned by Mr. Leigh.

Etched by Albert Rosenthal from photo of original painting.

No. 85. *Macratney*, George (Earl of)

(b. 1737—d. 1806).

Chief Secretary for Ireland in 1769.

Painted in Ireland and owned by Earl of Norman-
ton, Somerley, Hants.

No. 86. *Malton, Thomas* (b. 1748—d. 1804).

Half length, facing left, plain coat, high collar.

Painted in Dublin.

Engraved by W. W. Barney, Pub. 1806 folio, mez-
zotint.

No. 87. *Manchester, George, IV Duke of*

(b. 1737—d. 1788).

Half length, face to left, hair powdered, robes, left
arm leaning on sill, hand holding chamberlain's wand.

Engraved by John Jones, pub. 1790, and by J. Coll-
yer from picture then in possession of Dr. Hayes.

Painted in England.

No. 88. *Meade, George (of Phila.)*

(b. 1741—d. 1808).

Owned by Mrs. Richard Worsam Meade. Canvas
30 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 24 $\frac{1}{8}$ ".

No. 89. *Meade, Mrs. Richard Worsam.*

(Was Margaret Coates Butler, mother of Gen. G.
G. Meade.) This painting was destroyed in the Civil
War.

No. 90. *Meyers, Sam'l.*

Owned by Mrs. B. Meyers, Richmond, Va.

Painting has been exhibited.

No. 91. *Miles, Col. Samuel* (b. 1740—d. 1805).

Owned by the Corcoran Art Gallery, Washington.

Gift of Eliz. F. McKean, 1909.

Painted on panel.

No. 92. *Moore, Capt. Hugh.*

Owned by H. Armytage Moore, and reproduced in
Sir Edw. Sullivan's Memoirs of Buck Whaley.

No. 93. *Montgomery, Wm. (of Phila.).*

No. 94. *Montgomery, Mrs. Wm. (of Phila.).*

No. 95. *Motley, Thomas* (b. 1781—d. 1864).

Owned by his granddaughters, the Misses Motley

of Chestnut Hill, Mass., in 1913. Canvas 27" x 22½" (sight). Painted about 1825.

Reproduced in "John Lothrop Motley and his Family," London, 1910, p. 200. This is not the portrait of Thos. Motley mentioned by Mason.

No. 96. *Normanton*, Charles, Earl of.

Archbishop of Dublin when Lord Somerton.

Painted in Ireland and owned by the Earl of Normanton, Somerly, Hants.

Engraved by Wm. Say in mezzotint.

No. 97. *Normanton*, Jane, Countess of.

Painted in Ireland and owned by the Earl of Normanton, Somerly, Hants.

No. 98. *Paine*, Thomas (b. 1737—d. 1809).

Sold in Dublin, May 1842.

No. 99. *Pasquino* (Art Critic).

An interesting head in Stuart's best style.

No. 100. *Pery*, Viscount Edward Sexton

(b. 1719—d. 1806).

Owned by the Earl of Banfurly, Northland House.

There is apparently another portrait of Viscount Pery by Stuart, engraved by Say.

No. 101. *Pearson*, Capt. Richard.

Canvas oval, 28½" x 23½". Owned by Herbert L. Pratt of Brooklyn, N. Y.

No. 102. *Pettit*, Col. Charles (b. 1738—d. 1806).

Bust, facing right, size 24" x 29".

Portrait exhibited at Penna. Academy of Fine Arts, 1880.

Owned by Mrs. Alexander Henry.

Reproduced on wood.

No. 103. *Philipse*, Frederick (b. 1755—d. 1829).

According to another account (b. 1746—d. England 1785). Canvas 51½" x 40½". Exhibited at Hudson-Fulton Exhibition. Owned by the Misses Philipse.

Reproduced in "Some Colonial Mansions" by Glenn, vol. 2, p. 258.

- No. 104. *Pinckney*, Charles Cotesworth
(b. 1758—d. 1824).
Statesman of South Carolina.
Half length, seated, facing left, right arm resting on table, hair powdered.
Now owned by Mr. Cocherane, of the "Brook" Club, 40th Street, N. Y.
Copy painted by Albert Rosenthal.
- No. 105. *Ponsonby*, Chambre Brabazon
(b. 1762—d. 1834).
See Baker (Lady Baker, wife of Sir William).
Owned by T. B. Ponsonby, Kilcooley Abbey, Co. Tipperary.
- No. 106. *Pratt*, Henry
(b. 1761—d. 1838).
Half length, face to right, plain coat buttoned.
Pub. in "Salons Colonial and Republican," by Anne H. Wharton.
- No. 107. *Preble*, Com. Edward
(b. 1761—d. 1807).
Bust, head to right, in uniform.
Engraved by T. Kelley from the original picture in Faneuil Hall, Boston.
- No. 108. *Preston*, Rev. Wm.
(b. — —d. 1789).
Half length, facing left, curly white hair, robes.
Bishop of Kildare. Was Secretary to the Lord Lieut. of Ireland and died in Dublin in 1789.
Engraved by W. Dickinson.
- No. 109. *Pringle*, Rear Admiral.
Bust in uniform, head to right.
Painting owned by Francis Stephen.
Engraved by Orme.
- No. 110. *Randolph*, John
(b. 1773—d. 1833).
Half length, seated, facing left.
Mr. Randolph is sitting near a wall with trees in the background. A beautiful picture.
Owned by Mrs. Chas. Wm. Coleman of Washington.
- No. 111. *Rhea*, Hon. John
(b. about 1753—d. 1832).
Owned by Mrs. Wm. S. Appleton of Boston (1896).

Exhibited at Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and at Copley Hall in 1896. Owned by Mrs. George F. Weld (Dorothy Appleton) of Santa Barbara, Cal.

No. 112. *Rice*, Capt. Henry.

Half length, face to left, plain coat, high collar.

Painted on panel 25 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 21".

Metropolitan Museum of Art, N. Y.

No. 113. *Riveira*, Abraham Rodriguez.

Was a rich Jew merchant of Newport, R. I. Stuart painted the portrait about 1774. Canvas 34 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 27 $\frac{1}{4}$ ".

Owned in 1896 by Sam'l Wm. Rodman, Esq. of Boston, and exhibited that year at Copley Hall, Boston. Owned now by Miss Emma Rodman, 174 Beacon Street, Boston.

No. 114. *Rogers*, Rev. John (b. 1716—d. 1790).

Half length, facing front, wig, bands, lay habit, right hand holding book.

Engraver not known, pub. 1785.

No. 115. *Russell*, Admiral Thos. M. (b. 1739—d. 1824).

Half length, face to right, in uniform.

Engraved by Cook, 1806.

No. 116. *Sharp*, Wm. (Engraver) (b. 1749—d. 1824).

Painted in England for John Boydell, ex-alderman, for his gallery.

No. 117. *Shaw*, Robert, M.D., of Terrenre

(b. 1749—d. 1796).

(Not his son Sir Robert, 1st Baronet, as stated by Chaloners Smith.)

Owned by Mrs. Shaw Darley, Belfast, Ireland.

Replicas owned by Sir Frederick Shaw, Bart., and the Nat. Gal. of Ireland.

No. 118. *Sheridan*, Thomas, A.M. (b. 1721—d. 1788).

(Father of R. B. Sheridan.)

Half length, face to right, plain coat.

Engraved by Scott, 1789.

No. 119. *Shippen*, Wm.

Bust, head to right, high coat collar and frill.

Owned by Mr. Steel, N. Y.

Engraved by H. B. Hall, by H. W. Smith, and by Haines.

Copy at Independence Hall, Phila.

No. 120. *Shulldham*, Admiral (b. 1717 [?] —d. 1798).
(Lord Molyneux.)

Owned by the Earl of Sandwich, Hinchinbroke.

No. 121. *Smith*, Gen'l Samuel (b. 1752—d. 1839).
Mayor of Baltimore.

Photo by Chas. S. Bradford.

No. 122. *Smith*, Mrs. Samuel.

Photo by Chas. S. Bradford.

No. 123. *Smith*, Wm. Loughton (b. 1753—d. 1812).
Half length, head to right, high collar with frill
and bow.

Owned by South Carolina Art Assoc., Charleston,
S. C.

Engraved by E. Savage (see Stauffer Am. Eng.
No. 2751).

No. 124. *Staples*, Admiral.

Owned by the Earl of Sandwich, Hinchinbroke.

No. 125. *Staples*, Sir Robert, VII Baronet
(b. 1740—d. 1816).

Owned by T. B. Ponsonby, Kilcooley Abbey.

No. 126. *Storrow*, Thos. Wentworth, of Boston
(b. 1779—d. 1862).

Painted about 1810. Owned by his grandson, Chas.
Storrow, of Brookline.

No. 127. *Story*, Mrs. Joseph (b. 1784—d. 1855).

Owned by the late W. W. Story, Rome.

She was Sarah Waldo Wetmore of Salem.

No. 128. *Stronge*, Lary Helen (nee Tew).

Painted in Ireland and owned by Sir Jas. Stronge,
Tynan Abbey, Co. Armagh.

No. 129. *Stuart*, Dr. James (of South Carolina).

Painted about 1815 in Boston.

Half length, head to right, curls on forehead, right
hand holding book, and elbow resting on chair arm.

- No. 130. *Stuart, Mrs. James (of South Carolina)*
(Elizabeth) (b. 1762—d. 1799).
Half length, head to left, curls around face, large
ruff collar, hand in lap. Painted in Boston about
1815.
- No. 131. *Sydney, Viscount John Thomas.*
Half length, seated, head to left, white cravat, table
to left with ink and papers.
Exhibited in South Kensington, 1867.
Engraved by John Young.
- No. 132. *Talbot, Charlotte, Dowager Countess of*
(b. 1754—d. 1804).
She was Charlotte Hill, daughter of Wills Hill, 1st
Marquess of Downshire. She married, 1776, John
Chetwynd, created Earl of Talbot, 1784.
Engraved by Granger. Pub. 1805, London.
- No. 133. *Thornton, Mrs. Wm.*
- No. 134. *Trask, Israel Eliot* (b. 1773—d. 1835).
Half length, head to left, plain coat.
Engraved by H. W. Smith.
- No. 135. *Van Ness, John Peter* (b. 1770—d. 1847).
Painted in Washington, 1803-4.
Owned by Mrs. John G. Tappan, Boston.
- No. 136. *Varick, Richard* (b. 1753—d. 1831).
Half length, facing front, head to right, high coat
collar and frills, five coat buttons on left, hands
crossed.
Engraved by Rogers, also by Hall.
- No. 137. *Walcott, Lord.*
Photo by Chas. S. Bradford from the original
painting.
- No. 138. *Ward, Wm.*
Loaned in 1910 by Thos. W. Ward to Museum of
Fine Arts, Boston.
- No. 139. *Warren, Richard, M.D., F.R.S. & S.A.*
(b. 1731—d. 1797).
Bust, head to left, frill.

Painting originally owned by Mrs. Warren, and engraved by Bartolozzi.

No. 140. *Webster, Daniel* (b. 1770—d. 1850).

This portrait is said to have been painted in 1824, is owned by Geo. F. Williams of Dedham, Mass. It is not the portrait mentioned by Mason.

No. 141. *Whitney, Elisha* (b. 1747—d. —).

Three-quarter, head to left, seated in a red upholstered chair, wearing a black coat with white neck cloth.

Painted on panel 27 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 23" (sight).

Owned, in 1914, by Miss Alice Orne Whitney of Cambridge, Mass.

No. 142. *Williams, George.*

Half length, facing front.

Photographed from the original painting by Chas. S. Bradford.

No. 143. *Williams, Mrs. George* (b. 1735—d. 1824).

(Lydia Pickering).

Not the portrait noted by Mason. Owned (1913) by Miss Ellen Williams of Northborough, Worcester Co., Mass.

No. 144. *Young, Robert* (of Virginia).

Owned by Mrs. John Russell Pope of New York.

This portrait has been exhibited.

No. 145. *Young, John* (b. 1802—d. 1852).

(Judge Young when a young man.)

Full bust, face three-quarter to right.

Owned by C. C. Bulhroff.

Lithographed by Newsam.

No. 146. *Young, Mrs. John.*

No. 147. *Unknown Portrait.*

A young boy dressed in a costume of Van Dyck's time with his left hand resting on the head of a dog.

Signed and dated 1779.

This portrait was exhibited at the Royal Academy by Stuart in 1779, and called "Portrait of a Young Gentleman." Canvas 28" x 24".

INSTRUCTIONS OF QUEEN ANNE TO COL. SAMUEL VETCH, FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF A COLONIAL CONTINGENT FOR THE CONQUEST OF CANADA, 1708.

Among the early New York imprints in the Americana Division of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is one printed by William Bradford, 1709,—the instructions of Queen Anne to Col. Samuel Vetch, to be observed in his negotiations with the governors of New England, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, in the organization of a contingent colonial force for the conquest of Canada. The following biographical sketch of Col. Vetch is compiled from the article in the National Dictionary of Biography:

Samuel Vetch, born in December 1668, was a son of William Vetch, the Covenantor of Scotland, who fled to Holland. He was educated at Utrecht; entered the army of the Prince of Orange, accompanied him to Torbay in 1688, and when the 20th regiment of Foot (Cameronians) was raised obtained a commission in it, fought at Dunkeld, Steinkirk, and Neerwinden. After the peace of Ryswick, in 1697, he joined his father at Dumfries, where he was then minister, and later volunteered for the expedition to Panama and given the rank of captain, and was also appointed a member of the Council of Seven which was to govern the colony. The new colony met with much opposition and after vainly struggling against many difficulties, it was evacuated in June of 1699; Vetch proceeded to New York and took up his residence in Albany. Here in August 1700, he took part in a conference between Lord Bellamont and

the sachems of the Five Nation Indians. Two years later he removed to Boston, and in 1705 was sent by Governor Dudley, of Massachusetts, as one of the commissioners to Quebec to negotiate a treaty of neutrality with the French Governor General of Canada, and to arrange for the exchange of prisoners. He made it his particular business to gain all the information he could about the French colony.

In 1708 Vetch visited his parents in Scotland, and thence went to London where he laid before the British government a plan which he had formed for the conquest of Canada. His proposals were approved, and it was agreed to send a powerful fleet and 3000 regular troops. He was despatched on a man-of-war with instructions to the several colonial governments to provide their respective quota of troops. Vetch arrived in Boston the last week in April, 1709, and was so successful in his negotiations with the colonial governments that by June the transports and New England troops were ready for service. While waiting for the British fleet, on October 11th, intelligence arrived that the promised force had been diverted to Portugal. The expedition consequently fell through and the provincial levies returned to their homes. This fiasco was a bitter disappointment to Vetch and the colonists. A congress of governors and delegates from the colonies held in November, sent Col. Vetch and Col. Francis Nicholson to London to urge the government to undertake a fresh expedition. The ministry deemed the conquest of Canada too great an undertaking, but agreed to send next year an expedition against Nova Scotia. Nicholson appointed to the chief command, and Vetch adjutant general, arrived July 15, 1710, at Boston, accompanied by several transports with 400 marines, and on September 18th, with 1500 colonial troops, sailed for Port Royal, Nova Scotia, where they arrived on the 24th. The troops were landed, entrenched themselves, and after

some days' bombardment the French commander capitulated. On October 16th the British took possession, and in accordance with the Queen's instructions Vetch was appointed governor of the fort of Annapolis Royal, as Port Royal was renamed, and of the county of Acadia and Nova Scotia, with the appointment of adjutant-general of British troops and general and commander in chief of colonial troops in these parts. He dealt with the conquered inhabitants in a spirit of justice and kindness, and, while protecting them from the extortion of the soldiers, showed firmness and determination in maintaining his authority. An attack by Indians upon an expedition sent by Vetch to procure wood in the spring of 1711, was the signal for a general uprising and the blockade of Annapolis. While matters were in this state, news arrived of a formidable British expedition against Canada, which at once raised the blockade. The expedition consisted of seven veteran regiments and a train of engineers and artillery under the incompetent Brig.-Gen. John Hill, and a fleet under Rear-Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker. It arrived at Boston, June 24, 1711, and on July 6th Vetch sailed for Boston, leaving Sir Charles Hobby in command at Annapolis, and assumed command of the Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island levies which were to proceed with the regular troops under Hill to the St. Lawrence, while Nicholson commanded the remainder of the provincial troops for the attack on Montreal by way of Lake Champlain. The expedition sailed on July 30th. Vetch being on board the Dispatch arrived at Gaspé Harbor on August 18th, and left again on 21st in a thick fog. On the night of the 22d the flagship Edgar was leading when she found herself among the breakers of the Egg Islands. She narrowly escaped, but eight transports were wrecked and over 900 lives lost. Vetch was very uneasy at the course steered by the flagship,

and expressed his surprise to Capt. Perkins and Col. Dudley, but it was not until the 25th that he learned the full extent of the disaster. On that day a council of war was held on board the flagship to determine whether the expedition should be abandoned. Vetch insisted and the other colonels agreed with him, that there was still an ample force for the purpose of the expedition, and urged its prosecution; it was, nevertheless, decided to abandon it. As soon as Vetch returned to his ship he sent a strongly worded remonstrance to the admiral, pointing out the serious consequences to the interests of the crown and the North American colonies.

The failure of his grand scheme greatly mortified Vetch, but he had done his part and had the confidence of all even the admiral testifying to his skill and energy. He returned to Annapolis with detachments from the seven regiments which had returned to England. In October of 1711, he visited Boston, where he remained until the spring of the following year, settling matters in connection with the recent expedition. During his stay his nephew, Major Livingstone, raised for him a body of Iroquois Indians, which he sent to Annapolis in March to act against the Indians in the employ of the French. On his return to Annapolis, Vetch expressed his satisfaction with them, and confidence in his ability to keep the French and their Indians quiet.

Vetch's chief difficulty was want of money, and he sent Capt. Armstrong express to England to represent the critical state of affairs, since mutiny and starvation were imminent. With the greatest difficulty, after pledging his own credit, he obtained supplies for the winter. His recommendations of policy met with no better success from the home government than his applications for money, and on October 20, 1712, Nicholson was appointed to supersede him. No intimation of this reached Annapolis until the summer of 1713. Then Vetch left for Boston to meet the new governor, and

soon ascertained that it was to Nicholson his troubles were due. Nicholson came armed with authority to inquire into the conduct of all the colonial governors. Vetch, however, ignored his summons to justify his conduct, sailed for England in April 1714, and laid his case before the home government and so completely did he gain their confidence that he was consulted in various matters connected with the American colonies, and on January 20, 1715, Nicholson was recalled, and Vetch again commissioned as governor of Nova Scotia. The secret of Vetch's ill-treatment, as also of his reinstatement, was no doubt political, he was an ardent Whig, and Nicholson a Tory.

Vetch filled his second term of governor for over two years, and was succeeded by Col. Richard Philipps. In 1719 he was back in England, and while there was selected to accompany Col. Bladon to France as commissioners in connection with matters left unsettled by the treaty of Utrecht, particularly the boundary between the British and French colonies in America. Later he was seeking relief, the Earl of Sunderland's promise to find him "some government abroad" remaining unfulfilled. At length Vetch begged that he might have even a captain's half-pay, "being reduced to the last extremity of necessity." He died April 30, 1732, a prisoner for debt, in the King's bench, and was buried at St. George's Church, Southwark.

Vetch married at Albany, N. Y., December 20, 1700, Margaret, daughter of Robert Livingstone, Secretary for Indian Affairs, and his wife Alida Schuyler, who was a granddaughter of John Livingstone, one of the Commissioners sent to Breda by the Church of Scotland to treat with Charles II in regard to his restoration. She died about 1763. Vetch's only child, a daughter, Alida, born December 25, 1701, married Samuel Bayard, of New York, who have left numerous descendants.

[A. Royal Arms Great Britain, R.]

INSTRUCTIONS TO OUR TRUSTY AND WELL-BELOVED COLL. VETCH, to be observed in his Negotiations with the Governors of several of our Colonies in *America*.

Given at Our Court at St. James's the 28th of February, 1708, and in the seventh year of our Reign.

Annæ Reginæ;

Whereas you have laid before Us the Proposal of an Enterprize on *Canada* and *Newfound-Land*, which may turn very much to the Security and Advantage of Our Subjects in those Parts of *America*, as well as to the Prosperity of Our Kingdoms in general. We having taken the same into Our Royal Consideration, do entirely approve of the said Proposal, and in order to execute it effectually, have thought fit to give you these our following Instructions.

YOU shall immediately repair on Board the Ship appointed by our High-Admiral for the Transporting you, with such Officers as shall be sent under your Command, to several of our Colonies in *North-America*. Upon your arrival at *New-York* you are to deliver to our Governour of that place a Letter from Us, and Communicate to him these your Instructions, acquainting him that We shall expect from him a punctual and ready Compliance in all such as relate to him.

You shall represent to him, that out of Our great desire to answer the frequent Applications which have been made to us by our good Subjects, the Inhabitants of those parts, to deliver them from the Neighbourhood of the *French* at *Canada*, which of late years has been so troublesome to them, We have fitted out an Expedition, the particulars of which you shall lay before him, and withal let him know, That We strictly Require and Enjoyn him to give such an Assistance to the said Expedition as is hereafter specified.

You shall signifie to him Our Pleasure, That the Government of *New-York* do furnish a Quota of eight Hundred Men, including the four standing Companies; and that the City Regiments of *York* and *Albany* do Duty in the Fort, during the absence of the said standing Companies. You shall at the same time acquaint him, That *New-Jersey* is to furnish Two hundred Men, *Connecticut* Three hundred and fifty, *Pennsylvania* One hundred and fifty; so that the whole Force will consist of Fifteen hundred Effectives, which are to be disposed into four Battalions, each Battalion to have one of the four Regular Companies mixed and incorporated in it, and to be commanded by the Captain (as Collonel) whose Company is so incorporated in it, and under him by the respective Officers of the Country Troops, the Officers that go with you, and are designed for *New-York*, to be distributed among the Companies, as the Governor, in concert with the Commander in Chief, shall think best for the Service.

You shall likewise acquaint Our aforesaid Governor, in Our Name, That We do Command and expect from him, that the Quota's of his Government be ready at *Albany*, with all things necessary for the Expedition, by the middle of *May* next ensuing, at the furthest; and that he furnish all the Troops with what Arms and Ammunition they want, out of the Magizeen at *New York*; and that he do forth-with get together and keep in readiness three Moneths Provisions for his Quota of Men, to be Transported and lodged in some convenient place at the *Wood-Creek*, or else-where; for the Security of which, he shall, in conjunction with the Governments of *Connecticut* and *Pennsylvania*, cause to be built a large Wooden Store-house, as also six or more large Boats that will carry sixty Men each, for the Transportation of their heaviest Stores by Water; and also contract with the five Nations to make, with all

speed, as many Cannoes as will be wanted for the said Expedition.

You shall, moreover, enjoyn the aforesaid Governour, in Our Name, to Command and Engage the aforesaid five Nations, as also the River Indians, to joyn, with all their fighting men, in the said Expedition, and promise them a good Present, if they do.

You shall likewise acquaint him, That it is Our Pleasure, that he give all fitting encouragement to any Gentlemen, or others, that shall offer themselves to go as Volunteers in this Our Service.

You shall deliver a Letter from us to the Governour of *Connecticut*, and another to the Governor of *Pennsylvania*, for the time being, and signifie to them our Royal Will and Pleasure, That they have their Quota's of Men and Provision ready by the middle of *May* at farthest; acquainting them withal, That the Governour of New-York is ordered to assist them with what Arms and Ammunition they shall want.

After having finished your Negotiations for the aforesaid Expedition, with all possible secrecy and dispatch, you shall deliver a Letter from Us, to Our Governour of *New-England*, and another to the Governor of *Rhode-Island*, for the time being, strictly enjoying and commanding them, in Our Name, to raise at least Twelve hundred of their best Men, according to their usual Proportions, and to give all fitting encouragement to any such as shall offer themselves to go Volunteers in the Expedition, whether Gentlemen or others, as also to have in readiness a sufficient Number of Transports, with three Moneths Provisions, and able Pilots, whereof Capt. *Southwick* is to be one, and to go in his own Gally, and that all may be ready to embaque by the middle of *May*, upon the arrival of the Fleet from *England*. And for their greater encouragement, you shall acquaint them, That We have ordered Arms and Ammunition to be sent with you, for the number of Troops they are to

furnish, which Arms and Ammunition you shall accordingly deliver to the several Companies, in presence of the Governor or Commissary of the Country, taking a Receipt for the same, which you shall transmit to Our Board of Ordnance in this Kingdom.

You shall, with the concurrence and advice of Our Governor of *New-England*, contract with Ship-Carpenters for the building of ten or more large flat-bottomed Boats, that will carry sixty Men each, for the landing of Troops, and also contract with proper Persons for the furnishing of eight Moneths Provisions to the Troops that shall be left at *Quebeck* and *Mont-Real*, if it shall please God to make Our Forces Masters of those places, and to give us the Success that We hope for from this Our Expedition.

And to the end that nothing may be wanting on Our part toward engaging the several Governments to act with the utmost Spirit and Vigour in this Expedition, you shall assure them, in Our Name, That such of the Governments as contribute towards the Reduction of *Canada*, shall have a Preference, both with regard to the Soil and Trade of the Country, when reduced, to any other of Our Subjects; and when they shall have concerted among themselves any reasonable Proposals for securing to their respective Colonies the Benefits of the said Soil and Trade, We shall not be wanting to give the Royal Sanction to the same.

You shall communicate these Our Instructions to Coll. *Francis Nicholson*, who has offered himself to go as a Volunteer in this Expedition. And further out of Our Regard to his known Abilities, and Zeal for Our Service, We do Require that you shou'd admit him into your private Consultations with Our several Governors, on the Methods for putting this your Proposal in execution. And by reason of the Distance of the Time and Place, any other Preparation that may be necessary for the carrying on this Expedition, which We could

not here fore-see, and which is not here contain'd in these your Instructions, you shall, with the concurrence of the Governor, who is to assist in any such Service, and of Coll. *Nicholson*, make any such Preparation, tho' it is not in your Instructions, provided that it appear to you absolutely Necessary for the carrying on of the Expedition, as aforesaid, and that the Governor and Coll. *Nicholson* do entirely concur with you in judging it to be so.

Sunderland.

A. R.

To our Right Trusty and well beloved *John* Lord *Lovelace* our Capt. General and Governour in Chief of our Provinces of *New-York* and *New-Jersey*, in *America*, or in his absence to the Commander in chief of the said Provinces for the time being.

Right Trusty and Well-beloved, We greet you well; Whereas We are fitting out an Expedition, with great Expence, for the Security of Our Subjects in your Government, from the Neighbourhood of the *French* at *Canada*, which has been very Troublesome to them of late years, according to certain Proposals laid before Us by Our trusty and Well-beloved Coll. *Vetch*, and pursuant to the many Applications that have been made to Us by Our Subjects, who have suffered very much from the *French* in that Neighbourhood. We do hereby strictly Require and Command you to be assisting to this Our Expedition, after the manner that the said Coll. *Vetch* shall, in Our Name, propose to you; and that you look upon those parts of his Instructions which relate to you, and Our Governments under your Care, and which We have ordered him to Communicate to you, in the same manner as if they were Our positive Commands directed to your Self, and that you pay the same Obedience to Them.

And whereas there may be some Particulars in Our above-mentioned Instructions, as that which concerns

the Place of Randevouze, in which, you who live in the Country, may be the most proper Judges, We do therefore leave this, and other the like circumstances to be altered at Discretion, provided that Coll. *Vetch* and Coll. *Nicholson* do agree with you in any such Alteration; and provided, that you do punctually observe the Numbers of Men which you are to furnish, and the Time when they are to appear and be in readiness to enter on their Expedition. And so We bid your farewell.

Given at Our Court at St. James's the 28th of February, and in the Seventh Year of Our Reign.

By Her Majesties Command.

SUNDERLAND.

GENEALOGICAL GLEANINGS OF THE WILSON,
OR WILLSON'S, OF ULSTER.

BY THOMAS ALLEN GLENN.

Among those Scotch-Irish who emigrated from the Province of Ulster to Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, and other American colonies, at various times prior to the War of the Revolution, were many bearing the surname of Wilson, or, as frequently written in Scotland and Ireland, Willson. The following abstracts of Ulster Wilson wills, may be of interest to descendants.

Diocese of Derry Wills.

Will of John Wilson of Strabane in Co. Tyrone, gentleman. Dated 20 Dec., 1620. No date of probate.

The testator desires to be buried in the Parish Church of Lechpatrick, and appoints his son Robert to be sole executor and overseer of his (testator's) "other children." He also names sons William Wilson and John Wilson, and provides for his wife Barbara Moore.¹ Witnesses: John Browne, James Coghane, James Gibb, Robert Cadwalader, W. Cunningham.

Will of Claud Willson of the parish of Donagheady, Co. Tyrone. Dated 13 Dec., 1636. Proved 21 Dec., 1636, by Agnes, widow and relict, James Hamilton of Dowlette, gentleman, and John Hamilton of Moyagh, gentleman.

The testator desires to be buried in the Parish Church of Donagheady, and bequeaths all of his personal estate to his wife and children (names not given).

¹ At this time, and later, it was the custom in Scotland, Ulster, and Wales, for women to retain their maiden name after marriage.

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Wife Agnes, James Hamilton of Dulette (*sic*), gentleman, and John Hamilton of Moyouhe (*sic*), gentleman, to be executors. Witnesses: Thomas Wilson, ——— Hardie.

Will of George Willson. No place named. Dated 31 May, 1640. Proved Dec., 1640, by Katherine Willson relict of the deceased.

The testator names children: John Willson, and Mary Willson. He also mentions his mother, Elizabeth McGee, brother James Willson, sister Margaret Willson, and wife Katherine, who is executrix. Witnesses: John Kilver, Susane Holding, Constans Killver (*sic*).

Will of James Willson, of Londonderry, weaver. Dated 17 March, 1664. Proved 8 May, 1665, by Margaret, widow and relict of the deceased.

The testator mentions his wife (executrix), and son James Willson. Witness: Thomas Brown.

Will of William Wilson of the parish of Bouevah, Co. of Londonderry. Dated 22 April, 1692. No date of probate.

The testator mentions his son-in-law James Boyle, husband of his daughter Elizabeth. Daughter Katherine Wilson, and grandchild Agnissie Boyle, daughter of the said James Boyle.

The testator mentions "the will of my son Robert late deceased."

Wife Jannett Wilson, executrix, and testator's friend Richard Griffith, Rector of Drumchose, to be overseer. Witnesses: Charles Sterling, Patrick ———.

Will of Thomas Wilson of Strabane, merchant. Dated 26 Dec., 1693. No date of probate.

The testator desires to be buried in the Churchyard of Strabane, and he bequeaths to his wife Agnes Wilson alias Stewart the house and land called Burnes tenement, for life, and then to testator's son John Wilson. The testator leaves bequests to his other sons, Thomas and Francis Wilson. Son John Wilson to

be "administrator," and testator's friends Mr. John Crawford and Mr. William Homes to be overseers. Witnesses: William Homes, John Crawford.

Will of Robart Wilson of Minemer in the parish of Maghera, barony of Loughlin, Co. Londonderry. Dated 28 Dec., 1714. Proved 12 July, 1715.

The testator mentions his son Hugh Wilson, and daughter Mary Wilson.

"I order that whatever can be made of the interest left to me by my father in the Co. of Antrim be managed and truly divided between my son and daughter."

The testator appoints his brother Hugh Speer, and friend Mr. William Montgomery, gentleman, executors. Witnesses: Nath. Paterson, Ann Speer.

Will of David Willson of Newtownlimavaddy. Dated 23 June, 1715. Proved 25 April, 1716.

The testator appoints his wife, Margret (*sic*) Willson, executrix, and mentions daughters Margret and Elizabeth Willson. Overseers: Mr. John Stirling, and John Alexander. Witnesses: Ro. McCausland, Tho. Blair.

Will of John Willson of Fyfin in the parish of Urny, Co. Donegal. Dated 6 April, 1706. Proved 23 April, 1724.

The testator desires to be interred in the Parish Church of Urny, and bequeaths the "interest of my part of the land of Fyfin unto my three full sisters that are unmarried equally to be divided." Witnesses: James Mayes, James Thomson.

Will of Patrick Wilson of Donaghmore. Dated 4 Feb., 1727-8. No date of probate.

The testator desires to be buried in the churchyard of Donaghmore. He mentions sons John Wilson, and Joshua Wilson; son-in-law James Cochran, and wife Cathrin Olivent. Executors: Andrew Willson, and Archibald White. Witnesses: Thomas Willson, John Willson.

Will of James Wilson of Stoancarlidagh in the parish of Drumragh, Co. Tyrone. Dated 20 April, 1741. Proved 2 March, 1742, by Robert Wilson, one of the witnesses.

The testator bequeaths to his eldest son, John Wilson, £20. Unto second son, David Wilson, "one moiety or half of my farm;" unto each of his sons-in-law, viz. Hugh Wilson, James Anderson, John Young, Edward Young, John Hetherington, and William Christie, the sum of £3. due by bond; to "my youngest son Robert Wilson, and eldest son John, the other moiety of my farm." Executors: John Christie of Mullaghbane, Co. Tyrone, and testator's second son, David Wilson. Witnesses: John Rodger, and Rob^t Wilson Jun^r.

Will of Archibald Willson of the Laugh. Dated 2 March, 1745-6. Proved by executors named, 5 April, 1746.

The testator desires to be buried in Donaghmore, and leaves bequests as follows:

To elder Brother Daniel, £15.; to brother John, £14.; to brother Thomas, £14.; to John Heris (Harris), a relative, £5.10.0.; to Jean Heris, £3.10.0.; to Nancy Heris, £2.10.0.; to Thomas Heris, £2.10.0.; to Samuel Heris, £1.2.0.; to John Anderson, £5.0.0.; to Margrat Anderson, £2.10.0.; to Martha Anderson, £2.10.0.; to Archibald Anderson, £3.10.0.; to Rebeckah Anderson, £2.10.0. Executors: Archibald Whit (White), and Moses Lindsay. Witnesses: John Willson, and John Marshal.

Will of James Willson of Killymuch in the parish of Tamlaght O'Crilly, Co. Londonderry. Dated 27 March, 1745. Proved by executors named, 29 July, 1747.

The testator desires to be buried in the churchyard of Tamlaght O'Crilly. To "wife Margret the fifth part of all my goods and chattels, all the rest and res-

idue to my four children to be divided into four equal parts. If there is another child property to be divided into six parts, and a sixth part to each of my five children." Wife and children to "enjoy my house and farm" (which went to his heir). The testator mentions his son William, and appoints as executors, his brother, John Willson, and brother-in-law, William Hamilton. Witnesses: Hugh Hill, Edward Marks, and John McPeake.

Will of James Willson of Kern in the parish of Dunboe, Co. Londonderry. Dated 30 March, 1747. Proved by the oath of Andrew Walker, witness, and the execution committed to John Dunn and Thomas Boyd, sons-in-law of the deceased and next of heir, 27 July, 1747.

The testator desires to be decently buried at the discretion of his son John. All money owing, the testator bequeaths to his daughter Margrat Willson otherwise Boy (*sic*), "except what James Lewes is owing, that I allow to my daughter Mary, with what my son John Dunn is owing to me that I allow him to keep in his own hands for his part. Son John (Dunn) to be at the cost of funeral. Witnesses: Andrew Walker, and Joseph Wardon.

Will of Andrew Wilson Senior of Banagher. Dated 22 Nov., 1748. Proved by the oath of Andrew Wilson, a witness, and execution granted to Henry Wilson, the executor, 28 Nov., 1748.

The testator bequeaths his lands in the town of Deryviar to Henry Wilson, together with all houses and tenements thereunto appertaining, except the tract of land in possession of James Moore. Witnesses: William McClosky, Thomas Hason, and Andrew Wilson.

Diocese of Connor Wills.

Will of John Willson of Belley Lagon. Dated January, 1727. Proved by John Willson and John Allen, 5 March, 1728.

The testator bequeaths the lease of the farm on which he lives to his sons Robert and John Willson, and mentions his wife and "children." The farm in Belley Lagon to wife during life, and after her decease to testator's son John. Executors: Testator's wife, Andrew Willson, John Allen, and George Willson. Witnesses: James Steuart, John Morrsons, and Thomas Willson.

Will of John Willson of Aghohill. Dated 5 March, 1738-9. Proved at Aghohill, 22 Jan., 1739.

The testator bequeaths to his wife Jean two parts of all stock, both of money, goods, chattels, and the house and land. "And also I leave the third part of the remaining third to my brother's son Robert, and the remainder of the first third part to be equally divided amongst my brother Samuel and his children, and my sister-in-law Elizabeth and her children, and also my brother Robert's daughter Margaret to run equal with the rest of my nephews in the remaining part of the first third." Witnesses: Robert McClure, Francis Hilles, and Andrew McClure.

Will of John Willson of the parish of Ballinderry. Dated 13 Feb., 1747-8. Proved 12 March, 1747-8.

The testator mentions his brothers, Isaac, Samuel, and Henry Willson; sisters, Mary McCoy, and Anne Erwin. Executors: Testator's father (name not given), and brother Samuel Wilson. Witnesses: Thomas Sefton, William Maxwell, and James Cook.

Will of John Willson of Largy in the parish of Killead, Co. Antrim, farmer. Dated 1 June, 1737. Proved by Andrew Willson, one of the executors, 19 November, 1751.

The testator bequeaths to his sons John and Andrew all of his freehold land in Largy, share and share alike. He mentions son Samuel, son-in-law Alexander Young, daughter Esther Willson alias Coaplin, and daughter Margaret Willson alias Bell. Executors: Testator's

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sons, John and Andrew Willson. Witnesses: Joseph Ewen, Langford Shoen, and Fran. Shoen.

Will of Hugh Willson of Killade. Dated 8 March, 1750-1. Proved by oath of Isabel Wilson, widow of said deceased, 24 Oct., 1751.

The testator mentions his son Hugh Willson, wife, and "son-in-law." Witnesses: George Grice, and Will. Brayen.

Bond. Dated 24 Oct., 1751. Isabell Willson, and Hugh Willson, both of the parish of Killade, and John Cumberland of Lisburn, all in Co. Antrim. £40. For good admon. by said Isabell widow and relict of Hugh Willson of Killade, deceased, of estate of her said husband. Witness: Henry Marmion, Not' Pub.

Prerogative Wills.

Will of Sir John Wilson of Wilson's Forte, Co. Donegal, Knt. and Bart. Dated 13 April, 1636. Codicil 15 April, 1636.

The testator desires to be buried in the Church of Raphoe, and he bequeaths the Manor of Wilson's Forte, and the lands of Killcaddan which he holds on lease from the Lord Bishop of Derry, to his (testator's) father, William Wilson, Esq., for life, and after his decease to testator's brother Andrew Wilson; provided the said William and Andrew pay unto testator's only daughter Anne Wilson her yearly maintenance for twelve years. If said Andrew die without issue male, before said Anne, then said estate to revert to the said Anne Wilson, subject to a jointure to the widow of Andrew.

In case both the said Andrew Wilson and Anne Wilson die without issue then said estate to revert to testators nephew Andrew Hamilton, and for want of issue, then to the heirs male of John Hamilton, brother of Andrew, then to the heirs male of Francis Hamilton, another brother of Andrew, then to the heirs

male of Francis Hassett, son of Francis Hassett of Rosbegg, Co. Fermanagh, then to testator's general heirs forever.

The testator mentions his niece Anna Hamilton, sister of Andrew, John, and Francis, and his (testator's) sister, Rebecca Wilson. Executors: Testator's father, William Wilson, Esq., and Nicholas Loftus of Dublin. Testator's father-in-law, Sir Thomas Butler, Knt., to be supervisor. Witnesses: Charles Atkinson, Thomas Pamantur, Nicholas Pamantur, John Pitts, Donatus O'Syell, and John Vaughan.

Codicil by which the testator leaves certain bequests viz.: to Neale Donnell, "son unto my brother (*sic*) Colvagh Donnell" £5; to Mary Donnell, "daughter unto my said brother-in-law Colvagh Donnell, £30."

Will of John Wilson late clerk of the Forge of Inisrush, Co. Londonderry, gentleman. Dated at Antrim, 13 June, 1696. Proved by Richard Wilson brother of said deceased, 18 July, 1696.

The testator bequeaths to his eldest brother, Richard Wilson all of his right title and interest in the fourth part of the forge of Inisrush, Co. Derry, he paying to testator's youngest brother David Wilson, £200. To said brother Richard testator's fourth share of a Decree of £160. recovered against Randle, Earl of Antrim, some time before the late war at the suit of John Wilson late of Ballow and the testator, as executors of Robert Wilson late of Ballow, who bequeathed the said sum of £160 as a legacy to testator and his (testator's) three brothers, James, Richard, and David, to be equally divided. The testator mentions his sister, Sara, wife of Mr. James Hartson. Testator's brother Richard to be sole executor. Witnesses: Ja. Shonnan, and Jonathan Hammond.

Will of John Wilson of Strabane in the parish of Camus, Co. Tyrone, merchant. Dated 16 June, 1735.

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John Sterling sword & musket	Humfrey Baliff sword onely
John Hinkeson sword onely	William fixter sword & halbert
Charles Burton sword & pike	Thomas Brookes " "
William Gibson " "	George Cambell sword & musket
James Dunkin " "	Walter Jacket sword onely
Francis Dallaway " "	William Sempole sword & musket
Thomas Dawson sword & musket	John Thomason sword musket & bandeleirs
Robert Coop sword & pike	John Welsh sword musket & bandeleirs
Robert Camell " "	Staford Watts sword onely
Anthony farmer " "	Toby Smith sword & pike
Anthony Mercoer " "	William Appleton sword onely
John Hanks sword & musket	John Rogers sword & pike
John fowell " "	Hugh Turbut sword & musket
Jasse Smith " "	Nathaneill Huscock sword onely
Sammuell Doway " "	William Burnes sword onely
Richard Bennet sword musket & Bandeleers	David Hamilton sword & musket
John Really sword & halbert	John Gylles sword onely
Captaine Whittakers sword & pike	John Prigeon " "
Stephen Crane musket & bandeleirs	John Gawliam " "
Thomas Camble musket & bandeleirs	Robert Shaw sword & musket
Robert Barnes sword & halbert	James Hunter sword & pike
Weest Johnston sword & pike	Christopher Gifford " "
David Ranick sword & musket	William Longe sword & musket
William Clements sword onely	Patrick Riche " "
Jeremiah Decon sword & pike	& bandeleirs
John Lewis sword & pike	Eakill Clegg sword & musket
James Steward sword & musket	Robert Goodwin, older sword & halbert
Thomas Steward sword snaphance & bandeleirs	Robert Goodwin, younger, sword & pike
Mathew Browne musket onely	John Sollers sword & musket
James Morrison callener onely	Henry Wray sword & pike
Walter Hammliton sword musket & bandeleirs	John McMath sword onely
Roger Lee musket & bandeleirs	Henry Osborne sword & pike
Thomas Harcough sword & halbert	George Sear sword onely
Gabraell Large sword & musket	Robert Lason sword & musket
Thomas Poulteney sword onely	Gabraell Sprouse sword & pike
Richard Berry sword musket & bandeleirs	Robert Kill " "
John Sadock sword onely	Richard Cooke sword & musket
John Cambell sword musket & Bandeleirs	William Michell sword onely
John Mason sword & halbert	John Droster " "
William Cunstall sword & pike	Thomas Craford sword & pike
Edward Blunket sword & musket	Thomas Bright sword onely
	Zachary Seares sword & musket
	John Cluig sword onely
	Edward Broster " "

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James Perpoyn sword onely	John Blackhorne sword onely
Walter Petfeild " "	William Wetherowe " "
John Reede " "	John Hay " "
Nicholas Propter snaphance onely	Lawrence Workman " "
Peter Monserrance sword onely	John Ornoyle " "
Alexander Lee sword, musket & Bandoleers	William Doake " "
John Petfeild sword onely	David Hendman " "
Richard Petfeild " "	John Brampton " "
Roger Waltham sword musket & bandoleers	James Smyth " "
John Hay sword & musket	Archbald Poole " "
Robert Douglas sword onely	John Dickes " "
George Rosse, " "	William Hamell " "
David Boughan, " "	John Slemon sword & snaphance
Muns Mootie snaphance onely	Alexander Robertson sword only
William Ross sword onely	John Robertson sword & musket.
George Cogheron " "	David Poek sword onely
John Cogheran " "	John McMaister " "
John White " "	Edbert Irwin " "
George Begg " "	Robert Irwin " "
David fullerton " "	Mathew Black " "
John Gate " "	Thomas How " "
John Jamison sword & pike	Robert Cogheron " "
John Ross sword onely	William Sympson " "
Thomas Moore " "	William Leap " "
John Chirk (or Clark) " "	John Packer sword onely
Laughlyne Rosse " "	Thomas Toller sword & musket
Ralph Williamson sword & pike	William Murray sword onely
Henry freman " "	John Harper " "
Edward freman " "	Alexander farnes " "
James Hamilton sword onely	Thomas O Boyd " "
William House, older " "	Alexander Robertson " "
William House, younger, " "	Adam Smyth " "
Alexander Douglas " "	John Wallas " "
John Douglas, " "	John Wood " "
Allan Arbuckle " "	James Mathewes " "
John Mackee sword & musket	John Arthur " "
Alexander McKee " "	John Speare " "
William Henry " "	Patrick Ore " "
John Cutbertson " "	Thomas Camell " "
David Adam " "	Thomas Peoples " "
George Douglas " "	John Wassen " "
Symond Hare " "	Robert Blackwood " "
James Ramsay sword & musket	John Cowan " "
Robert Mont sword onely	John Arthur " "
William Hare sword & musket	James Swoorly sword & callener
John Hyne sword onely	William Haryson sword onely
	Thomas Boyd " "
	John McKenly " "

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John Heamyn	sword onely	James Allyson	no armes
Robert Woork	" "	John Adam	" "
James Keymyyn	" "	Robert Cleid	" "
William Poke	" "	John Allen	" "
Richard Home	" "	James Poke	" "
John Langmoore	" "	William McCarrell	" "
John Smety	" "	Mungo Syd	" "
Hugh Gait	" "	William McCordall	" "
John Donnelson	no armes	Henry Wood	" "
David Heggard	" "	William Wally	" "
James Bogg	no armes	John Allyson	" "
Phillip Lawsonn	no armes	Alexander Hutchon	" "
Anthony Lawsonn	" "	John Allyson	" "
David Young	" "	George Warden	" "
Lewis Davis	" "	Thomas Leachlen	" "
William Well	" "	John Robert	" "
John Moorehead	" "	Henry Johnston	" "
Hugh Wilde	" "	William Kelly	" "
John Well	" "	Thomas Mill	" "
Griffin Hues	" "	Michaell Skot	" "
Robert Carlill	" "	William Morison	" "
James Cowey	" "	William Neeesbit	" "
Randall Dowdall	" "	Andrew Haman	" "
John Parke	" "	Alexander Neeesbit	" "
Edward Qualane	" "	Mathew Laman	" "
Robert Tash	" "	John Strabrick	" "
William Allen	" "	Steaphen Raymon	" "
Thomas Peareman	" "	William Carter	" "
John Peareman	" "	James Lang	" "
Gilbert McKenny	" "	William Hogg	" "
Alexander Clapp	" "	Alexander Richer	" "
James Jennings	" "	Thomas Rayt.	" "
Patrick Patterson	" "	Sammuell Dawson	" "
Gillmore McCorbe or McCorve	" "	William Barr	" "
Ralph Cravan younger	" "	Thomas Burgess	" "
Thomas Alsen	" "	Edward Sherington	" "
William Michell	" "	John Woldredg	" "
Alexander Atkinson	" "	Richard Wastle	" "
John Guy	" "	Tymothy Ruddock	" "
James Acorne	" "	William Whittakers	" "
Latham Skynner	" "	Archbald Smyth	" "
Hugh Sempell	" "	Gilbert Parsy	" "
Arthur Robinson	" "	John Harrington	" "
James Crag	" "	Patrick Olfards	" "
John McCowan	" "	Peter Morgan	" "
William McLentog	" "	Richard Joanes	" "
James Huston	" "	Christopher Sandyes	" "
		Robert Cole	" "

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Edmund Baber (or Baler)	no armes	John Maxwell	no armes
Andrew Hammliton	" "	Arch Thomson	" "
Henry Fridion	" "	John Deal	" "
John Sackfeild	" "	Abraham Carnes	" "
John Weascoat	" "	James Maxwell	" "
John Cole	" "	David Hunter	" "
Edward Russell	" "	Mathew Wasson	" "
George Messenger	" "	William Culiland	" "
John Goldsmith	" "	Donnell McMurrin	" "
John Commingham	" "	Shane Begard	" "
William Rogers	" "	John Ffyly	" "
Thomas Booth	" "	Hugh Beylands	" "
Richard Symonds	" "	Walter McGloon	" "
Andrew Neesbit	" "	Steaphen Miller	" "
Hugh Michell	" "	Patrick Bogg	" "
William Plunket	" "	Neese Camell	" "
Hugh Coop	" "	John Norris	" "
John Waden	" "	Gillospy Cammell	" "
John Pit	" "	James McGill	" "
Henry Hutton	" "	Griffin Knight	" "
Zachary Hutton	" "	Archbell Hurd	" "
William Hutton	" "	John Robertson	" "
John Simcoke	" "	Gawen Gage	" "
Thomas Bramson	" "	Andrew Hamman	" "
Thomas Knobs	" "	William Stabridg	" "
Richard Hutton	" "	George Nesbit	" "
Thomas Stayne	" "	Richard Griffin	" "
William Wallace	" "	Jefferey Ley	" "
Mathew William	" "	John Griffin	" "
Gilbert McRutter	" "	Patrick Griffin	" "
James Smyth	" "	James Browne	" "
William Huston	" "	David Pock	" "
Alexander Mill	" "	Alford Hankoly	" "
John Watson	" "	Allen Craford	" "
John Lowry	" "	John Palmer	" "
William Logg	" "	William Cross	" "
William Cutbertson	" "	Robert Tomson	" "
John Culberston	" "	John Hanford	" "
John Loughhead	" "	John Cooke	" "
William Thomson	" "	Edward Thomson	" "
John Pickin	" "	Edward Walker	" "
Hugh Cummell	" "	Edward Chambers	" "
Alexander Cooke	" "	John Jush (or Irish)	" "
James Adam	" "	Isack Smith	" "
Luke Roger	" "	Richard Burgess	" "
John McNicholl	" "	Thomas Baker	" "
John Lyon	" "	Thomas Skerlet	" "
John Boyd	" "	John Woodrose	" "

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francis Smith	no armes	Richard Skot	no armes
Phillip Rankine	" "	Adam McKaaly (Mc-	
John Conningham	" "	Kanly)	" "
John Ben	" "	George Willson	" "
Alexander Thomason	" "	James Osborne	" "
Henry fuish	" "	Alexander McCole	" "
William Conningham	" "	Robert Boyd	" "
John Allen	" "	Donnell McCarkan	" "
Thomas freman	" "	William Morison	" "
John Casarone	" "	John Arthur	" "
Alexander Thornton	" "	Donnell Sliane	" "
Hugh ffushey	" "	David Hunter	" "
John Archy	" "	John Deale	" "
John Boyd	" "	John Boyd	" "
Thomas Lee	" "	Luke Roger	" "
Robert Ross	" "	William Log	" "
Richard Basly	" "	John Lowry	" "
Robert Cogheran	" "	James Smith	" "
John Gay	" "	Thomas Knobs	" "
James Cogheran	" "	John Pit	" "
Peter Craford	" "	Hugh Coop	" "
William Anderson	" "	Thomas Booth	" "
John mlsell	" "	Johane Cole	" "
James Hayre	" "	Edward Baker	" "
Robert Robinson	" "	Peter Morigin	" "
George fynley	" "	William Bar	" "
Robert Miller	" "	Thomas Rust	" "
Mungo Kill	" "	Thomas Mill	" "
Alexander Thomason	" "	John Robert	" "
David Miller	" "	John Alson	
Thomas Hill	" "	[599 Names.]	

"A True Return & List of all the Inhabitants of the several Wards & Parts throughout the City of Londonderry & the Liberties thereof, and of the HEARTHES Chimnies or Fireplaces of all the same Inhabitants." [1663]^a

City of Londonderry

<i>Silver street</i>	Robert Treverse 2
Colonel John Gorges 6	John Reynolds 2
Mr Samuel Norman 6	James Cohoun 1
Mrs Apline widow 2	Samuel Price 1
John Burneside 4	John Jenkines 1
Edward Bateman 4	Lawrence Howard 2

^a *Hearth Money Roll for the year 1663 for Londonderry county, being a List of all Householders with the number of Hearths in each house.* Public Record Office, Dublin.

Edward Kitchine 1
John Akine 2
widow Lenox 2
Henry Gill 2
Paul Benson 2
widow Miller 2
widow De Lavie 2
Alderman Plunkett 2
Willm Rodger 2
James Rodger 2
James Hobsonn 4
Patrick Atchisonn 3
Alderman Squire 4
John Dougall 4
Thomas Cole 3
John Burney 4
William Yerborey 3
Hutton Sherwood 6
Mr Mackmath 4
John Gifford 3
Samuel Aahbury 1
William Harris 1
John Owens 1
Robert Fox 1
John Mackinney 2
Robert Houstonn 2
Robert Trueman 4
Doctour Willm Crofts, Channe: 4
Henry Osborne 2
Mr Brookes 4
Doctour King 3
John Blacke 3
Andrew Hamiltonn 1

Butcher street Ward

Thomas Price 1
Philip Franklinn 2
James Cuninghame 2
William Lenox 2
John Hynes 2
William Barwicke 5
Owen o'Reyne 3
John White 1
David Wallace 2
William Curlinge 2
William Galbeath 1
Alderman Morrisonn 2
John Gamble 2
John Fargishill 1

Robert Glenn 2
Thos Callwell 1
William Manescooth 1
Ralph Smith 3
Charles Smith 1
John Paynter 1
Joseph Glowre &
Ric Beaty 2
Hugh o'Sheil 1

Queen's street

Henry Simkines 4
Evane Jenkine 2
Thomas Philipps 1
Tristrame Richardsonn 2
Agnes Wilkine 2
Robert Dunbarr 3
Mr Godbold, recorder 2
Alderman Hugh Edwards 4
James Fisher 2
James Willsonn 1
William Kyle 2
James o'Gallogher 2
Mr Tristrame Fowler 6
John Nightingale 4
William Tuckey 1
Richard Griffine 2
Theophilus Davis 3
William Marrow 2
John Grinstead 3
Mrs Isabel Westgate 3
Frederick Mackmath 2
William Wellington 3
Thomas Smith 2
John Lawry 1
John Cooper 1
Edward Cooper 1
Capt William Hepbourne 4
John Scammon 2
Donnel m'Kinniley 2
Jane Hall 2
James Sutton 7
John Cuningham 1
James Frampton 1
John Pridion 1
Mrs Longe 2
Mr John Campsie 6
Simon Mathrews 2

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Ferrygate street
without the gate

William Gardner, Mayor 6
widow Jane Hudson &
Hen Gardner 2
Thomas Guy 2
Henry Tompeonn 2
John Heath 2
John Watsonn 2
Hugh Montgommery 2
William M'Tilduffe 2
William Munnelly 2
John Grahame 2
Andrew Lenox 2
Patrick M'Cawley 1
Robert Partlett 1
Willm Davis 1
Jane Byars 1
John Stock 1

Isaac Hudsonn 1
John Gillaspay 1
John Henry 1
James Brareahill 1
Richard Grehame 3
Samuel Grehames 2
Joseph Molline 2
John Trowan 1
Lewes Davies 1
Richard Godman 1
Willm Knobbs 1
Robert Finley 1
Teage o'Canon 1
William Grace 1
John Hulls 1
John Montgommery 2
Ringham Boyd 2
Humphrey Godfrey 1

The Five Quarters of Land in the Neighbourly

Mallonard qr

James Wright 1
Patrick Mac Key 1
William Mackey 1
John Allen 1
George Scott 1

Ballyaugrew

John Mackey 1
John Gregg 1

Killy halfe qr

James Mac Cree 1
John Allison 1
William Mac Cree 1

Orenagh qr

Walter Mackinney 1
Art mac Cabrid 1

Termonpackey qr-land

Mathew mac Cleland 1
William Strobridge 1
Patrick Scot 1
Robert Follitt 1

Bellygoan halfe qr

James Slammon 1

William Hammond 1
Raymond o'Toy 1

without Bishop's Gate

Thomas Sankey 1
Thomas Clytton 1
Evann Jones 1
Anne M'Gee 1
William Wesby 1
John M'Camus 1
James Pinkertonn 1
John Sheltonn 1
Phillipp Chambers 1
Richard Wardner 1
William mac Connell 1
William Bindins 1
Archibald Simpeon 1
Leonard Finch 1
John Hutchisonn 1
Willm Forgiseon 1
Lughlin o'Halley 1
Daniel Gill 1
Meredy Jones 1
Willm Roe 1
Elias Smith 1
Alford Ripley 1

The Men of Londonderry in 1630 and 1663. 365

Willm Gorge 1
Thomas Birey 1
Willm Manesfield 1
John Robinson 1
John Venables 1
Henry Curie 1
John Bate 1
Mihil Bennet 1
Willm Bambridge 1

The Bog side

Thomas Broome 1
Richard Bourke 1
James Connor 1
James M'Cree 1
Brian o'Tamenny 1
Donnogh o'Devenny 1
James Howard 1
widow Shawe 1
Hugh o'Kelly 1
Edward Pearman 1
Henry Lynton 1
James Bearde 1
James Gwine 1
John Berry 1
John Lawtie 1
Thomas Piemont 1
Frank Barnes 1
Tirlo o'Sherine 1
Allen Crawford 1
widow Hamiltonn 1
Donnel o'Quigley 1
Hugh mac Gennly 1
Neal m'Carrungall 1
Manus o'Rodden 1
James Willsonn 1
Dermoyt o'Regone 1
Rory m'Connell 1
John Bubby 1
John o'Dogherty 1
Thomas Bankes 1
Tirlo o'Rely 1
Humphrey Price 1
Tirlo o'Harley 1
Tirlo o'Donnell 1
George Wildridge 1
Thomas Welsh 1
Richard Welsh 1

widow Gwynn 1
Margt oge mac Quigley 1
Thomas Griakings 1
Henry m'Loghlin 1
James o'Dogherty 1
Rory mac Loghlin 1
James mac Loghlin 1
James Jacksonn 1
widow Edwards 1

*Part of the Liberties
Upper Carriga'*

Alex m'Gee 1
John Slater 1

Lower Oraga'

John Short 1

Gorrygort balliboe

Mr Thomas Powell 1

Glassla balliboe

Owen o'Crevellin 1

Derrack two balliboes

William Jourden 1
John Donnellsonn 1

Quarterland of Cosquin

Thomas Platt 1
George Platt 1
John Pocke 1

2 balliboes of Ballymack-Rorty

Mrs. Elizab: Lathum 3

the 5 balliboes of Ballymacgogry

Archibald Scott 1
George Pock 1
Shane o'Steene 1
Donnogh mac Grogerty 1

*More added to the gr-land of Cos-
quin*

William Murrey 1
John Turner 1

*More to the 6 balliboes of Ballym
'Grorty*

Donnel M'Connly 1
Robert Pocke 1

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<i>Grancogh</i>	<i>Lisreele</i>
Richard o'Curran 1	William M'Keene 1
William Jones 1	
<i>Gortnesey</i>	<i>Lower Tully</i>
Edmund mac Laghlin 1	John Mitchel 1
Donnel mac Gowne 1	Hugh Mitchel 1
<i>Gibneskell</i>	<i>Upper Tully</i>
Andrew Miller 2	John Foster 1
	John Hall 1
	Gabriel Spruel 1
<i>The Waterside</i>	<i>Hamnimore</i>
John Elvine 5	Robert Brideman 1
William Ross 1	Murphy mac Swine 1
John Dougless 1	
Peter Marstone 1	<i>Lismackerill</i>
James Mac Claie 1	John Riddall 1
William Nellaure 1	Robert Cocherane 1
Robert Warden 1	George Cocherane 1
John Gill 1	
Neal mac Nichol 1	<i>Finkerne</i>
John Ballark 1	James Litrow 1
Rorie o'Brely 1	Robert mac Chirkson 1
Roger o'Stine 1	
John Browne 1	<i>Gortnegranna</i>
Simon Broster 1	Alexander Lindsey 1
James Sharer 1	Hugh Homesonn 1 (or Howesonn)
John Newtowne 1	William De Lapp 1
James Crackahanness 1	
Thomas Rannell 1	<i>Drumcooven</i>
<i>Arlogh</i>	Martine Galbraeth 1
John Murrey 1	James Longe 1
Robert Miller 1	Henry Hindeman 1
	John Watsonn 1
<i>Tradreagh</i>	<i>Lisnackmore</i>
Thomas Rannells 1	John Ornell 1
	John Marshall 1
<i>Greheane</i>	Willm Orrell 1
Adam Murrey 1	
John Miller 1	<i>Camohora</i>
	Lawrence West 1
<i>Nesbrooken</i>	<i>Kilohora</i>
Donnell o'Bowell 1	John Cocherane 1
	James o'Neal 1
<i>Edenreagh</i>	widow Cocherane 1
Mathew Rankin 1	James Elder 1
Kearne	
Andrew Callwell 1	<i>Drumnegore</i>
John Clyde 1	William Cooke 1
	John Fullertonn 1

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2 Keyes

Simon Rosse 1
Robert Rosse 1
Robert Hood 1

2 Tullyallies

James Pook 1
John Hery 1
James Mackennlie 1

Enogh

John Smith 1
John Rosse 1

Clogher

Robert Calwell 1

Westbersenan

William Nenmo 1
John Stensonn 1
Robert Wilsonn 1

Tomkill

John Allen 1

Arctungelluon

James Dawby 1

Lislagh

John mac Corkill 1
John Griffe 1

Ardkill

William Prittye 1
Alfort Handcock 1

Oluney

widow Pitts 1
Homes Gwine 1
Robert Moore 1

Curryfire

Edward Downing 1

Craig

James Marshall 1
Archibald Barr 1
John Cooke 1
Willm Cooke 1

Lisnetawny

William Burnside 1
John Ornell 1
John Gamble 1
William Callwell 1

Gortowne

Thomas Spruel 1
John Spruel 1
widow Spruel 1

Mockrekenan

John Osbourne 1
James Lynne 1
Robert Galbreath 1

Hubane

John Smith 1
Adam Robinson 1
John mac Collogh 1

Dunlew

George Smith 1

Gortecoe

Archibald Reddall 1

Gortneocrosse

Edward Stinsonn 1
Robert Stinsonn 1
John Cocherane 1

Kernekill

John Cocherane 1
James Heard 1

Moydune

John Orr 1

COMBER Parish

Gortnorade

Brockagh

Dunguillenn

Tamnierin

Phelamy o'Donaghy

Willm o'Quigley

Willm o'Derry

Shane mac Closkey

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<i>Tennoragh</i>	Richard Williams	Patrick rock mae Koyll
<i>Oghill</i>	Manus mac Toghart	
<i>Ballygrall</i>	Owen o'Boyle	
<i>Mallabuoy</i>	Nogher o'Hegartie	
<i>Carloneglord</i>	Edmund mac Ilhour	Donnaghy o'Hegarty
<i>Littershanan</i>	Shane reagh mac Managle	
<i>Killannon</i>	Thomas Thompson	
<i>Ballinamore</i>	Thomas Stinsson	
<i>Faonny</i>	John Miller	
<i>Crossballycoormick</i>	John Witherow	Phelemy o'Quigley
<i>Goseaden</i>	Stephen Heard	Shane Duff o'Mullan
<i>Tannaghmore</i>	Willm Scott	James Moore
<i>Arrey</i>	Phelemy o'Dogherty	Owen o'Denny
<i>Lidrasse</i>	Patrick o'Duddy	Willm o'Dudy Tiede o'Dudie
<i>Slaughtmanus</i>	Cormock o'Donnoghy	Knogher o'Donnaghy
	Hugh o'Mullon	Edmund o'Mullon
	Phelemy o'Murrey	Edmund o'Murrey
	Shane mac Kanvyr	
<i>Brackway</i>	Gabriel Simpson	James Hathorne
<i>Littermoore</i>	Neal mac Mannyman	Willm o'Dogherty
<i>Killecotta</i>	John Strawbridge	Simon Nixon
<i>Gortnorane</i>	Owen mac Keacock	Donnaghy mac Combe
<i>Oreg</i>	Edmund m'Donnell o'Dogherty	Donel o'Mulloge
	Richard o'Dogherty	
<i>Olaude</i>	Owen mac Gilfall	Willm mac Gilfall
<i>Killiflanegan</i>	Tirlogh o'Gormley	Owen o'Dogherty
	Shane o'Dogherty	
<i>Gortnalows</i>	Donaghy mac Cloiskey	
<i>Moylederrigg</i>	Owen mac Cloiskey	Manus o'Lanan
<i>Gortoarenn</i>	James o'Devin	Owen mac Loghlin
<i>Letteramuok</i>	Fardarogh o'Dogherty	Shan o'Feaghan
<i>Ballearton</i>	John Ramsey	Loghlin mac Linshaghan
<i>Olannaghlogh</i>	John Scott	
<i>Gortnaskenn</i>	Thomas Browne	
<i>Lockagh</i>	Tirlo o'Deven	Thomas Nicholls
<i>Ouldoige</i>	Donnell o'Duvvillan	Rorie o'Cartan
	Patrick o'Cartan	
<i>Ardgrownie</i>	Robert Nutt	Neece o'Brien
<i>Toneduffe</i>	James Nixon	John Hohan
<i>Tully</i>	James o'Derlaghan	Donnel m'Allen
<i>Kinoul mao Allin</i>	Edmund o'Hegarty	Shane Hegarty
<i>Kinoul brack</i>	Shane o'Dogherty	Owen o'Dogherty
	Rory o'Quigley	Brian o'Harrigan
<i>Bin mac a murry</i>	Rorie mac Gilfall	James mac Gilfall
<i>Ballyrorie</i>	Rorie o'Harran	
<i>Kilgort</i>	Manus o'Harran	William o'Bangan
<i>Leare</i>	Donaghie o'Harran	Hugh o'Morrison

The Men of Londonderry in 1630 and 1663. 371

<i>Tier Eaghter</i>	Morris mac Drearor	Edmond o'Linishan
<i>Carnan reagh</i>	Owen o'Dowie	Shan mac Cormock
<i>Carnanbane</i>	Irto Gormley	
<i>Lounge</i>	Phelemy o'Kellie	Hugh o'Mullen
	Makmury mac Nemie	
<i>Irranagalvaly</i>	James Macgill	John mac Gill
	Brian Mac Gill	
<i>Altohoney</i>	Rory o'Cahan	Phelemy mac Loghlin
<i>Dunnedy</i>	Neal o'Gormelie	
<i>Sollatally</i>	Brian mac Narnan	Donnel o'Munney
<i>Lisbunney</i>	Donnel o'Doghertie	Owen o'Connaghan
<i>Allagh</i>	Simon Elliott	Tirlogh o'Begley

FAUGHANVALE Parish

<i>Moyboy</i>	George Cocherane	Ninian Cocherane
<i>Edenhilkappy</i>	James Robinson	Robert Robinson
<i>Leige</i>	John Donnelsonn	
<i>Aradinagonnage</i>	Donaghy o'Brawly	Andrew Wilson
<i>Gortegortey</i>	Robert Hewdy	
<i>Templemoyle</i>	William Williams	
<i>Fallowles</i>	Anthony Rosse	
<i>Cawley Cinnoge</i>	John Patterson	
<i>Ologhall</i>	John De Lappe	James De Lappe
<i>Camson auterwa</i>	Archibald Henry	John Hendry
<i>Tully</i>	Willm Torrance	Patrick o'Hanson
	Hugh Coghraane	
<i>Camson airagh</i>	Robert Kinkade	Patrick mac Taggartie
<i>Donbrower</i>	James Patty	James mac Gillnoe
<i>Drumconny</i>	Danniel Quin	Brian o'Donnell
<i>Derryarkin beg</i>	John Donnagh	Robert Howard
<i>Muffe</i>	William Perry	
<i>Drumboe</i>	Mungou Clyde	
<i>Glasteele</i>	Robert Clide	
<i>Grasteele</i>	John Connell	Jennett Thompsonsone widow
<i>Muffe</i>	Mrs Kilner widowe	
<i>Gortigarn</i>	Robert Worke	
<i>Camsey</i>	George Hineman	
<i>Fallowlea</i>	William Barrett	
<i>Tullye</i>	John Huestone	
<i>Ballygoodin</i>	Thomas Thompson	
	PAUL BRAZIER 3	
<i>Monnagh</i>	James Robb	James Howey
	Patrick mac Cleland	John Thompson
<i>Ballygooder</i>	James Temple	
<i>Fallmes</i>	Donnel mac Jarlan	John Wain
<i>Killelonnay</i>	John Ash	Thomas Ash
<i>Longfield beg</i>	Henry Fisher	

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<i>Craggan</i>	John Williams			
<i>Magherimory</i>	John Kinkead			
<i>Graisteelbeg</i>	James Sterling	James Bigger		
<i>Graisteel more</i>	Robert Kirkwood	Robert Houstone		
<i>Callyerry</i>	James Letter	Christpher Williams		
<i>To the Desmesnes</i>	Leiftenant Colonel STAPLES 2			
<i>Faughanvale</i>		Francis Saint	John Gotra	John Brown
		Archibald Gottra		
<i>Deigerkann</i>	CHARLES DAVENPORT 2			
<i>Tollimore</i>	Robert Branes	Christopher Weekes		
<i>Brainkellie</i>	John Williams			
<i>Terrincoy</i>	Brian mac Knogher			
<i>Cornmogh</i>	Mathew Roane	Andrew Patterson	John Moore	
<i>Killilaghter</i>	Henry mac Williams		John Henrie	

all above except Brazier Staples & Davenport 1 hearth each

ORIGINAL MINUTES OF THE LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA, MARCH-MAY, 1746.

Among the recent accessions to the Manuscript Division of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is the gift of Mrs. Rodman Wharton, of the Cox—Parrish—Wharton Papers, and worthy of special notice is the rough minutes of the Library Company of Philadelphia, March 10—May 5, 1746, in the handwriting of Benjamin Franklin. Joseph Breintnall was the first Secretary of the Library Company and the Directors usually met at his house before and after his death in 1746. Franklin succeeded him until 1757.

March 10, 1745/6.

At a Meeting of the Directors, at Joseph Breintnalls, present Samuel Morris, Samuel Rhodes, Evan Morgan, Joseph Stretch, Philip Syng, & Benjamin Franklin.

No Business done, for want of a sufficient Number of Members.

April 14, 1746.

At a Meeting of the Directors at the Widow Breintnall's, present Evan Morgan, Samuel Morris, Hugh Roberts, John Jones, Jacob Duché, Philip Syng, & Benjamin Franklin.

The Directors being acquainted that Isaac Jones desired to become a Member, he was approved of.

N. Scull allowed to transfer his share to his Son Edward who is admitted a Member.

Enoch Flower also applying for Leave to become a Member, was approved of; and it was agreed that Seth Flower, a Nephew of his under Age, might be permitted

374 *Original Minutes of the Library Company.*

to take out Books on Enoch Flower's Notes, the said Enoch being accountable.

Mr. Collinson's Accounts, received by Harrison was laid before the Directors, and follows, viz.

(Here insert it.)

A Book entitled *New microscopical Discoveries*, came to hand with the Acct. from Mr. Collinson, also the Magazine for November & December.

Philip Syng and Samuel Morris are appointed to review the Library, and give the Directors an Account at the next Meeting, what books are missing.—And Benj^a Franklin is to draw from the Minutes an Account of the Pamphlets that ought to be in the Library.

Agreed to meet in the Library Room on Saturday the 3^d of May, at 2 o'Clock P. M. to finish the Business of the Year.—And B. Franklin is desired to advertize the General Meeting, in his next Gazette.

May 3, 1746.

At a Meeting of the Directors at the Library, so few appeared that no Business could be done. Adjourn'd to the Day of Election.

May 5, 1746.

At a Meeting of the Directors, at the Widow Breintnals, Present Evan Morgan, Benj^a Franklin, Philip Sing; Samuel Rhodes, Samuel Morris, Thomas Hopkinson, & Joseph Stretch.

The Directors took into Consideration that Joseph Breintnal late Secretary had faithfully serv'd.

EXCERPTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE
LIBRARIAN OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF PENNSYLVANIA FOR THE YEAR 1913.

Dr. John W. Jordan, the Librarian, makes the following report of the accessions to the Library and Collections for the year 1913:—

1360 Books,
5007 Pamphlets,
9240 Manuscripts,
2782 Miscellaneous.

To the *Dreer Collection* have been added 687 Manuscripts.

Through the *Lanier Bequest* for the purchase of North Carolina publications and manuscripts, have been added 2 books and 8 pamphlets.

To the *Gilpin Library* have been added 2 pamphlets and "A Map of the improved part of the Province of Pennsylvania in America. Begun by William Penn, proprietary and Governor thereof Anno 1681, containing the three counties of Chester, Philadelphia and Bucks. By Thomas Holme, Surveyor General. London, R. Greene & J. Thornton." This map is in the original six sheets, in immaculate condition and entirely untrimmed.

From the *Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania* have been received the following manuscript records, viz:—

Abstract of Minutes, Upper Springfield, Burlington County, New Jersey Monthly Meeting, 1740-1827.

Records of Christ Church, Hamilton Township, Monroe County, Penna., 1752-1830.

Records of the Hill; Mount Joy; Elizabethtown; The Loop; and Bernville Churches.

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Genealogical Collections of Samuel Troth.

Records of Christ Church or Bieber Creek Church, Rockland Township, Berks County, Penna., 1738-1903.

Records of the Second Ecclesiastical Society of Saybrook, Conn.

Tombstone Inscriptions, Second Presbyterian Church, Phila.

Genealogical Notes, Vol. XI.

Records of P. E. Church of the Evangelists, Philadelphia, Vol. I, Baptisms and Marriages, Vol. II, Burials, 1837-1880.

In the Manuscript Division, 22 volumes of manuscripts were arranged and bound; 9204 manuscripts repaired and 4467 mounted in books.

Deserving of special mention are the following accessions:—

1883 letters, orderly books and documents of General Anthony Wayne, among them about 200 letters of General Wilkinson, received through Mrs. Richard G. Park, for the Perkins' Collection of Wayne Papers.

Silk American Flag made by the ladies of Hamilton Village, West Philadelphia, and presented by them to the Hamilton Rifles, 1860. Also a colored print of Camp Brandywine, presented by Dr. A. Louis Eakin.

Autograph letter of Governor John Blackwell, May 15, 1690, presented by Joseph M. Fox.

Certificate of Honorary Membership in the Scott Legion, issued to Mayor Alexander Henry, presented by Bayard Henry.

1764 Churchman Manuscripts, purchased by the Library Fund. These manuscripts are largely composed of Land Warrants, Surveys and letters relating to Chester and Lancaster Counties, Pennsylvania, the Three Lower Counties, Delaware, and Cecil County, Maryland. There are upwards of 700 Land Warrants alone, and these manuscripts with the Taylor Papers, already bound, will make our collection of original

Chester County papers the most extensive and complete outside of the County offices.

Miscellaneous manuscripts, largely papers of Jasper Yeates and clients, and the Stage Book between New York and Philadelphia, 1795, presented by the city of Philadelphia.

313 books and 136 pamphlets, presented by the Pennsylvania Colonization Society.

A collection of Aubrey, Penn and Logan papers, 23 letters and documents, purchased by the Library Fund.

Oil portraits of John Thomson and Sarah Levis Thomson, painted by Gilbert Stuart, 1805, bequest of Edgar L. Thomson.

1000 manuscripts, Penn-Physick-Justice Papers presented by F. Millwood Justice.

47 manuscripts, letters of Jonathan Dickinson, James Logan, Charles Norris and others, and a folio volume of "Votes of the House of Representatives, 1734-5," presented by Dr. Isaac Norris.

Papers of John Chaloner and Chaloner & White, comprising 2806 manuscripts and 14 Letter Books and Account Books. The accession of these important manuscripts furnishes us with the details of how Washington's army, the British Prisoners of War and the military and naval forces of France, were provisioned between the years 1778 and 1783. A most interesting document is Washington's orders for the advance of his army from Valley Forge to the Hudson, on the evacuation of Philadelphia by Clinton's army. The selection of the three ferries for crossing the Delaware by the five divisions of the army; the assignments and routes to be taken by the baggage trains (Washington's private baggage being attached to Stirling's train) and the itinerary for their march of thirteen days that was projected. The letters of Major Gibbs, Commandant of the Commander in Chief's Body Guard, relating to supplies for General Washing-

378 *Report of the Librarian for the Year 1913.*

ton's mess (a number of them franked by the General), some of the accounts of General Arnold, while in command at Philadelphia, muster rolls, requisitions for rations and other commissary stores on forms printed by Dunlap. A. L. S. letters of Assistant Commissaries and other letter and account books are valuable and interesting. The autograph letters are numerous, among them from Greene, Wayne, Arnold, Knox, Schuyler, Weedon, Woodford, Muhlenberg, Hamilton, Hartley, Light Horse Harry Lee, Bland, Henry Miller, Robert Morris, Thomas McKean, Francis Hopkinson, Samuel Adams and others.

A fan used by Miss Mary Stillé at the first presidential ball given to Washington in New York in 1789, presented by Miss Mary S. Stillé.

Manuscript Arithmetic Book, 1762, presented by Albert Fogg.

677 miscellaneous photographs of buildings, views and characters of Philadelphia, presented by David Whitall Garrigues.

12 volumes of English Parish Registers, presented by Col. William Brooke Rawle.

25 volumes of genealogical and biographical histories, presented by the Lewis Historical Publishing Company.

A section of the Flag Pole formerly standing on the State House (erected 1858, taken down June 19, 1912), on which President Lincoln raised the flag of the Union on the morning of February 22, 1861, presented by John T. Morris.

42 books, 705 pamphlets, 100 manuscripts and 366 miscellaneous broadsides, pictures, etc., presented by E. Russell Jones.

Valuable donations to the Library and Collections have also been made by the following members and friends of the Society:—

Louis Ashbrook, Thomas Willing Balch, T. Broom

Belfield, Joshua L. Baily, Miss Emily Bell, Mrs. C. H. Brush, Alexander P. Brown, Dr. Thomas L. Bradford, Elbert H. Beers, Thomas Bleyler, Hon. Norris S. Barratt, Everett H. Barney, Thomas Wright Bacot, Miss Josephine Carr, C. Howard Clark, William Masters Camac, Hon. Hampton L. Carson, Mrs. Hampton L. Carson, Misses Cresson, William J. Campbell, Charles Gobrecht Darrach, Richard Ball Dodson, Charles Z. De Young, Henry Darrach, Miss Elliott, Albert J. Edmunds, William T. Elkinton, Mrs. Walter J. Freeman, Charles C. Franch, Mrs. Thomas B. Harper, Henry S. Holmes, John J. L. Houston, Miss Letitia A. Humphreys, Stan. V. Henkels, Arthur P. Howard, Miss Sallie M. Horn, Dr. James V. Ingham, Dr. John W. Jordan, Dr. Ewing Jordan, Charles F. Jenkins, Joseph Jackson, Gregory B. Keen, DeB. Randolph Keim, Edwin P. Kilroe, Mrs. George DeB. Keim, William W. Longstreth, James B. Laux, John F. Lewis, Dr. Henry Leffmann, John A. Lehman, Sr., Miss E. E. Massey, William M. Mervine, Hon. J. Hampton Moore, Hon. J. B. McPherson, Clarence B. Moore, Capt. O. W. Norton, T. S. Norris, Joseph C. Noblit, Samuel Oppenheim, Henry W. Paul, Samuel L. Parrish, M. B. Peirce, Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, Francis Rawle, Mrs. Harry Rogers, John Ruhl, Hon. William H. Staake, George Steinman, William C. Stevenson, Jr., Walter George Smith, Henry W. Shoemaker, James M. Swank, E. T. Stuart, Mrs. Mildred C. Sawyer, Edwin Jaquett Sellers, Miss M. E. Sinnott, Mrs. A. L. Scollay, Mrs. Russell Skeel, Jr., A. Lewis Smith, Frank H. Taylor, Hon. Charlemagne Tower, Dr. W. H. Trueman, Dr. C. H. Vinton, Miss Juliana Wood, Richard J. Williams, Jr., Mrs. Ashbel Welch, George F. P. Wanger.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

CERTIFICATE OF GEN. ANTHONY WAYNE—

I do certify upon Honor that on the 19th of Sep. 1777, the Distress of the Troops under my Command was such as to Induce me to Order ten Head of fatt Cattle from my own farm weighing five Hundred Pound P Head or Fifty Hundred in the Gross (altho Intended for my family use) and that I have not either had them or any part of them, replaced, or Recd any pay or Consideration what ever for the same.
Given this 15th Day of Feby 1780

Anty Wayne.

LETTERS OF GEN. B. ARNOLD, WHILE IN PHILADELPHIA, 1778.—

Philada 28 June 1778

Sir

All Such Goods as you contract for you will remove into your own Store where they will remain untill the property is Ascertained

B Arnold, M. Gen.

Jno Chaloner Esq

Dy Com Purchases

Headquarters Philada June 25th 1778

Sir

You are hereby authorised to Contract for and secure all such Provisions and Store of every kind in your Department that you find for sale in the City the price to be ascertained either by agreement with the Party, or a Committe Approved by Congress, no payments to be made untill the Property is ascertained by said Committe for which this shall be your Sufficient Warrant

B. Arnold Major Gen.

John Chaloner Esq

D. Y Com Genl Purchases

LIST OF INDIAN CAPTIVES, found in the Division of Public Records, Pennsylvania State Library at Harrisburg, and contributed by Mrs. Harry Rogers.

List of English Children delivered up by the Indians & Canadians, who were taken in the Province of Pensylvania, & Colony of Virginia.

Nicholas Silotas, of Plow Park, in Pensylvania, taken in 1755 by Indians.

John Men, of Marsh Creek, in Pensylvania, taken in 1758 by Indians.

Frederic Payer, of Low Bergen, in Pensylvania, taken in 1756. His Father killed; but his mother, is, he believes, still living.

James Cristif, of Pensylvania; his Father & mother, both Dead.

—— *Coone*, of Pensylvania; her mother Dead & her Father was taken at the same time.

Isaac Toople, taken near Presqu' Isle in 1756.

Mary Williams, Daughter to one Daniel Williams, taken by Indians on the Delaware, above five years ago; Believes her Father and mother were killed.

Peter Dawson, of Virginia, taken in 1755 near the Ohio.

Richd. Underwood, taken about Winchester, belongs to Virginia.

July 23, 1761.

NORTHAMPTON COUNTY, PENNA., DOCUMENTS.—We are indebted to James B. LAUX, Esq., of the city of New York, for the following contributions. It may here be stated, that a genealogy of the Arndt family is about ready for the press.

LETTER OF CAPT. JACOB ARNDT TO GOV. DENNY, 1757.—

May it Plece your houner

Sir.

according as Titiuskong arrifed att fort Allin the 4th of these Instand July with about 150 Indins with young and old and aboud fifty was there allredey with young and old and according as Titiuskong hath Inform'd me that above one hounder of the Sinekers Indins would Come after him that he was Intentd To wait fore them att fort Allin Six or Seven Days but as I fat very Shord with Provision I was obliged to march with the Indins yesterday from fort Allin there number was 130 that came with me to easton and the Remainder Stayd att fort allin sum went back with a litle Provision fore such there formly Down and yeaserday I came so fore with them as to John haysis and there we Stay'd all night and these day wee lit off from there and arrifed Safe att Easton with all the Indins except one William Dattame an Indin went without my knowledge and against my ordirs to bathloham and it hapind on his Rod when he had Turnid off that a foolich wite boy about 15 years of eage folowed him and Shot him in the Right Thigh of out Side the bone but not morterly and Just when I came with the Indins to easton William hays came after me exepres with these Information that William Dattamy was Shot and according as Magor Parsons is absand from Easton I considered that it was very nessecery to stay with my men att Easton fore to Protackt the Indins and to hinder all Scrobel and

which might fall out between wite People and the Indins until I shall Receive your houners fourter Orders

I am Sir

With all Due Respect
your humble Served
att Command

Easton July 8th 1757.

Jacob Arndt

To the Honorable the Committee of Safety of the Province of Pennsylvania.

The Petition of John Craig of Northampton County
Sheweth

That your Petitioner is desirous of entering into the Service in the Continental Army and prays to be appointed a Lieutenant in one of the Battalions now to be raised, and doubts not to Assist in raising a Company in the said County.

John Craig.

We the Subscribers recommend the Petitioner as a Sober Active Spirited Man of good Character and think him fit to command a Company as Lieutenant.

Easton Decem^r 21st 1775.

Geo. Taylor,
Peter Kachlein,
J. Okely.

John Craig was commissiond Second Lieutenant, 2d. Pennsylvania Battalion, Col. A. St. Clair, January 5, 1776, promoted First Lieutenant November 11, 1776; transferred to 3d. Pennsylvania Line, and December 22, 1778, commissioned Captain in Moylan's Cavalry.

JOHN MIFFLIN LOSES GOLD SLEEVE BUTTON.—

The *Pennsylvania Journal* of July 6, 1777, contains the following advertisement:

LOST, on the 5th inf. on the Wiffahiccon road, or the lane from

that road to the subscriber's country seat, on Schuylkill, a large GOLD SLEEVE BUTTON, the letters J. M. in a cypher on the face. Whoever delivers it to the owner, shall have TEN SHILLINGS reward. If offered for sale, please to stop it.

JOHN MIFFLIN.

Queries.

MEDICAL GRADUATES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—

Biographical information is asked or the source whence it can be had, of the following medical graduates of the University of Pennsylvania, for the Alumni Catalogue now preparing. Information may be sent to Ewing Jordan, M.D., 1510 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Penna.:

<i>Class of 1832.</i>			
Almy, Stephen O.	N. Y.	Levy, Moses A.	Va.
Anderson, Matthew	Pa.	Lindsay, Robert W.	Va.
Ard, Joseph B.	Pa.	Luther, John W.	Pa.
Baylor, Baynam	Va.	McLeod, Daniel C.	Ga.
Birchett, George Keith	Va.	McNeill, Stephen D.	La.
Bradford, Samuel	Pa.	Martin, Meredith	Mo.
Branch, Julius Cæsar	Va.	Mathews, Thomas	N. C.
Brander, James H.	Va.	Mickle, Andrew F. E.	N. J.
Brown, Algernon Sydney	Ga.	Mikell, Aeneas McLeod	S. C.
Bush, Andrew	Pa.	Morel, James Y.	Ga.
Clement, Franklin Wharton	Del.	Morris, Herbert	Del.
Cobb, George	Va.	Morton, Joshua	Va.
Cochran, Richard	N. C.	Offutt, Henry A.	Md.
Colman, Anson	N. Y.	Patterson, David	Va.
Cowan, Joseph A.	Va.	Percy, Thomas B.	La.
Croft, Randell	S. C.	Peters, John Stuart	Ala.
Davidson, John Pintard	La.	Peurifoy, McCarrell	Ga.
Davis, Thomas	Pa.	Picton, John Moore White	La.
Deane, Francis H.	Va.	Ponce, J. Burroughs	Ga.
Dixon, John L.	Va.	Porter, Charles Augustus	N. Y.
Ellett, Ambrose K.	Ala.	Post, Minturn	N. Y.
Evans, William A.	N. C.	Reeve, Mark M.	Pa.
Felder, William L.	S. C.	Riley, William	Md.
Ferguson, Charles B.	Pa.	Russell, Isaac W.	Conn.
Fletcher, Nathan	Va.	Savage, William Reynolds	Va.
Foster, Robert	Pa.	Scott, David N.	Pa.
Gatton, Edgar M.	Md.	Searcy, William W.	Tenn.
Gay, Peter Field	Va.	Shields, Alexander	Pa.
Geddis, John R.	Pa.	Snowden, Thomas J.	Md.
Giraud, Frederick	N. Y.	Spayd, John Christian	Pa.
Grady, Francis T.	Va.	Taylor, Samuel	Va.
Griffin, Patrick Joseph	Pa.	Taylor, William B.	Pa.
Griscom, John Haskins	N. Y.	Teas, James	Pa.
Harris, Algernon Sydney	Ala.	Thompson, James Young	N. C.
Henley, Leonard	Va.	Thompson, Wells A.	Ala.
Howard, William Henry	Va.	Turpin, Philip	Va.
Hughes, Henry H.	Md.	Twyman, William Horace	Va.
Humphreys, John	N. J.	Venable, Thomas Henry	Va.
Hunter, Thomas L.	Va.	Voight, Charles B.	Pa.
Irwin, William C.	Pa.	Williams, Thomas M.	Md.
Jackson, Henry G.	Va.	Wilson, Turner	N. C.
Jackson, Thomas M.	Va.	Yarberough, Henry	N. C.
Jeffries, William S.	Va.	Young, James F.	Va.
Jones, Orlando Scott	Va.		
Kennon, George Nelson	Va.		
Koons, Henry	Pa.		
Langley, William S.	N. C.		
		<i>Class of 1833.</i>	
		Abadie, Eugene Hilarian	Pa.
		Bacon, John E.	Ga.

Barnes, William D.	N. C.	Murray, Thomas	Pa.
Bateman, Eli Elmer	N. J.	Neall, Edward S.	Va.
Bangh, Thomas W.	Va.	Neill, Benjamin Duffield	Pa.
Beall, Benjamin B.	Ala.	Newman, Anderson M.	Va.
Bradshaw, Samuel Carey	Pa.	Newton, George M.	Ga.
Brashear, Allen Browns	Md.	Patton, Charles H.	Ala.
Bruce, George D.	Pa.	Peace, Edward	Pa.
Bunch, James L.	N. C.	Perkins, Alfred Elijah	Conn.
Burrongs, Erastus B.	N. Y.	Piermont, Robinson N.	Va.
Carter, John	Va.	Pitman, John D.	Va.
Casson, John	La.	Posten, Isaac G.	Conn.
Clarke, George Rogers	D. C.	Ramsay, William G.	S. C.
Clarke, Samuel L.	Me.	Redwood, George E.	Va.
Clarke, William	Va.	Reese, Alexander H.	S. C.
Courtney, Franklin	Va.	Rivers, James D.	Ga.
Cowdery, George W.	Va.	Ruff, Samuel Wallace	Va.
Donelson, Samuel	Tenn.	Simpson, Robert Boyd	Pa.
Duffel, Edward, Jr.	La.	Small, William B.	Pa.
Duryee, William Richmond		Smith, John T.	Va.
Smith	N. J.	Smith, William B.	Va.
Estill, Henry M. M. W.	Va.	Spencer, Joseph	Pa.
Evans, George W.	Pa.	Stewart, James William	Va.
Fitz Gibbon, Maurice	Va.	Stewart, John McNeill	N. C.
Franklin, Marcus Aurelius	Ga.	Straith, John James Hunter	Va.
Haines, Isaac Snowden	N. J.	Terry, Benjamin Franklin	Va.
Hassler, Charles Augustus	D. C.	Thornton, Churchill Jones	Va.
Henry, Julian	Pa.	Trigg, William K.	Va.
Hoffman, Charles Edward	Pa.	Turpin, James G.	Va.
Housel, William	Pa.	Wade, Walter	Miss.
Hunt, Henry G.	Va.	Walker, Austin M.	Ga.
Hunter, James	Va.	Walton, Sydenham	Pa.
Huston, Seth Craig	Pa.	Watson, Robert	Pa.
Jenkins, John Carmichael	Pa.	Wedderburne, Alexander	
Johnson, James	Va.	John	D. C.
Land, Littleton W. T.	Va.	Welch, Charles B.	Pa.
Langhorne, John Wesley	Va.	Wellford, William Nelson	Va.
Leavel, Haden	Ky.	Wheeden, John E.	R. I.
Leidy, Napoleon Bonaparte	Pa.	Williamson, Walter	Pa.
Lochhead, John H.	Va.	Wilson, Robert R.	Va.
Marselis, Nicholas	N. Y.	Wimberly, Henry S.	Ga.
Murphy, Francis James	D. C.	Young, Edward J.	Va.

MORAN.—Wanted, the name and last address of the sister of Benjamin Moran, who was Secretary of the United States Legation in London, from 1858 to about 1867, and afterwards United States Minister to Portugal. He was appointed from Pennsylvania. Any information relating to him, his sister, and his family, will be welcome. Address Worthington C. Ford, 1154 Boylston Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

Book Notices.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA. Vol. V, No. 3. 1914. pp. 245-525.

The present issue of the Publications of the Genealogical Society completes volume V. Among its contents are many records of much value: Members of the Assembly of the Three Lower Counties upon Delaware, by J. Granville Leach; Bible records of the Pearson, Sharpless, Wistar, Morgan, Burt, Freeman, Lawton, Dean, Hathaway, Keen, Budd and Bachman families. Abstracts of Wills recorded in the Administration Books, Philadelphia, 1812-1817; Marriages from the

Docket of Edward Hunter, Justice of the Peace in Newton township, Delaware county, Penna., by William M. Mervine; Abstract of Wills of Westmoreland county, Penna., registered at Greensburg, by Mary Ellison Wood. These are followed by the twenty-second annual report of the Society, the report of the Treasurer and a list of the officers and members. An index of names of one hundred and sixty pages meets every requirement.

THE FAMILY OF INGLIS OF AUCHINDINNY AND REDHALL. By John Alexander Inglis Edinburgh, Privately printed by T. and A. Constable, 1914. 8vo, pp. 236. With 10 illustrations, 4 coats of arms and 3 pedigrees.

This interesting history of a family of English extraction (as its name implies) settled in Scotland, comprises an account of the descendants of John Inglis of Langbyres, 1627, and the allied families of Nisbet of Carphin, Philp of Greenlaw, and Lyle of Stanypeth and Bas-sendean. Among the longer biographies are one of George Inglis of Redhall, and another of Vice-Admiral John Inglis, R. N. (great-grandfather of the author), the former a younger brother and the latter a son of John Inglis of Philadelphia, who married Catherine, daughter of George McCall of that city, a sketch of whom occurs in Volume V, pp. 335 *et seq.* of this MAGAZINE and in "The Descendants of Jöran Kyn," recently published by the Swedish Colonial Society. The book contains much information, hitherto not printed, concerning the American branch of the family. Portraits of John and Catherine (McCall) Inglis are included in the illustrations, reproduced from pictures in the possession of their great-great-grandson Henry Middleton Fisher, M.D., of Philadelphia. The work exhibits the greatest care and accuracy of statement, with constant references to authorities, and is worthy of a place in important historical and genealogical collections.

FORGES AND FURNACES IN THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA, prepared by the Committee on Historical Research of the Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America. Philadelphia, 1914. 8vo, pp. 204. Illustrated.

The wonderful natural resources of the Province of Pennsylvania, particularly in its great ore beds, thickly wooded country, giving endless charcoal, and its bountiful water power, were inducements that led many enterprising men to the manufacture of iron almost two centuries ago. Among the early ironmasters were Thomas Rutter, Thomas Potts, Anthony Morris, James Logan, Peter Grubb, Robert Coleman and Henry W. Stiegel. Thomas Rutter was the first, in 1716, to successfully establish an iron works and built a bloomery forge on the Manatawny creek near the present Pottstown. In addition to the manufacture of pig iron, many of the furnaces cast stove plates, hollow ware and firebacks, from original designs. The ladies of the committee have contributed valuable historical sketches of forty-six forges and furnaces, and their proprietors, located between 1716-1771, in the present counties of Chester, Delaware, Lancaster, Berks, Montgomery, Bucks, Lebanon, York, Cumberland and Carbon; a chapter on early firebacks and another on the sequence of Franklin fireplaces. They have gone to original sources for information, and hence their compilations may be regarded as authentic in details and a valuable contribution to the early history of one of the most important industries of Pennsylvania. The contributors are Augusta M. Longacre, Sarah R. Watts Rose, Amelia Mott Gummere, Anne Hollingsworth Wharton, Eliza B. Kirkbride, Mary E. Mumford, Cornelia L. E. Brooke, Margaret C. Yarnall Cope, Katherine Jones Wallace, Mabel Rogers Baird, Caroline Hale Steinman, Margaret Wieter Meigs. The work is an attractive specimen of book making and generously illustrated.

THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. XXXVIII.

1914.

No. 4.

PENN *versus* BALTIMORE.

JOURNAL OF JOHN WATSON, ASSISTANT SURVEYOR TO THE
COMMISSIONERS OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA,
1750.

BY JOHN W. JORDAN

In the Manuscript Division of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, are preserved, particularly among the "Penn Papers" and "Peters Papers," many of the documents connected with the case of Penn *vs.* Baltimore,—the long contest over the boundary line between the Provinces of Pennsylvania and Maryland. Among these are the minutes of the joint Commissions, which met at New Castle, Delaware, in November of 1750, their account of expenditures, and the Journal of Surveyor Watson, valuable for the details which it contains in the efforts to adjust the differences between the disputing parties.

The Commissioners representing Pennsylvania at this conference were William Allen, Thomas Hopkinson, Richard Peters, Thomas Cookson, Byves Holt, (of Lewes, Del.), Benjamin Chew and Tench Francis, in the place of John Kinsey deceased. William Parsons was appointed Chief Surveyor and clerk of the Commission; John Watson and William Killen, Assistant Surveyors and Chain bearers, and Theophilus Grew, mathe-

matician; Surveyor General Nicholas Scull was also in attendance.

The Commissioners representing Maryland, were: Benedict Calvert, Edmund Jennings, Robert Jenkins Henry, John Ross, Benjamin Tasker Jr., George Plater and Daniel Dulaney Senr. Thomas Smyth was appointed their clerk. Messrs. Jennings and Ross had served on an earlier Commission.

William Allen, with Richard Peters as his guest, came down from Philadelphia on his yacht, and among "the necessaries for the use of the Commissioners," was Port Wine, invoiced at £16.—Commissioners Hopkinson and Francis, and Parsons, Scull and Grew, with their servants and horses, found en route, quarters at the tavern of James Mather in Chester, and later, all the Commissioners from Pennsylvania were entertained for ten days at the hostelry of Ezekiel Boggs, in New Castle.

The Commissioners of the two Provinces met for conference in the "Assembly Chamber" of the Court House, New Castle, Delaware, on Thursday 15, November, 1750, all those from Pennsylvania being present, but from Maryland, only Messrs Calvert, Jennings, Henry and Ross attended this first meeting. Serious difficulties were soon developed by Lord Baltimore's representatives, who claimed that the "first thing necessary was to find the middle of the town of New Castle, in order from thence as a centre to draw the circle directed by the articles and commissions." This was referred and two days later the "Court House was agreed on as the middle of the town." They furthermore raised the questions whether the twelve miles were to be a radius or the periphery, and as to the true location of Cape Henlopen. The location of Cape Henlopen, had been a subject of serious, protracted and expensive litigation, particularly after the deaths of William Penn and Lord Baltimore. On November 24, the Pennsylvania Commissioners "pro-

pose an adjournment to meet at Cape Henlopen on the tenth day of March next, which is not agreed to by the Commissioners of Lord Baltimore, who propose to meet at Cape Henlopen on the 22d. day of April next, to which the Commissioners of the Province of Pennsylvania agree and accordingly adjourned to the 22d day of April at Cape Henlopen." The result of this conference therefore, was to suspend proceedings.

The late J. H. B. Latrobe Esq., of Baltimore, in his address before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, November 8, 1854, on the "Mason and Dixon Line," referring to the failure of the conference of November 1750, states: "Now Lord Baltimore did what neither improved his cause nor bettered his reputation. Treating his own deed as a nullity, he asked George II for a confirmatory grant according to the terms of the Charter of 1632. It was very properly refused, and the parties were referred to the Court of Chancery, and here Lord Hardwicke decided in effect, that the true Henlopen was the point insisted on by the Penns; that the centre of the circle was the middle of New Castle, as near as it could be ascertained, and that the twelve miles were a radius and not the periphery."

The long controversy between the two Provinces was finally closed in 1760-1761, when Charles Dixon and Jeremiah Mason appear on the scene.

9 mo 13. [1750.]

This morning set from home ab^t 10. rech Baldwin's ab^t 1. I Baited my Creature, and Got some Drink, cost 10. came into Town ab^t sun set to the Surveyor Gen^l who was just going to meet Mr. Markham a great Mathematition from Maryland, met Scull again at the indian Queen ab^t 8. who told us they should proceed on their journey ab^t nine, a Cloudy Day and likely to rain.

14th got up and Bought a Silk Cap a p^r [worn] and a p^r of Sleve Buttons 2 Memorandum Books $\frac{1}{2}$ a Quire

of paper and Stick of Sealing Wax. £ 1. 5. 9.—set forward towards Chester about $\frac{1}{2}$ h° after 1. rode smartly and reach'd Chester ab' Sun set lodged at one Mather all night in Company wth Nick.Scull, Theo Grew, Thomas Hopkinson, Tench Francis, W^m Parsons, one Markham—a Gentleman from Maryland. Spent this Evening in some philosophical Discourses, concerning Diseases, the propogation of them, the admirable properties of them [worn].

15th. Set out ab' 9 for New Castle where we came ab' 1 in the Evening or afternoon. Dined at one Bogges I think they call the L. Lord with W^m Parsons, N. Scull Sam' Peters, and [worn]. After Dinner got in readiness to try to find a Meridian wth was essayed after this manner a Candle being placed in a Lanthorn on the Top of a Chimney and a plumet suspended on a kind of a Gallows raised for that purpose it was carefully observed at what time the last Star in the Tail of the Little Bear and Aliot in the Tail of the Great Bear together wth the Candle placed as ab° came into the same Azimuth Circle at which Time Viz 'a 8^h 30 'p.m. the Stars were on the Meridian. upon settli^g up the Candle Parson Malcomb objected to the Method considering the Glaringness of the Light wth in his opinion rendred an Accurate Observation thereof impractable wth being reported to the Com^{rs} we were (notwithstanding the Sutableness of the Air for such an Experim^t considered) Ordered to proceed: wth we did and reported the same to them wth no small Incomiums on Our own performance. But we all desired the Com^{rs} would be pleased to Attend on some such Experim^t themselves by wth more than by Words they would be thoroughly convinced of the demonstrative Accuracy of the Method. a fine clear Day throughout.

9^{mo} 16.

This Day in the Forenoon we spent chiefly in walking about the Town observing the motion of

the Marylanders who began to measure the length of several of the Streets of the Town as was supposed in Order to make some Estimate of the Situation of the Center thereof. after Dinner they Began a Survey thereof in manner one form, the Surveyor an elderly Gentleman one Emroy—and proceeded as the Notes taken upon the Spot by my self & entred in the End of this Book shows. But night coming on they were obliged to leave before it was compleated this Evening was spent plaing so much of their Survey as was performed, w^{ch} was done by one Gillan and my self, and the Calculation by my self alone. This Day was cloudy for the most part but cleared up without Rain in the Evening, and the Gentlemen while we were about the Maryland Survey made a second observation to find a Meridian w^{ch} they found exactly corresponding wth that made last Night. N. B. for the Greater Accuracy in Observation they Obscured part of the Lanthorn. Which Agreement of Observations it seems one Leeds A Mathematician chosen on Behalf of L^d Baltimore took as a Reason that the Method made use of by Our Mathematician for Discovery of a Meridian Line was false—O horrendum dictu!^{*}

17.—this Morning early the Surveyors on the part of his Lordship proceeded to compleat their Survey of w^{ch} Notes were taken as afores^d. after w^{ch} I proved the Survey and found the same nearly to answer wth the Truth Differing only 1.7 in respect of Lat: to the Southward and, 9 in. Longitude to the Eastw^d, after this was finished s^d Surveyors privately measured or estimated the Length of 3 More Courses w^{ch} they Aded to the East Side of their Survey begining 38 perches from the Beg^s of the S. W. Course and thence extending S. 38° E 6 p° and then S. W 47½ p° and N 38° W 6 p into the South west Course again, a Copy of w^{ch} they

^{*} In the Pennsylvania accounts there is a charge of 15 shillings for "fixing a lanthorn to the Vane of the State House, to fix a meridian line." *Ms. in Hist. Soc. of Penna.*

Delivered to our Com^{rs} in the afternoon. N. B. this addition was made to take in p^{rt} of the Water Street.

I also made a plan of said Survey in w^{ch} was prickt off the place in w^{ch} the Court House Stood as taken down in the Notes. as also the Center of said Town in respect of East and West and N. and South and found the same about 9. P. to the Northward of the Court House and 1.25 P. to the Westward, Which Plan was presented to Our Comm^{rs} wth this Title a plan of a Survey of the Town of New Castle as made by Mr. Emory and other Surveyors on the part of the L^d Baltimore in presence and by Direction of Mess^{rs} Malcolm & Leeds Mathematicians employed by his Lordship's Com^{rs} on the 16th & 17th Days of Novemb^r 1750.

This Title was Drawn by W^m Parsons, a very ingenious Gentleman. Yesterday the Com^{rs} Met in the Court House where their Com^{rs} were Read. to Day they Met again and after some Debate agreed that the Center of the Court House should be taken for the Center of New Castle then arose a Question Between them whether the 12 Miles mentioned [worn] to be run Westward from said Town should be Superficial Measure or Horizontal. In the Plan of the survey presented to Our Com^{rs} by the Maryland Survey^{rs} they only made a punct. in the plan w^{ch} we found to be designed for the Situation of the Court House. This Day was spent very chearfully and pleasantly the Gentlemen & all concerned on Our part being high Glee. a fine Day. Got shaved in the Evening paid 6^d.

9^{mo} 18.

This being the first Day of the Week some of the Commissioners went to Church where Parson Malcolm preacht, for my Own part stayed at home busie'd ab^t taking Copies of Draughts &c^a a Sail was discredy'd—early in the morning w^{ch} came up ab^t Nine said to be one Captain Mitchel. The Commissioners on both sides had some Conferences to Day the Mary-

landers still insisting on their Superficial Measure and Ours refusing to join y^m in it. The Com^m of Lord Baltimore declining to give any Reason for their Defeat declaring themselves to be unequal to the Debate wth Our Com^m but as they said they were informed it was practicable to Run a Circular Line by superficial Measure by some proportion to be made between the several Radii of the Circle they should not condescend to Horizontal Measure tho' they Never proposed how such a Circle might be drawn. Wth Theo. Grew Our Mathematician by sound Argum^t Drawn from the proportion of a Demonstrated impossible in a paper presented to Our Commissioners. a fine Day. This Evening Theo Grew presented me wth the 180th Method for find^s y^e point of Contact wth will be inserted hereafter.

19.—This Morning rose early and after Brakefast proceeded immediately by W^m Parson's Theodolite to Discover the Variation of the Needle, and at 10^h 30 A. M. found the Variation thereof by Needle No. 2 4° West then we returned to our Lodging, and taking out the Other Needles at 30' after 11. found the Variation of No. 2 4° at ab^t 11 h^o found the Variation by No. 1. 5° & at ab^t 12 h^o by No. 3. 4° 22'. Note on the 12th of this Instant @ philadelphia the Variation was found by Nedles No. 1 & No. 2. 4° 50' and the same Day at 5 ho. P. M. the Variation by the same Needles was found to be 5° exactly. to Day W^m Parsons desired me to take a Copy for him of Theo: Grew's method of finding the point of Contact, and promised me to procure me Captain Hopkinson's method for doing the same Thing. Notae the Watches at the Time of Observation to Day I suppose were ab^t 20' too fast. There was some Discourse among the Surveyors before the Center was fixt of Making the Center of Gravity the Center wth it seems is such a point in Any Figure as the same may be horizontally Suspended by the Method of Doing wth is laid down in Stow's Mathematical Dictionary—

Let a Circle or part of a Circle be supposed to be drawn
12 Miles Distant from New Castle, it is required to
draw a Tang^t. to the said Circle on the West side to hit a
given point to the Southward without the Circle, . . .

Let there be run a Course due West or near it 12 Miles in
length horizontally from the Center of the Circle to the
periphery as c.w. then let a right line be run from the point
w. at right angles to the Radius & if it hit the given point
it is the Line required. If it does not hit the given point. the
line will fall either to the Westward or Eastward thereof. If it
fall to the Westward as the Line

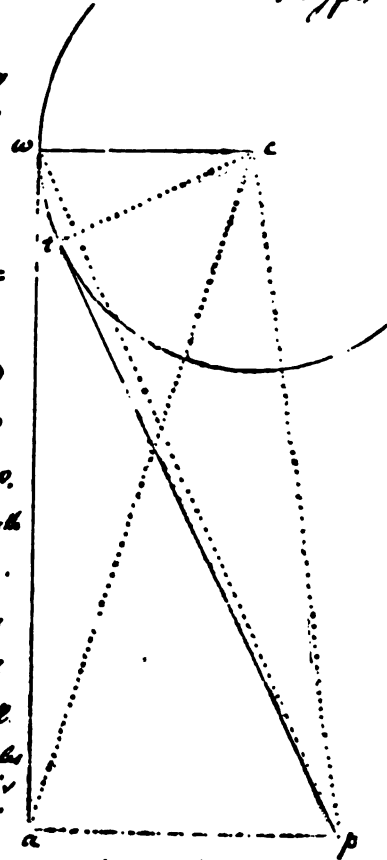
w.e. then the Tang^t. point t will
be to the Southward of the point

w. In the right angled Δ .
wcp. given wa. pa. to find wp
and awp. then $awc - awp =$
 cwp . again in the obtuse Δ cwp
given cw. wp. and cwp. to find

wcp. wpc. & pc. again in the
right angled Δ ctp. given ct. cp.
to find tp. tpc and pt the Length
of the Tang^t. Line. then $awp - tep.$
 $=$ to t'cw whence the Course from

c to t' is known and consequently
the Course of the Tang^t. line tp will
be known also. Lastly in the Triangle
 Δ wet given wt. tc. and all the L^s.

to find wt' whenever you will have a
the Course from w to t. But if the Line we fall to the East:



In the Triangle $w a p$. right angled or oblique these will be had wa . pa ., and the angle a to find $w p$ and $a w p$. then $a w c - a w p = c w p$ Fig. 1st and $a w c. + a w p. = c w p$. Fig. 2^d Again in the oblic angled Triangle $c w p$. there will be given $c w$. $w p$ and $c w p$. to find $w c p$., $w p c$. and $p c$. Then in the right angled Triangle $c t p$. there will be given $t c$., $p c$. to find $t c p$. and $t p$. the Length of the Tangent Line. Then $t c p$. — $w c p$. = $t c w$. in fig 1st and $w c p$. — $t c p$. = $t c w$. in Fig. 2^d

Whence the Course from c . to t . is known and consequently the true Course of the Tangent line $t p$. lastly in the Isosceles $\Delta w c t$. there is given $w c$., $t c$. and all the angles to find $w t$., whence you will have the Course and Distance from w . to t .

19th 9^{mo}

This Day at 10th A.M. the Com^{rs} met at the Court House in the assembly Chamber and taking into Consideration the Method of Runing and Measuring the 12 Miles west from New Castle Center. The Commissioners of Lord Baltimore proposed the Runing of divers Radii Superficial Measure and to take a Mean proportion Between their horozontal Distances and on that mean Dist^{ce} to Run the perefery horozontally. To w^{ch} Our Commissioners refused to give their Assent as being contrary to the express Words of the Articles drawn between L^d Baltimore and the Honorable the Proprietaries of the Province of Pennsylvania. Upon this it was concluded that the Com^{rs} on Both sides should draw up their Reasons in form & in Writing signed and ready to exchange with each other by to morrow at 11 in the morning.

Ab^t 4 in the after Noon the Surveyor Gen^l, Sam^l Lightfoot, Theophilus Grew, and my self went out to the Meridian Line Drawn on the 15th and took the New Theodilite and Needle N^o 2 in Order to Discover the

Variation of the Needle thereby and in presence of Tho^t Cookson Esq^r John Ross Esq^r and other Gentlemen we found the Variation $4^{\circ} 27'$ this Variation was not very accurately taken, and not much to be relyed on after Our Return Secretary Peters a fine Courteous Gentleman a true Friend to the Proprietary and Tenants as far as I am able to judge came to the Surveyors in their Chamber and expressed a good deal of Uneasiness at the Conduct of L^d Baltimore's Com^{rs} who as he thought not only contrary to reason but also Justice who were thus for continuing the Dispute. a Cloudy Day for the most part and near Bedtime semed likely to snow tomorrow.—

20 Nov^r @ 9^h 45' A. M.

Observed the Variation by W^m Parson's Theodolite & Needle No. 1 and found the Variation thereby $4^{\circ} 40'$ @ 10 observed the Variation by the New Theodolite Needle N^o 2 and found the Variation thereby $4^{\circ} 34'$ these Observations were made with the Greatest Accuracy. @. ab^t 11^h 45. Tried W^m Parson's Theo. Needle N^o 2 and found the Variation $4^{\circ} 22'$ by Needle N^o 3 $4^{\circ} 15'$ at about 12^h 15' P. M. tried the Variation by Needle N^o 1 again and the same was 5° I think this Needle is too wide in the Cap & is not always suspended on the same Point @ ab^t $\frac{1}{4}$ after 3 P. M. by the New Theo. Needle No. 1. $4^{\circ} 34'$ P W. P^s Theo: Needle N^o 1 ab^t $\frac{1}{4}$ after 3, $4^{\circ} 51'$ & Needle N^o 2. $4^{\circ} 17'$ N^o 3. $4^{\circ} 17'$. This morning lookt like for Rain and Rained a little in the Morning but towards Noon began to clear away and was a fine afternoon. Sam^l Lightfoots Son arived toDay ab^t 12 from Doublin had an 8 Weeks Passage. Dined with us and another young irish Gentleman who came in with him. This Morning as the Men drove their Creatures to water my Mare was discovered to be very lame in her far hind foot or pastern. The Commissioners met again to Day according to their

Adjournm^t and the Reasons of the Com^m on the part of his Lords^p were delivered to them w^{ch} were delivered in these Words.

Reasons of the Com^m of L^d Baltimore for not agreeing to an horozontal but for insisting on a superficial Admeasurement^t of the 12 english Statute Miles in the 2^d Art^lo of the Agreem^t

1st That Statute Miles are always measured on the superficies, and those Words having explained what Miles were intended by that Article the same manner of Measure ought to be made of the same kind of Miles.

2^d That the 15 english Statute Miles mentioned in the 5th Article cannot by a fair and Natural Construction be understood or pretended to be any other than superficial Miles and therefore the Meaning of those Words statute Miles and of the parties in the 5th ought not to be different in understanding the same Words in the 2^d Article.

3. That it seems as great an absurdity to make the Meas^o of an english Statute Mile under Ground or in the Air as it would be that a Deg. of Lat. should be taken upon the surface of the Earth.

4. That the Com^m of the prop^r of pennsylv^a having urged the impracticableness of mak^g a Circle from several Radii run superficially, the Com^m of L^d Baltimore are advised by their Mathematicians and surveyors that the same is practicable in the following Manner Viz! That as 12 Miles taken on the Surface in Different Directions will be at different horozontal Distances from the Center, Therefore the horozontal Distances Corisponding to 12 Miles taken on the surface in such several Directions and different circumstances of the Ground as shall be agreed upon being taken and their sum divided by their Number the Quotient may be an horozontal Radius for the Circle.

5th That if the 12 Statute Miles should be run horozontally a great^r Distance than 12 Superficial Miles

from New Castle and a much larger Quantity of Land would be very probably gained by the Prop^r of pennsylv^a than would be gained by Lord Baltimore upon the Medium of the Horizontal Distances of 12 superficial Statute Miles.

6th That the universal practice of measuring Land in Virginia as well as Maryland is upon the superficies without any allowance for the inequality of the Ground, and if any such allowance be made in Pennsylvania wth the Com^{rs} for L^d Baltimore know nothing of and never heard before what was mentioned by one of the Commissioners for the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania yet such allowance did not arise from the Nature of Surveying and measuring of Land but as an Incourgem^t to the purchasers and new Settlers and cannot affect the 2^d or 6th article

New Castle Nov^r 20th 1750.

To		
W ^m Allen	}	Benedict Calvert
Tho ^s Hopkinson		Edm: Jennings
Rich ^d Peters		D. Dulaney
Thos Cookson		Rob ^t Jenckin Henry
Ryves Holt		Jn ^o Ross.
Benj. Chew		
Tench Francis		

Gentlemen

Our Commissions authorize us to run and lay out Part of a Circle according to the Articles of Agreem^t, and the Directions given in the Decree of the Rt. Hon^{ble} the Lord high Chancellor of great Brittain.

By the Articles it is agreed that there shall be so much of a Circle as is requisite drawn and markt out at 12 Miles Distance from the Town of New Castle which 12 Miles shall be 12 english statute Miles and the Decree directs the Circle to be of a Radⁱ or semediam-

iter of 12 Miles 2 different modes of expressing the same Thing and in both the Words so clear that in Our Opinions any endeavour to explain will rather serve to obscure than illustrate them.

The execution of this only is committed to us, and y^t we apprehend it as facile and easie as the Words are plain for if a line or Radius be run horozontally due West or some other Course near it the Distance of 12 english Statute Miles from the Center we have fixed, and other Radii be supposed drawn equidistant from the Center mak^e angles wth each oy^r of one Degree sufficient to form a supposed Circle in all their Extremities they will divide the perefery into 360 equal parts whose Chords or subtenses will be equal to each other if then from the End of y^e West Line the Chord of one Degree be run y^e Length & Course of wth can be exactly computed by Trigonometry, and in the same Manner Chord Lines be run to so many Archs of the perefery as may be requisite one shall run and lay out a part of a regular polygon so nearly to the part of the Circle required that the Diff^e will be inconsiderable and that Difference will be to the loss of the proprietaries of Pennsylvania w^{ch} we apprehend they must submit to in regard of the impractability of laying out the Circle or any part of it exactly.

By runing the Radii horozontally & proceeding in the Method ab^o mentioned or some other like to it w^{ch} we shall gladly accept from you we conceive the Words of the Articles and the Directions in the Decree will be effectually complied with for we shall thereby in Effect draw the part of the Circle required at 12 english Statute Miles Distance from the Center the Radius of semidiameter of w^{ch} Circle will be 12 english Statute Miles from both which we conceive we must evidently and considerably depart if we draw the Circle on the Terminations of Superficial Radii admitting it for argument Sake to be practicable.

Tuesday 20th of Novemb^r

1750.

To Benedict Calvert	} Esqr ^a	W ^m Allen
Edmund Jennings		Tho ^s Hopkinson
Daniel Dulaney Sen ^r		Rich ^d Peters
Robert Jenkins Henry		Thos. Cookson
and John Ross		R'. Holt
		Benj Chew
		Tench Francis.

Adjourned to 11 o'Clock tomorrow Morning.

Nov^r 21st

21st 9^h @ 32' past 10 A M by W. P.'s Theo: Needle
 N^o 1. 4° 46'—N^o 2. 4° 15' @ 11^h 5' @ 15 past 11.—
 N^o 3 4° 14'. p the New Theo: Needle—N^o 4 @ 39' past
 11. 4° 30 or 31. This Forenoon was chiefly spent in
 Making the ab^r Observations—

Secretary Peters lent Me an Eye piece to assist my
 Sight in the Experiment—

This Morning was Cloudy and cool but towards the
 Begining of these observations began to clear away
 grew clear & moderate and the Sun Shone out.

W. P ^s Needles.	New Theodolite.
@ 3 ^h 35, N ^o 1 4° 40'	@ 4 ^h 15. 4° 32' N ^o 1.
46 N ^o 2 4. 15	Note the air to Day was
57 N ^o 3 4. 10	Still & somew ^t Moister &

Cooler than Yesterday & continues to Moisten or grow
 moister, wth Time the Variation grew Less.

this Morning Copied a Certificate for the Surveyors
 and spent most of the other part of the Day in the
 foregoing Observations,—drew a Copy of one of the
 Cases for finding the Tangent Point.

22 Novemb^r A^m.

Last Night it snowed, & this Morning it almost cov-
 ered the Ground this Morning there has been much Dis-
 course concerning going to work.

W P ^s Theo:	New Theo.
Needle N ^o 1 11.20 A M. 4° 40'	Needle N ^o 1
N ^o 2 4° 4'	@ 12 ^h 35' 4° 36'
N ^o 3 @ 12.15' 4° 15'	

This Difference of Needle N^o 2 & N^o 3 seems owing to a very Suddain Change of Air.

When I went out first to make these Observations the Air was cool and agitated by the Wind, and yet so thick as rendred it difficult to see the Lantern thro it; When the observation was made by the second Needle the Air clear and stiller; when by the third the Air yet cooler not quite so clear but more Windy.

On the 8th of Nov^r by the New Theo: Needles N^o 1 & 2. found the Variation @ Philad^a 4° 46' each 9th Day in the Morn^s by Needle N^o 2 5° 15' and in the afternoon 5° 10' the Air Hasey the 12th about Noon found the Variation by Needle N^o 1 4° 48' by Needle N^o 2 4° 42'.

Nov^r 22^d P. M.

at about three went out and Carried W^m Parson's Theo. to the Meridian and by Needle N^o 3 found the Variation 4° 15' at my first going out, & screwing the Instrum^t fast let it stand in the same Position till Sun set, during all which Time could not discern the least alteration in the Direction of the Needle.

At the Beg^s of this Observation the Air was clear and Serene, but grew Cloudy towards Sun set & gradually cooler.

This Evening about Nine we received the Ans^r of Lord Baltimore's Commissioners to the Reasons offered to them Yesterday in support of horizontal Measure by which I was brought to expect there would be nothing done Respecting the Line this Season.

Note the Point in the Maryland Plan, mentioned in these Notes before and supposed designed to represent the Situation of the Court House, was since discovered

to be intended for the Center of Gravity of the Town of New Castle, which it seems the Maryland Surveyors and Mathematicians attempted to find in this ridiculous Manner Viz^t—having made an exact plan of the Survey of the Town; upon a Piece of Paper, they carefully pared away the Edges by the Draught, untill no more than the Draught was left, when sticking a Pin thro it, they suspended it—thereby in different places untill they found a place whereby it might be suspended horizontally, w^{ch} Point or place they accepted as the Center of Gravity.

Novemb^r 23^d

at 8 in the Morning took the Variation p W. Parson's Theo. Needle N^o 3 and found the same to be 4^o 15' the Air cool clear & Still, by the New Theo. Needle N^o 1. 4^o 35' @ ab^t 9 in the Morn.

At a Meet^s of the Com^{rs} on thursday the 15th Day of November 1750, in the Assembly Chamber at New Castle.

Present

Benedict Calvert	} Esq ^{rs}	W ^m Allen	} Esq ^{rs}
Edm. Jennings		Tho ^s Hopkinson	
Robert Henry		Rich ^d Peters	
John Ross		Thos. Cookson	
	Ryves Holt		
	Benj Chew		
	Tench Francis		

The Com^{rs} of the R. hon^{ble} the L^d Baltimore to Benedict Calvert. Benj^a Tasker Jun^r Edm Jennings Dan^l Dulaney Sen^r Rob^t Henry, Geo. Plater and J^{no} Ross Esq^{rs} And of the Hon^{ble} the proprietors of Penn^a to John Kinsey W^m Allen Thos. Hopkinson, Rich^d Peters Tho^s Cookson Ryves Holt and Benj^a Chew Esq^r constitut^s and appoint^s them or any 6, 5, 4 or 3 them respectively their Com^{rs} for the running, marking and laying out part of a Circle and the Division Lines

between the province of Maryland & the province of Pennsylvania & Co^{tes} of New Castle Kent & Sussex on Delaware were read and found to agree wth Each oy^r in Tenor and Date.

Then a Commission of the hon^{ble} James Hamilton Esq^r Governour of the province of Pennsylvania to Tench Francis Esq^r constituting and appt^s him a Com^r in the stead of John Kinsey Esq^r Dec^d was likewise read.

Agreed by the Unanimous Consent of the Com^{rs} That 2 Clerks one to be Chosen by each side shall attend & enter fair Minuts of their proceedings w^{ch} Minuts shall de die in Diem be signed by all the Com^{rs} present in each Book and that one of these Books shall be kept by y^e Com^r of the L^d proprietary of Maryland and the other by the Com^{rs} of the proprietaries of Pennsylvania.

Further Unanimously agreed that y^e 1st Thing Necessary was to find the Middle of the Town of New Castle in Order from thence as a Center to Draw the Circle directed in the Articles and Commissions, this afternoon I spent in Copying the answe^r of Our Commissioners to the Com^{rs} of Maryland and in Transcribing the Minuts in Order for send^s them to the proprietors in England by a Vessel now lying in the River.

24th

this morning finished y^e Copy of the min. and afterwards went out and tried the Variation by W^m Parson's Theo. Needle No 3 @ 9 A. M. and found the same 4^o 8' and @ 11^{ho} 30^o' by the New Theo: Needle N^o 1 4^o 35' The air clear, a little Windy and very cold, a little before Dinner received by the Surveyor Gen^l an Acco^t that the Surveyors were at their Liberty, to go when they pleased.

P. M.

This afternoon employed in Transcribing more Papers to be sent to the proprietaries, and the Com-

missioners on both sides met about 4 o'Clock and Continued Sitting untill ab^t 10. When they brook up Or adjourned till the 22^d of April next.

The Secretary came into our Room after Supper and acquainted me that the Com^m on Part of the prop^m of Pennsylvania had app^{ed} me to assist W^m Parsons in Runing a Line from Cape Henlopen a Cross the Peninsula and withall told me to meet him to Morow Morning @ his Chamber about Sun Rise & that I must Consult W^m Parsons & y^e Maryland Surveyors respecting the Time of Setting out on the Expedition. soon after W^m Parsons came in and told me the Time appointed for the Surveyors meet^s at the Cape was the 20th of December next.

Nov^r 25th 1750.

This Morning I arose early and went to the Secretary accord^s to his Direction & he paid or rather presented me with a very competent Sum of Money in Considⁿ of my attendance at New Castle for these 9 or Ten Days past,—returned again to my Lod^s and immediately got ready to return to Philad^a—set forward @ ab^t 30^r after Nine—reacht Christean Ferry 30^r after 10.—at Chester @ 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ° Clock Ferrage 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Dined there fed my Creature— & at about 2 °Clock set forward to Philada^a—a little above Derby met a Wagon wth the Corps of a man rolld up in a Bed lying therein, kill'd yesterday by a Cart Wheel Runing over him as he was return^s from Market.—came to W^m Greys @ the Conestoga Wagon @ about 5. where I lodged, Gave the Hostler when I left Boggs's at New Castle in the Morn^s 1s. and paid for my Ferrage at Schuylkill . . . 2^d.

Nov^r 26

	£	s	d
Bought of R. Moore Cloth	3	2	19
John Ord 2 ^d Street Buttons		4	3
Recon ^s @ Lod ^s		4	5

Set out of Philadelphia Between 2 & 3 Clock in Company with my Kinsman Ezekiel Potts who came up with me as far as Benjamin Armitages and falling into Discourse concerning the small Pox. He told me that never any Person was more fearful & terrified with the Fear of that Distemper than himself had been, being 30 years of Age & upwards when he had them, that he had determined with himself to build a Cave in a piece of woodland, far from any House and there to remain until the Distemper was abated.

But while he thought of these Things one of his Family was siezed with the Infection, He therefore went immediately to D^r Bond and got himself inoculated and about the 7th Day after began with the Distemper attended with pain in the Back pain in the Head and oy^r the common symptoms of a Cold taken. That his Fever was low & not much exceeding that of drinking a Glass or 2 of Wine, extraordinary. That the Pocks came out at Times and then again retired upon which he sent to advise with D^r Bond concerning taken inflamatory Liquors in Order to promote their coming out; upon which the Doctor paid him a Visit told him there was all the Signs of a well Conditioned Pock, and Stricktly forbad the Taking any Spiritous or Inflamatory Liquors affirming that an indiscreet Use of them in the Hands of old Women had been the Death of Many Patients, who as he said unlike the Doctors who having killed one by mismanagem^t took particular care to destroy no more the same Way for the Future but they (the old Women) not instructed by the Slaughter of one nor of ten still persisted in the same Unhappy Method of Forcing an unnecessary N^o of the pocks out, and thereby greatly increased the Fever at their Turning wth had proved fatal to many and therefore willed him to be content with his proper share, which he observed, and had but a very inconsiderable N^o & came thro' them easily.

Hence it may be observed it is not the Fate of all who greatly fear the Small Pox to die wth them or even to have them severely.

He also told me that a few Drops of Cold Water now or then dropt into the Eyes of any person afflicted with them would infailably preserve the Sight from the Danger attending this Distemper. That such as took them in the Ordinary way—were hove down on the 13th & the inoculated on the 7th Day after.

I reacht home about 9 °Clock P. M.

THE PENNSYLVANIA AND VIRGINIA
BOUNDARY CONTROVERSY.

A paper read before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.

By JOHN E. POTTER, Pittsburgh, Pa.

While all are familiar with the old nursery rhyme

"In the good old Colony times,
When we lived under the King,"

yet few Pittsburghers stop to consider that, during a portion of the good old Colony times, they were not good, loyal Pennsylvanians, but for a time were residents of at first, Augusta district, and later, Yohogania County, Virginia, and were, therefore, citizens of that Commonwealth and subject to its jurisdiction.

This fact was due more to physical and geographic reasons than political. For many years, the mountain ranges of Central Pennsylvania created a formidable barrier between the eastern and western portions of our State. The topography of Southwestern Pennsylvania seemed to naturally connect it with Maryland and Virginia.

The early opening of the Ohio Company's Path, which afterwards became Braddock's Road, gave an easy access to Southwestern Pennsylvania from the region lying southeast of it, while the wilderness separating from the settled portion of the State remained as impenetrable as ever. For this reason, the majority of the very early settlers of Southwest Pennsylvania came from Virginia and Maryland.

The principle of title by conquest and settlement, with utter disregard of all other considerations and rights, was very deeply ingrained into the people of that period. It is, therefore, not at all strange that

Virginia soon laid claim to a region which, to anyone possessing any ordinary gift of foresight, seemed destined to occupy an important and strategic position in the history of the nation. In doing this, however, Virginia wilfully ignored the prior title of the Penns.

The history of the boundary dispute between Pennsylvania and Virginia is a long drawn out story. It is a fruitful subject suggesting many topics for study and investigation. It brings in the original grants from the Crown, not only to Pennsylvania and Virginia, but also to Maryland, and the relative standing of each.

Lord Dunmore's War is closely connected with this attempt of Virginia to extend her borders. The temporary change of the name of Fort Pitt to Fort Dunmore, which became the headquarters of the local Virginia authority, while the Penns maintained a rival seat of government at Hannastown, marks the climax of the struggle.

Mason and Dixon's line will necessarily be referred to in this narrative, for while it is the line between Maryland and Pennsylvania, yet the line between Pennsylvania and Virginia, as finally agreed upon and located, is merely a prolongation of Mason and Dixon's line.

We are also reminded of how near Pittsburgh came to being located in a slave State, if it had remained in Virginia. Pennsylvania passed an Act for the gradual abolition of slavery in 1780, while slavery continued in Virginia for eighty-five years longer.

The leading character in this story of Virginia's connection with history of Southwestern Pennsylvania was the immortal Washington, who, when a twenty-two year-old youth, passed through Pittsburgh in 1753 as a special envoy, commissioned by Gov. Dinwiddie of Virginia to investigate the French forces and designs, and to warn the French to vacate this section.

Washington met here several parties who had come out under the Ohio Company, an Association formed in 1748 in Virginia under a royal grant. The primary object of the formation of the Ohio Company was to direct the trade from this region to the Potomac Route and to people this section with Virginians. This Company was granted 500,000 acres west of the mountains, to be chiefly on the south side of the Ohio River, between the Monongahela and the Kanawha, but with the privilege to take part of the quantity north of the Ohio. General Washington's brothers, Lawrence and John Augustine, were largely interested in the Ohio Company. Christopher Gist was its Agent to select the lands and to conciliate the Indians.

It was this Ohio Company which originally built the fort at the Forks of the Ohio, soon captured by the French and christened Fort Duquesne, but later recaptured by the British and rebuilt as Fort Pitt.

The stirring events of Great Meadows and Fort Necessity, which are among the most important in the history of our Country, were participated in almost exclusively by Virginians, as far as the English were concerned. The Pennsylvania Assembly at this time refused to give any aid to this portion of its own State.

But the event with which the people of Pittsburgh are perhaps the most familiar, is Braddock's defeat. While Braddock's Army included a regiment of regular British soldiers, yet the majority of his Provincial troops were from Virginia. Braddock's defeat in its effect had something in common with Bull Run. The fear caused by this disaster was so universal and widespread that Cumberland County, which, in 1756 included nearly all of Pennsylvania west of the Susquehanna, was practically depopulated of English settlers. This fact aroused the British Government to the importance of the crisis, and in 1758 General Forbes' Army of 7000 were sent out and the French supremacy over the upper Ohio was forever terminated.

As a legal proposition, the claim of Virginia to Southwestern Pennsylvania had very little standing. The original grant to the Southern Company never went above forty degrees north latitude, and this charter was revoked in 1624. This means that Virginia simply had left whatever was not subsequently granted to some other colony.

Between the Penns and Lord Baltimore, there is great room for question as to whether or not, as an abstract proposition, Lord Baltimore was not the nearest right in his contention. The boundary controversy between Pennsylvania and Maryland was merely a case of pertinacity *versus* pugnacity, and as usual pertinacity won out. A Maryland writer says, "If, however, there was anything that could equal the facilities of the Marylanders in making trouble, it was the untiring perseverance with which the Penns devoted themselves to the contest and followed their opponents in all their doublings and they had their reward."

There is, however, absolutely no justification, as far as the records are concerned, for the claim of Virginia to any portion of the land which lies within the present limits of Pennsylvania.

On the other hand, we should take into account the people which Virginia had been sending into this section, the money spent by her citizens in developing it, and the military forces furnished by Virginia to drive out the French and subdue the Indians. The cowardly, niggardly and parsimonious policy of the Pennsylvania provincial government in refusing to do anything or spend anything for the relief, benefit or development of this portion of the State stands out in very strong contrast from this standpoint. Is there, then, any wonder that the Virginians easily persuaded themselves to believe that they were honestly and justly entitled to Southwestern Pennsylvania?

The Pennsylvania and Virginia boundary dispute

may be said to have begun with the founding of the Ohio Company in 1748. The issue was kept alive for thirty-two years or until Virginia reluctantly ratified the agreement of the Boundary Commissioners in 1780.

The situation did not become acute until the Penns, after the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768 and the purchase by them at that time from the Indians of the lands west of the Susquehanna, offered these lands for sale in 1769 at five pounds per hundred acres. In 1771, Bedford County was erected which extended over this section, the government of the Penns.

John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, was appointed Governor of Virginia in 1772. Lord Dunmore was unscrupulous, arbitrary and cruel. One of his first acts as governor, was to press the claims of Virginia to Southwestern Pennsylvania. He found a willing tool and a man to his liking in one Dr. John Connolly, who, strange to say, was a Pennsylvanian, being a native of Lancaster County.

George Washington, speaking in his Journal of his visit to Fort Pitt in 1770, tells of meeting at Semple's Tavern, Dr. John Connolly, "Nephew to Col. Croghan, a very sensible and intelligent man, who had travelled over a good part of this Western Country, both by land and water."

Dr. Connolly came to Pittsburgh as the representative of Lord Dunmore in 1773, and erected a small stockade in the ruins of Fort Pitt, calling it Fort Dunmore, and issued a formal proclamation in the name of the Governor of Virginia. Arthur St. Clair, representing the Penns, had Connolly arrested and thrown into jail at Hannastown, but he was released on bail. At the next session of Court at Hannastown, Connolly reported with one hundred and fifty armed men and arrested the three Justices, sending them under guard to Staunton, Virginia. In a letter from Governor Penn

to Lord Dunmore, protesting against Connolly's actions, Penn states that Pittsburgh is six miles eastward of the western extent of his Province.

Virginia apparently claimed everything west of Laurel Ridge, the present boundary line between Somerset and Westmoreland Counties, but her claims do not appear to have been extended north of the Kiskiminitas, the Allegheny and the Ohio.

John Penn, as against the pretensions of Virginia, maintained that the southerly boundary line of Pennsylvania was the southerly line of the fortieth degree of north latitude. He, however, conceded that the westerly line of Pennsylvania must be parallel with the line of the Delaware River at a distance of five degrees of longitude westerly therefrom. The Penns in 1774 offered to compromise with Virginia by extending Mason and Dixon's line to the Monongahela River, and then following that river to the Ohio. Virginia rejected this offer as it gave Pittsburgh to Pennsylvania.

If Virginia had accepted this proposition, Pennsylvania would have lost the whole of Beaver, Lawrence and Mercer Counties, nearly all of Washington, two-fifths of Allegheny, and portions of Greene, Fayette, Butler, Venango, Crawford and Erie Counties.

The portions lost to this State north of the Ohio would not have gone to Virginia, but would have passed to the Federal Government and, in all probability, have later become a part of Ohio.

On the other hand, the Virginia Legislature in 1776 passed a Resolution providing that the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Virginia should be the westerly line of Maryland extended north until it intersected the latitude of forty degrees, and thence westerly along said latitude until the distance of five degrees of longitude from the Delaware was reached, and thence from said point five degrees from the meanderings of the Delaware.

Thus it will be seen that both Governor Penn and Lord Dunmore at times offered the other more than the other claimed, so little did either know as to the correct location of their boundary lines.

The Virginia Courts for the district of West Augusta were held in Pittsburgh, then called Fort Dunmore, during 1775 and 1776. The district was divided into three counties called Ohio, Yohogania and Monongalia. Pittsburgh was in Yohogania County, which included the greater part of the present Allegheny and Washington Counties.

In these days, when women's rights are kept so prominently in the foreground, it is somewhat startling to read in the old Court Records of the district of West Augusta the following court order made on February 22, 1775:

“Ordered that the Sheriff employ a workman to build a ducking stool at the confluence of the Ohio with the Monongahela.”

What would the poor, oppressed, down-trodden women of one hundred and thirty-eight years ago, who were threatened with the Ducking Stool for merely exercising their right of free speech, have thought of their window-smashing sisters of the present day?

The Courts of Yohogania County were held at the farm of Andrew Heath, a mile or so above West Elizabeth, but within the present lines of Allegheny County, until August 28, 1780, when the boundary agreement between Pennsylvania and Virginia went into effect. Washington County was erected on March 21, 1781, and the records of Yohogania County, Virginia, became part of the records of Washington County, Pennsylvania.

Lord Dunmore and Dr. Connolly not only stirred up the struggle between Pennsylvania and Virginia, but also, by their continued cruelty and treachery in their

dealings with the Indians, brought on the noted Dunmore's War. The history of this War contains some of the blackest and most shameful incidents in the history of our Nation. During this struggle, the celebrated speech of Logan is supposed to have been delivered. I am aware that the iconoclast denies that Logan was the author of this speech, claiming that it was written by Thomas Jefferson. Some descendant of this iconoclast will no doubt in time endeavor to prove that Logan never existed and that Dunmore's War was a creation of the disordered imagination of the early historians of our Country.

The War of the Revolution, however, was close at hand, Lord Dunmore had to flee and Dr. Connolly, being a notorious Tory, was arrested for treason but soon released. He reported to General Gage at Boston, received a Commission as Lieutenant Colonel to raise a regiment among the Indians. He was captured at Hagerstown, Maryland, on his way West and was held prisoner until exchanged in 1781. Virginia continued, however, to maintain her claims for several years after Lord Dunmore and Dr. Connolly had disappeared as actors in this play.

Capt. John Neville arrived in Pittsburgh in August 1775, with a company of one hundred men and took possession of Fort Pitt. Captain, afterwards General, Neville, was a true patriot and thoroughly loyal to the Colonies. The boundary dispute was dropped temporarily during the struggle with the mother Country, and in 1779 both Pennsylvania and Virginia agreed to a joint commission to settle the matter.

The line finally agreed upon was an extension of Mason and Dixon's Line, and a brief reference to that division line between Pennsylvania and Maryland is, therefore, necessary.

The Charter to Lord Baltimore (Cecilius Calvert), was granted in June, 1632, and called for the fortieth

degree north latitude and the first fountain of the Potomac as the northern boundary.

The Charter to William Penn, dated March 4, 1681, called for a boundary on the south by a circle drawn at twelve miles distant from New Castle northward, and westward into the beginning of the fortieth degree of north latitude and thence by a straight line westward five degrees in longitude. The beginning of the fortieth degree of north latitude, however, was fifty miles south of New Castle, instead of twelve miles north. The matter was further complicated by the question as to which point in New Castle was to be the centre of the circle with a twelve-mile radius; was it at the centre or on the edge of the town?

The important question, however, was whether the dividing line between Maryland and Virginia was the northern or the southern line of the fortieth degree of north latitude. If not either—where? Is it any wonder that this dispute waxed warm and bitter for eighty-two years?

Among the compliments and endearing epithets interchanged between the belligerent Pennsylvanians and Marylanders were the terms "Quaking Cowards" applied to the Pennites, who retaliated by styling their opponents "Hominy Gentry."

Commissioners were appointed by both sides in 1750 who made such slow progress that in August, 1763, the Penns and Lord Baltimore employed Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, two astronomers in London, to complete the work.

The boundary line located by these men was 39° 43' 32" or about nineteen miles south of the northerly line of the fortieth degree of north latitude. This line was run west about one hundred and sixty miles out in the Allegheny mountains by June, 1766, when the Indians forbade the Surveyors going any farther.

Permission was then secured by the Governors of

Maryland and Pennsylvania from the Six Nations, and in the Summer of 1767 the line was run to the western limit of Maryland, being the meridian of the first fountain of the Potomac.

The Surveyors, however, did not stop there, they having determined, if possible, to reach the end of the five degrees of longitude, the extent of the Penn grant West. However, when they arrived at the Warrior branch of the old Catawba Path, at the second crossing of Dunkard Creek, a little west of Mt. Morris in Greene County, the Indian escort notified them that they had been instructed by their Chiefs in Council not to let the line be run westward of that Path.

Messrs. Mason and Dixon reported to the Commissioners on December 27, 1767, and then prepared the map of their work. On November 9, 1768, they made their final report to the Proprietaries.

In 1779, the Commissioners appointed to settle the boundary dispute between Pennsylvania and Maryland, being George Bryan, John Ewing and David Rittenhouse, representing Pennsylvania, and Right Rev. James Madison, Rev. Robert Andrews and Thomas Lewis on the part of Virginia, met at Baltimore. The final agreement was signed on August 31, 1779. Its terms were extremely simple, considering the many years that the controversy had lasted; it was as follows:

“To extend Mason and Dixon’s line due West five degrees of longitude, to be computed from the River Delaware, for the southern boundary of Pennsylvania; and that a meridian drawn from the western extremity thereof to the northern line of said State be the western line of said State forever.”

The Pennsylvania Legislature confirmed this Agreement on November 19, 1779.

Virginia delayed action, and in the meantime appointed representatives who met at Redstone Old Fort

and also at Coxe's Fort, in Washington County, near the Monongahela River, above Elizabeth, and at other points, and granted hundreds of Certificates to claimants under Virginia Settlement Rights. These Certificates have always been known as Virginia Certificates. The title to General Washington's lands in Mt. Pleasant Township, Washington County, is based on Virginia Certificates.

It is easy to imagine what readily would and what really did follow, viz, that a storm of indignation was raised which all but wrecked the compromise agreement and again brought Pennsylvania and Virginia to the verge of war.

However, in July, 1780, the Legislature of Virginia passed an Act confirming the Baltimore agreement, but with the proviso, viz: "On condition that the private property and rights of all persons acquired under, founded on, or recognized by the laws of either country previous to the date hereof, be saved and confirmed to them." Pennsylvania, although greatly protesting, on September 23, 1780, through her Legislature, accepted the condition and the long drawn-out dispute was finally at an end.

Boyd Crumrine, Esq., of Washington, Pa., the best living authority on the Pennsylvania-Virginia boundary controversy, to whom credit is due for a large part of the facts and information given in this paper, has in his possession an original document giving the names of six hundred and fifty-nine settlers who, between November 17, 1779, and June 25, 1780, proved their titles under Virginia entries before the Commissioners from Virginia.

The Returns of Survey, in the office of the Secretary of Internal Affairs at Harrisburg, show that ninety-six Returns of Survey under Virginia entries were made to lands now located within the lines of Allegheny County.

All that was then left to be done was the running of the permanent boundary line on the ground.

The Commission appointed for this purpose in 1783 consisted, on the part of Virginia, of the Right Rev. James Madison, Bishop of Virginia; Rev. Robert Andrews, John Page and Thomas Lewis. The Pennsylvania Commissioners were John Lukens, Surveyor General; Rev. John Ewing, D.D., David Rittenhouse and Thomas Hutchins. The corner was located by astronomical observations. An observatory was erected at Wilmington, Delaware, near the eastern end of the line, and a similar one near the supposed location of the western end. During six weeks preceding the Autumnal equinox of 1784, continued observations were made to determine the respective meridians and latitude. A representative of each party meeting, they found a difference of twenty minutes, one and one-eighth seconds. The original grant of the Penns called for five degrees of longitude. They then calculated that twenty minutes of time were equal to five degrees of longitude and made allowance for the one and one-eighth seconds and shortened the line to twenty minutes from the Delaware and thus permanently located the southwest corner of Pennsylvania.

It is very interesting and instructive at this stage of the world's history and progress, especially when at times one hears some pessimist groaning over the degeneracy of the times, to read, that notwithstanding the fact that there were two clergymen among the representatives from Virginia, and one from Pennsylvania on the boundary commission, during the six weeks' service of these estimable gentlemen there was consumed, or at least was furnished, sixty gallons of spirits, twenty gallons brandy, forty gallons Madeira wine, two hundred pounds loaf sugar and a keg of lime juice.

This incident reminds one of the story about good

old Dr. Charles Beatty, the first Presbyterian Clergymen west of the Alleghenies. Dr. Beatty was at one time Chaplain of a company of soldiers commanded by Dr. Franklin. We quote Franklin's own words as given in Day's Historical Collections.

"We had for our Chaplain a zealous Presbyterian Minister, Mr. Beatty, who complained to me that the men did not generally attend his prayers and exhortations. When they enlisted they were promised, besides pay and provisions, a gill of rum a day, which was punctually served out to them, half in the morning and half in the evening; and I observed they were punctual in attending to receive it, upon which I said to Mr. Beatty, 'It is, perhaps, below the dignity of your profession to act as steward of the rum; but if you were to distribute it out, only just after prayers, you would have them all about you.' He liked the thought, undertook the task, and, with the help of a few hands to measure out the liquor, executed it to satisfaction; and never were prayers more generally and punctually attended. So that I think this method preferable to the punishment inflicted by some military laws, for non-attendance on divine service."

The year following, 1785, the westerly line of Pennsylvania was run from the corner so established to the Ohio River, by Col. Andrew Porter and David Rittenhouse for Pennsylvania, and Joseph Neville and Andrew Ellicott for Virginia. The westerly line was completed to Lake Erie in 1786 by Colonel Porter, and Col. Alex. McClain.

The Erie Triangle belonged to New York and Massachusetts and was ceded by them to the Federal Government and then purchased by Pennsylvania in 1792, for \$151,640.

The most remarkable feature, however, connected with the history of this long, drawn-out controversy, is the fact that the Dove of Peace apparently spread her

wings over this so long disturbed region as soon as the settlement was formally agreed upon.

The records of the Courts of Washington, Allegheny and Fayette Counties show so comparatively few lawsuits and contests that the query at once arises as to why this is the case, especially in a section settled with a class of people with so supposedly belligerent proclivities as the Scotch-Irish.

This point cannot be better illustrated than by a reference to the leading case of litigation caused by the boundary question. This contest came very close to Pittsburgh as the question involved was the ownership of Neville Island, formerly known as Montours Island, in the Ohio River. The case being *Simms vs. Irvine*, decided May 28, 1799, in the Supreme Court of the United States on appeal from the Circuit Court of Pennsylvania.

The King of Great Britain, at the close of the War with France in 1763, empowered and commanded the Governors of the Colonies to reward the officers and soldiers who had served in North America to the end of the War, with gifts of unappropriated lands. Under the proclamation, one Maj. William Douglass received a right for five thousand acres which he assigned to Charles Simms, a citizen of Virginia. In May, 1780, Simms, as Assignee, received from the Register of the Virginia Land Office, a Military Warrant for five thousand acres which he claimed he delivered to the Surveyor of Yohogania County, with directions to locate it in several parcels, one of which was to be Montours Island.

General William Irvine, a distinguished soldier of the Revolution, then commanding officer at Pittsburgh, received by Act of the Legislature passed September 24, 1783, a Pre-emption right. The Act is entitled "An Act to grant the right of pre-emption to an island, known by the name of Montours Island, in the Ohio

River, to Brigadier General William Irvine. The Surveyor General was directed to cause a survey of the Island to be made and have the same returned into the Land Office for confirmation by Patent. This was done, and on December 18, 1787, General Irvine paid into the Reciever-General's Office £283, 13s. 6d., the cost of the Island at £30 per hundred acres (or eighty cents per acre), and received his Patent.

An ejection suit was then brought against Gen. Irvine by Simms in the Circuit Court of Pennsylvania to recover the Island under his military grant. The jury found that the Deputy Surveyors for Washington County had received from the Surveyor General the list of entries which contained an entry for the land claimed by Simms and that on April 13, 1787, they surveyed Montours Island and returned the survey into the Surveyor-General's Office, setting forth that it was made for Charles Simms, assignee of William Douglass, under the Virginia warrant entry and location.

The Supreme Court held that a military right to lands obtained under a royal proclamation in 1763 was assignable under the laws of Virginia to an inhabitant of that State, and that obtaining a warrant on that right and locating it gave the assignee an equitable title which was confirmed by the compact between Pennsylvania and Virginia, and so upheld the Simms title.

General Irvine, a loyal and faithful citizen of Pennsylvania, was thus compelled to surrender his title to Montours Island, which had been granted to by him by the Legislature. To indemnify him, the Legislature subsequently gave him a State reservation of 2000 acres at the mouth of Harbor Creek on Lake Erie.

This condensed statement of this celebrated controversy is found in a very interesting paper on this Virginia boundary question in the Report of the Pennsylvania Secretary of Internal Affairs of 1895.

It is interesting to note that this most important

and leading case on the boundary controversy was decided in favor of the Virginia entry.

In stating the principles upon which the disputes between the Virginia and Pennsylvania settlers claiming under different entries were settled, I cannot do better than to quote from this excellent paper:

“There were instances within the disputed territory where the same lands were granted to different persons by the authorities of each State, but provision was made for such conflicting claims in the Acts ratifying the boundary agreement. For the adjustment of such cases, it was enacted that in the decision of disputes ‘preference was to be given to the elder or prior right in whichever of the States the same had been acquired, the persons paying, within whose boundary the land was included, the same purchase money which would have been due from them to the State under which they claimed the right’, etc., so that a Virginia title, obtained in conformity with the laws of the State, if older than a Pennsylvania title, was to be preferred, and vice versa. To the honor of the Courts of Pennsylvania, it may be said that in all cases tried before them which involved a conflict between Pennsylvania and Virginia titles, the compact between the States was held to be inviolate, and by every consideration of moral and political obligation, to be upheld and enforced with fidelity; and today, within the territory, so long a matter of earnest contention, land titles are so well settled that there is probably no section of the State, unless the three original and a few of the older Counties, in which there is less land litigation than in the Counties formed out of the disputed district.”

The story of the Pennsylvania and Virginia boundary controversy stands out in strong contrast with the story of the Pennamite War, that long, bitter and cruel struggle between the settlers under the Connecticut Grants in the Wyoming Valley and the speculators who

had purchased the same lands from the Penns in Philadelphia.

The treatment which the Connecticut settlers received from our Pennsylvania settlers, Legislatures and Courts, constitutes a black chapter of injustice and oppression extending over a century.

The awful tale of the Indian Massacre of the Wyoming Valley seems too horrible for belief, yet the plundered and homeless survivors of that Massacre, instead of receiving the pity and encouragement they so sorely needed, within a very few years were again driven from their homes by the Militia sent out on behalf of the Philadelphia land speculators.

Perhaps the most disgraceful feature of this controversy was the policy of the Pennsylvania Legislature which, under fear of the Wyoming Valley being formed into a separate State, passed an Act in 1787 confirming the titles of the Connecticut settlers, only to repeal the Act in 1790 as soon as the danger of interference from New York and New England was apparently passed. If you think this picture too strongly drawn, just read the chapter on the Pennamite War in the "Making of Pennsylvania," written by a Philadelphian, Sydney George Fisher.

Sometimes we of Western Pennsylvania may have the finger of scorn pointed at us on account of the local Rebellion known as the "Whiskey Insurrection" (although I am afraid the truth is that we are all rather proud of it than otherwise), or on account of that story of which we really should hang our heads in shame, the Massacre of the Moravian Indians at Gnadenhutzen (although the last was a blind, hot-headed act of revenge for a series of repeated Indian murders and massacres). Yet when one reads the story of the Pennamite War and the injustice perpetrated by those of Eastern Pennsylvania, he cannot help thinking that people who live in glass houses should not throw stones.

But now, to return to the question, the explanation of the comparatively peaceful settlement of the Pennsylvania-Virginia boundary controversy locally between the settlers claiming under the different grants. The writer has long endeavored to discover in the histories, biographies and chronicles bearing upon the settlement of this region, any effort to trace a distinctive type of the Virginia settler as separate from the Pennsylvania Colonist, but there is apparently very little to be found on this subject. The nearest approach is the following extract from a work of a revered local historian, who was for so many years President of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.

In Warner's History of Allegheny County Dr. Lambing says:

"In general, it may be said that the settlers were, for the most part, from Virginia, while the Indian traders were Pennsylvanians; and that while it was to the interest of the former to drive the natives back, exterminate or get rid of them by any means, and the more summary the better, the latter wished, on the contrary, to cultivate friendly relations with them. This gave rise to a conflict of interests; and although the Virginians seemed to have the better of it in the possession of the lands, the Pennsylvanians held the centre of trade and population with its celebrated Fort, which commanded the water courses, a matter of the greatest importance in those days."

Dr. Lambing also calls attention to the Act passed March 1, 1780, for gradual abolition of slavery, providing that all negroes and mulattoes born after the passage of the Act who would, but for the passage of said Act, been servants for years, or life, or a slave, shall remain the servant of such person entitled to their services until they attain the age of twenty-eight years, and goes on to state that this Act was very offensive to the settlers from Virginia who had brought

slaves with them. It is even said that General Washington was so displeased that he regarded it as a personal affront and disposed of all his real and personal property in Fayette County.

It is also said that a large portion of the Virginians and Marylanders who had settled with their slaves west of Laurel Hill became so angry at the passage of the measure and the location of the boundary line which placed them in Pennsylvania instead of Virginia, that they sold out their holdings and moved with their slaves to Kentucky, to which section there was a very heavy immigration soon after 1780.

Some claim that in certain portions of Fayette County there is even now a noticeable difference between the people living on the north and south sides of the Youghiogheny which can be traced back to the Pennsylvania and Virginia ancestors. Also that some of the Church quarrels of long standing in that section can be traced back to the feeling between the forefathers of a century and more back. Yet those making these statements claim that these dissensions were not caused by difference of race, but a difference of opinion between those of the same blood.

Mr. Boyd Crumrine, already referred to, has informed the writer that after long and careful investigation, study and inquiry, he is of the opinion that there is no distinctive type of the early Virginia settlers in Western Pennsylvania, for the reason that the great majority of these settlers are of the same Scotch-Irish stock which later came over the mountains from Eastern Pennsylvania. In fact, very many of these early Virginia settlers had originally settled in Pennsylvania and had moved from Lancaster and Bucks Counties, Pennsylvania, to Virginia and from that State to this section.

The writer believes that this view is correct and that, to a very great extent, the conflicting parties in this struggle were of the same race and blood.

While this may appear to furnish an answer to the question as to why the long and bitter controversy was, in the main, so easily, quickly and peaceably settled after the adjustment was finally agreed to between the two commonwealths, yet any student of history well knows that the struggles between those of the same blood have often proved of the longest standing and the most irreconcilable.

The conclusion certainly cannot be avoided that the greater portion of the credit for the so desirable and praiseworthy condition following the actual settlement of the Pennsylvania-Virginia controversy, is due, in great part, to the sturdy common sense, good judgment, Christian patriotism and peace-loving disposition of the settlers in the territory affected by the question involved.

The critical spirit of the age seems so determined to emphasize the weaknesses, failings and shortcomings of the early settlers in Southwestern Pennsylvania, that it is high time that at least occasionally the forefathers are viewed from the other standpoint, and honor given where honor is due.

A LOCAL INCIDENT OF EARLY COLONIAL
DAYS, 1722-1723.

[In the Manuscript Division of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania are to be found the following documents under the caption: "The Swedes' Petition to the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania; The Governor's Letter thereupon to the Commissioners of Property, with Their Report in Answer to the same."

The Votes of Assembly contain the following:

12 mo. 28, 1721/22. "Benjamin Vinning, according to leave given, brought in a Bill intituled *An Act for the further Confirmation of Rights to Land and for avoiding Law Suits concerning the same*, which was read the first time and ordered a second reading."

1 mo. 7, 1722. "The Bill intituled *An Act for the further Confirmation of Rights to Land and for avoiding Law Suits concerning the same*, was read the second time, also a written message from the Governor with the copy of a letter from him to the Commissioners of Property and their answer to him, all touching the business of the *Swedes*, mentioned in their Petition and the aforesaid Bill; and, after some time spent in debate of the said Bill, the question was put, that the said Bill be committed, in order to a third reading. *Passed in the Negative*; and then the House adjourned till three o Clock this afternoon."]

TO THE HONOURABLE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PROVINCE
OF PENNSYLVANIA, IN ASSEMBLY MET AT PHILADEL-
PHIA.

*The humble Petition of several ancient
Settlers and Owners of Land in the said
Province;*

SHEWETH,

That whereas several of the first Settlers and Inhabitants of this Province, have, for valuable Considerations, deriv'd their Titles to their respective Lands from Governor's residing at New-York, before the Patent for Pennsylvania was granted; which Titles the Proprietary and Governor of Pennsylvania did ever since approve of. And the said Settlers and Possessors, by Virtue thereof, quietly enjoyed their

respective Lands and Plantations for above Forty Years. And although the said Proprietary, among others his Proposals and Concessions, for the Encouraging of Settling this Province, did give out, That Seven Years quiet Possessions should gain an undoubted Right; yet so it is, that within these Five Years last past several Designing Persons within this Government have asserted, that the said Settlers, particularly the Swedes and others claiming under them, have no Right or Title to the Lands they possess, and have so done ever since the said Proprietary's Patent was had and continued undisturbed therein, until a late Suit at Law commenced, by Shute against Justis, to the great Disquiet and Uneasiness of your Petitioners, and divers other Inhabitants of this Province, who have been considerable Instruments in promoting the Prosperity and Happiness thereof; particularly in its Infancy. And have always paid a dutiful Regard to the Government, and hope still, under those Conditions, peaceably to enjoy those Possessions, to them and their Heirs, which they and their Ancestors, for so many Years undisturbedly, held. And to that End your Petitioners humbly pray. This House would be pleased, for the Peace, Quiet and Satisfaction of Multitudes of the Inhabitants of this Province, to grant them Leave to bring in such a Bill, as may confirm them in their respective Rights and Possessions, which in Justice and Law they ought to enjoy.

And your Petitioners, as in Duty bound, shall ever pray, &c.

John Orcher,
Andrew Longacre,
Andrew Rambo,
John Cock,
Jonathan Jones,
Andrew Jones,
John Ellett,

Andrew Justa,
Christoph Swanson,
Edward Brookes,
John Keen,
Swan Rambo,
Lawrence Boone,
Charles Cox,

Andrew Yocum,	Zachariah Cock,
Swan Yocum,	Mathias Niclins,
Andrew Boone,	Swan Boone,
Andrew Hengreson,	Hans Torton,
James Hunt,	Valentine Cock,
Hans Boone,	Swan Justa,
David Morton,	Justa Justis,
Peter Longacre,	John Swanson,
John Worrell,	Richard Langdon,
John Till,	William Coates,
John Williamson,	Peter Rambo, Jr.
Peter Rambo, Sen.	Neels Boone,
Yeomans Gillingham,	Isaac Worrall,
Richard Roads,	

*To Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, and James Logan,
Esqrs, Commissioners of Property for the Province
of Pennsylvania.*

Gentlemen;

Having ever since my Arrival into this Government, maintain'd a perfect good Understanding with the Representatives of the People in Assembly, I have nothing more at Heart than carefully to preserve and continue the same during my Administration: And I cannot think of any thing that will contribute more towards the Attaining that End, than a firm Resolution, first to be well advised, before I take it upon me to conclude or determine any Matter of Consequence.

I have therefore thought fit to refer the inclosed Petition, from a Number of Persons, who seem to assume the Appellation of Swedes, unto your Considerations, that you may freely give me your Opinions in a Matter that so nearly concerns the Trust that is Reposed in your board. And though I do not by any Means approve of the Method that these People take of distinguishing themselves from the rest of His Majesty's Subjects in this Province, yet, as it is

far from my Inclination to deny or refuse to any of the People what appears to be their just Rights; So on the other Hand, I will not be led, on any Considerations or Pretence whatsoever, to violate the known Rules of Justice, or of my Duty in maintaining it. I am,
Gentlemen,

Your very humble Servant,

W. Keith.

To the Honourable Sir William Keith, Baronet, Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, and Counties of Newcastle, Kent and Suffex, upon Delaware.

The Report of Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, and James Logan, Proprietary Agents for the same, in Answer to the Governor's Letter.

May it please the Governor—

Having seriously considered the Petition from certain Person amongst us, called Swedes, address'd to the House of Representatives, which the Governor, by His Letter of the 20th. of last Month, was pleased to refer to us, for our Opinion, we, with all due Submission, humbly offer our Sentiments upon it as follows:

As we cannot find, that any one of those persons, whose Names are put to that Petition, has had their Title to Lands held by Virtue of Grants from the Government of New-York called in question, by the late Proprietor, or any under him, within the Compass of our knowledge; we have therefore just Cause to apprehend, that this Petition arises from a much different Foundation.

For, of all Men in this Province, those called the Swedes have certainly the least Reason to complain of hard Usage. The Proprietor at his first Arrival, finding their Ancestors possessed of the then most valuable Tracts of Land on the Front of the River, without enquiring into the Validity of their Titles; but considering them as Strangers in an English Government,

through His known Benevolence to Mankind, was pleased so far to distinguish them by His Favour, as to confirm to all such as applied to him, all their just Claims, to the great Dissapointment of those English Adventurers who imbark'd with him and hazarded their Lives and Fortunes, on the commendable Design of Peopling this Colony, : Or, where it was found necessary, to apply any of those Claims to other Purposes, He was pleased to make very ample Compensation for them: A pregnant Instance of which is, His Grant of Six Hundred Acres of Land to the Swansons, in lieu of a very slender Claim they had to about Half that Quantity, in the Place where it was judged most convenient this City should be built. The same Measures also His Commissioners, by His Order, from Time to Time pursued in relation to these People. And Himself again, on His Second Arrival, finding them much crowded in their old Possessions, through the same Goodness, in a most peculiar Manner, extended His Favours, by granting them in one Tract, for their greater Convenience, no less than Ten Thousand Acres of Land on Schuylkill, without any other Considerations on their Parts, than the easy Quit-Bent of one Bushel of Wheat for each Hundred Acres yearly; of which divers of them have, by Sale of their Rights without any Improvement, made considerable Advantage.

Yet notwithstanding these special Marks of Favour, which these People, when left to themselves, will duly acknowledge. In our former unhappy Times, when Men, who delighted in embarrassing the Publick, exerted their Endeavours to promote that End, one of the Measures then taken was, to Spirit up those People to petition the Assembly, and to complain of Grievances: So that this is not the first Time that they have been prevailed upon, by truly designing Persons, (to use the Words of the Petition) to draw upon themselves the Imputation of Ingratitude. In which nevertheless they

may the more easily be pardon'd, since they were only made Use of by others; and that it might be truly said of them, as some of themselves have owne'd, that they knew not what they did.

But feeling the Petition mentions the Suit between Shute and Justis; and as a groundless Clamour has been raised and spread from that and another Affair, both grounded originally on the Claims of the Swansons, we shall beg Leave, briefly and truly to represent both Cases, that the State of these Matters may be the more clearly understood.

The Proprietor, after his first Arrival, as we have already observed, granted by his Warrant to three Brothers of the Swansons, Six Hundred Acres of Land, very near this City, and within the Bounds of its Liberties, which was to be held under the yearly Quit-Rent of only Three Bushels of Wheat for the whole. This the said Brothers, or their Relicts, or Heirs, disposed of to two English Men, and another Swede who married one of the Family; but having no other Title than a Warrant and Survey, they obliged themselves, (as we have been credibly informed) by Articles and Bonds, to procure a Patent; and until that was done, to pay the Quit-Rents. At the Proprietor's Return into the Province, all these three Brothers being then dead, their Widows, after a Law had been passed for a General Re-survey, applied to the Proprietor, requesting, according to the Practice at that Time, a Re-survey and Title to the said Lands, that they might be eased from the farther Payment of Quit-Rents, and discharge their or their late Husband's Bonds; desiring, That the Overplus in Measure might be cut off. For as no more than six Hundred Acres were sold, they were obliged to make a Title only to that Quantity. A Warrant was accordingly granted at their Request, the Land was Re-surveyed, and though it lay within the City Liberties, in which Lands were wanted, to answer the De-

mands of the first Original Purchasers, who had not obtain'd the Rights due to them by the Proprietor's first Concessions, to Purchasers in England; yet, to the Manifest Injury of those Purchaser's, the Allowance of Ten Acres in the Hundred was also made to that Land. Six Hundred and Sixty Acres, that there might be no room for Complaint, instead of Six Hundred, were regularly laid out; most of the Over-Measure above that Quantity, was cut off on the Side remotest from the Town, adjoining to the City of Liberty Land, and a Patent was prepared confirming the whole Six Hundred and Sixty Acres to those three Widows, according to their Desire. But whether it was to make a firmer Title to the Vendees and their Assigns, or for whatever other End, the Widows applied to the Proprietor again and, at the instance of those Men, requested, that the Tract might be divided into three equal Parts of Two Hundred Acres each, with the mentioned Allowance, and be severally confirmed to those Vendees, Sc, respectively; in which they were also gratified. The Division-Lines and Bounds were actually run and return'd into the Office; and according to those Returns, Three several Patents to the Vendees were drawn by the Secretary and sign'd by the Proprietor in 1701 now above Twenty Years ago: And most of the Over-Measure being thrown off, as has been observ'd, to the other City Liberty Lands, was about Fourteen Years after, granted indifferently, with others of the same, to Thomas Shute, who having at high Rates bought divers Rights to Liberty-Land belonging to Original Purchases made of the Proprietor in England, in the Years 1681 and 1682, to the Quantity of One Hundred and Twenty Acres, as he fully made appear to us, obtained Warrants for the same; and the Surveyor in laying it out taking some Part (as he had good Reasons) of the Over-Plus of the Swansons, which had so long before been cut off from the Tract,

return'd it accordingly into the Office, and a Patent was thereupon granted to Thomas Shute, in the usual Manner, for all those Rights together. Now, tho' the Swansons, had never any Pretence to Land there, but from the Proprietor's Patents, tho' they have the utmost they can claim, either in Law or Equity; tho' the Over-Plus in the first erroneous Survey was regularly cut off; and tho' Thomas Shute held his Land by Virtue of Firm Original Deeds of Lease and Release, executed by the Proprietor in England, before any one Adventurer came over into Pennsylvania, and had it as regularly survey'd and confirmed by Patent, as any other Lands have been in the Province as can be largely proved: Yet some Men not only have the Assurance to disturb him in his Possession, but have been so unjust as to raise a Clamour, and impose on many to believe, that the Rights of the good Swedes, have in this Case been invaded; when in Truth the Question only lies in this, Whether or not the Assigns of the Swansons shall hold much more than their Due, and what they have no manner of Right to, and thereby deprive the Assigns of the first English Purchasers of their undoubted Rights, that have been largely paid for; That is, Whether a Warrant to a Swede, with an erroneous Survey upon it, shall give a better Right to what was never granted, nor intended to be granted, than English Deeds of Lease and Release, with a regular Process through the Offices for a Confirmation, will give, for what was truly purchased so many Years before?

The other Case is this. The same three Widows, whom we have mentioned, applied to the Proprietor in the same Year 1701, for the Grant of some unsurvey'd Marsh or Cripple, which lay contiguous to their, or their Children's Lands in Wickakoe. The Proprietor, with his usual Indulgence to these People, the same Day granted them a Warrant for Fifty Acres; Nor

was it understood that they had any Right to any of that Marsh, except that they yearly made Use of the Grass of it, but from this grant only, Some few Years ago, the unhappy Heirs to Two Thirds of those Lands were induced to sell their Rights in Wickakoe, both High-Land and March, to some English Purchasers: (for from such Sales only those Clamours have rose) Hereupon immediately the new Purchasers were pleased to give out, That they had a Right, not only to their respective Shares of the Fifty Acres granted by the Proprietor to the Widows, but of all the Marsh that lay there. This being wholly new to us, who were then about encouraging the Improvement of the vacant Marshes and Cripples to the Southward of this Town, we appointed a Day for all those to meet us, whom we understood to have any Claims to those Lands at Wickakoe; and accordingly being met, we desired them to acquaint us with the Claim we understood they had made to the Remainder of that Marsh, above the Fifty Acres; assuring them, that if they had any Equitable Right, of which we had never found the least Footstep or Probability, we were so far from desiring to deprive them of it that we should be ready to confirm it to them: But their Lawyer, then with them (for what Reason he best knows) advised them, (as some of them have freely owned) against it, alledging, at the same time, something out of the Royal-Charter to the Proprietor which was never there. On this Head also, though more could not have been done on our Parts; and notwithstanding we have no Foundation to believe they have any such Right as they have pretended, the same kind of Noise and Clamours has been raised, fomented, not so much by the Swedes themselves as by others more nearly related to Great Britain, who may too justly be accounted the truly designing Men, to whom our Divisions, whenever they arise, will be owing.

These (may it please the Governor) are the only

Cases we know, in which the Swedes, in the late Cry, have been rendered as suffering Persons; And perhaps it may exceed the Belief of any rational Man, who is a Stranger to the Place that such indirect Uses could be made of them.

Upon the Whole we shall briefly say, That all Men who have fair and just Rights might have had them confirmed, and those who neglected it may undoubtedly have them hereafter, upon a candid Application. Honest Men want no other Provision; and, 'tis presumed, no Assembly of this Province Now will espouse the Cause of the other Part of Mankind. The greater Part of those old Claims are already confirmed by the Proprietor, or his Commissioners, and if any yet want a Confirmation, it has been owing, we conceive, to a Notion industriously instilled into those People, That a Title from New-York was preferable to any the Proprietor could give from the Kings Letters Patents; and therefore 'tis unreasonable they should apply for an Act, derived from the Proprietor's Authority, to help them. But their Titles from New-York have never yet been called in Question; for all that was said at the Tryal of Thomas Shute's Cause, was intended only to shew the Proprietor's great Favour and Tenderness to those old Settlers, who have not always made the best Returns, of which this Petition is an Instance. But such an Act, as seems to be desired, to confirm all Men in all their Claims, to which they could plead quiet Possession, would, under any Administration, be highly unjust; seeing some Persons (and such are seldom the best of Men) have long possessed themselves of Lands and Lots without any Right at all; of which divers Instances could be given, Acts of such a Nature (We say) could at no Time be justly passed, without the Consent of the Proprietor, or those employed by Him in those Cases, And we beg leave further to add, That the Governor himself is fully sensible, That at

this Time, while the Affairs of the late Proprietor's Family remain unsettled, none such, can by any Means be passed, that may affect their Estates and Interest here; And, we hope, those Men, who on a late Occasion were so tenderly concerned, where there was no Danger, that His Heirs should not be wronged, will now abhor the Thoughts of so manifest and flagrant an Injustice. These Men called Swedes amongst us we are sure, have never been injured by the Proprietor or any under Him, 'tho' they are very ill used by those who from Time to Time court their Hands and Names, to carry on Designs which require such palliating. Those People, as they are descended from a Nation famed for their Loyalty and Obedience to Government, may of themselves, and when not misled by others be quiet honest Men. But how far it is consistent with the Peace, Honour, or Security of an English Government, that they, who by their Birth are really English, and have had the utmost Protection, should, upon Occasions, be thus nationally distinguished (as the Governor has most justly observed to us) is humbly refer'd, with what is here offered, to his further Consideration. We are

With Sincere Respects

The Governors friends

Richard Hill.

Isaac Norris.

James Logan.

Philadelphia, the 28th of the
12th Month (Febr.) 1721-1722.

*A Letter from James Logan, Esq. to Mouns Justis with
the Answer.*

Philad. 24th Feb, 1721-22.

Friend Mouns Justis,

Tho' thy Obstinacy, and thy subjecting thy-self to the Humours of some ill Men about thee, many entitle

thee to very little Favour from those thou opposes; yet having always believed thee to have an honest Inclination in thy self, and that thy Mistakes are owing only to a weakness of Judgment, imposed on by the Craft of others, I have so much Compassion and Regard for thee, as an ancient Settler, and a good Neighbor to my Mother and her Family, which she has often acknowledged to me, that upon an Information Thomas Shute has given me of thy People cutting his Timber to Pieces, I shall offer thee my Advice, which if Rightly used, I am sure will be of Service to thee.

The Case depending between Thomas and thee is such, that seeing thou, and the rest who are interested in that Tract of Six Hundred Acres of Land granted to the Swanson's have the utmost that Justice can ever allow you, that is, not only your full Complement, but also a further Addition of Ten Acres to each Hundred; and the Land in Different having been regularly cut off and granted to Thomas Shute on good Rights from firm Original Purchasers, the cause must certainly some Time or other of Necessity be given against thee, notwithstanding all the Arts that have been used to impose on the People with gross Falshoods and Prevarications; For tho' Justice may for some Time be diverted by wicked Contrivances, it never dies; but at last is sure of getting the better; And as both Law and Equity are most manifestly against thee, and your sole Dependance is on Weak and Prejudiced Juries, on the Management of whom, and of such as are to compose them, your Endeavours are chiefly employ'd, thou may assure thy-self the same Justice must and will at length prevail in this Case. Therefore tho' thy Purse should bleed as long as thou canst bear it to support thy Lawyers, whose Livelihood depends on the Quarrels of Neighbours, and your wanted Endeavours be still used to mislead the Ignorance, yet these Methods (as they always do) must fail in their Effects at last, and thou

wilt be left to bear the whole Burthen thy self and to pay the heavy Reckoning.

My advice therefore to thee is, that thou wouldst not needlesly inflame this Reckoning, and make it more Severe to thee by Actions that no way help thy Cause; For thy Destroying that Timber is no Service to thee, compared with what the cost may prove. By such a Conduct thou art only heaping burning Coals on thy Head, without so much as any present Advantage, And therefore in true Charity I give thee this Advice, for I heartily pity thy misfortune in being so far misled by joining thyself to one of the falsest and most impudent of Men.

This letter thou may make use of as thou thinks fitt, I desire it may be a Right One; But if not, it will Serve however to convince thee at last who were thy Friends amongst whom thou wilt then have cause to reckon.

Thy True well Wisher

James Logan.

To Mouns Justis near
Philadelphia,
These.

Philadelphia, March 1722.

Sir.

Since Fraud nowaday passes current for Policy, and some Things deviled only for particular Interests must be the Foundation of general Rights. I am not much surprized to find you give wrong Names to Things, and call my honest Endeavours to secure my just Property by the Name of Obstinacy, You know too well, Sir, I cannot depend so much on my own Judgment as you and many more, and therefore you cannot but allow me to advise with others, whom I must think good Men, till you make out the contrary.

I thank you, sir, for any favourable Construction you may put on my inclinations, and if you only intended it for a Complement, I will think it due; But I am

entirely a Stranger to the Craftsmen you say have imposed on my weak Judgment, so that the Mistake, if any, is owing to my self; And now I leave you to judge who is the good Neighbour; yet I am obliged to you for your Compassion but I should think myself better off if I wanted it not.

As to the Case, Sir, depending between Thomas Shute and Me I think I have by far the better, if Right can make it so, and tho' I cannot speak so much on the Praise of Justice as you, my Esteem for it is equal to yours, and it is only by Virtue of the Justness of my Cause that I expect to prevail. You have been at some Pains in your Letter, by briefly narrating the Case, to persuade me to sit down contented; but I hope my Proper Judges will hear both Parties and then if they are of your Opinion, I submit. But of all things in the World I wonder, how you came to forget the Names of so many honest Men, well known even to yourself to be such and disinterested in Me; And I cannot guess at your Meaning, when you speak of weak and prejudiced Juries, managed by Art, used to Impose on People with gross falshoods and Prevarications, unless you are apprized, that such Arts, Sc, may be used to procure such a Jury as you have described; For I am persuaded you think my last Jury Twelve Honest Men. But, Sir, such indirect Practices are not like to be my Case; for considering the Power against which I contend, I am resolved to be simply honest and depend on the Goodness of my Cause, not giving my Opponents the least handle against me and if they will be angry with honest Men for truly and sincerely giving their Judgments in the Matter, they may call them by what Names they please.

I am not a little surprized to find such Reflection upon Juries, Sc, to proceed from a Person of your Station and Character and one who has so lately taken Pains as well in Private as in the most Publick Manner,

to possess all Men with a Belief, that I and others claiming under the Swansons have the utmost that Justice can ever allow, Sc, So that the Cause is Predjudiced, and it is hard to say where the same can receive a fair Tryal again. But suppose, Sir, we have our Quantity of Acres, and yet want in Quality or Value, Can we have no Rescource to Justice? Such it is well known, would be our just Complaint, if the Land in Dispute was regularly cut off, as you say, it has been, but we utterly deny it, and the most solemn Testimony of one of our Parties, now living, who is said to have desired that the Overplus in Measure might be cut off, will sufficiently Evidence the Mistake of that Assertion. But since there has been so fair a Tryal of that Dispute, it is not to be doubted but you would have made some Proof, if any you could make, of a Point so essential to your Purpose; and the Verdict given upon that Tryal sufficiently convinces, that an Allegation, tho' urged with all the Force of Eloquence and Art, passes not for Proof with unprejudiced Juries. And now we may perceive where the Art you mention used to impose on People, springs from, and that the severe Censures you have been pleased to make.

Tho' I and others are accounted Aliens to this Commonwealth, so that we have not the least Title to any Part or Lot in this Inheritance, yet I will think myself a subject of Great Britain, and as such expect the Protection of the Government, not doubting to have it now as formerly; and tho' my purse should bleed (as you word it) yet I hope it will tend to its health, expecting nothing but fair Usage from those gentlemen you say, that depend on their Neighbours Quarrels for a Support. But while I read that Part of your Letter, I could not but remember a pleasant Story which I had heard a little before, and I think it comes near up to the purpose: The Sheep and Wolves clap'd up a Peace, on Condition the Dogs should be

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surrendered up to the Wolves; but no sooner had the sheep delivered up their trusty Guards, but their Inveterate Enemies devour'd them unmercifully! I leave you, Sir, to make the Application, only let me tell you, I cannot think of dropping my Friends so inconsistently. I shall not here take any Notice of a late Accident, till I am better advised in it and then you may hear it, In the mean time I shall according to your Advice make the best Use of your Letter. I am Sir
Your Humble Servant

Mouns Justis.

To James Logan, Esq., Secretary of Pennsylvania,
and Justice of the Common Pleas at Philadelphia.

OBITUARY NOTICES OF PENNSYLVANIA SOLDIERS OF THE REVOLUTION.

COLLECTED BY WILLIAM SUMMERS.

[The following obituary notices of officers and privates who served in the Continental Line and Militia of Pennsylvania during the Revolution have been collected from the newspapers of Montgomery county.]

Conrad Hipple.—Departed this life on Sunday morning last, the 17 day of June, in the 78 year of his age. Mr. Conrad Hipple was one of the oldest citizens of the Borough. . . . He served his country in the Continental army and received an honorable discharge at the termination of his meritorious services. He sleeps the sleep of death. May his mortal soul be numbered among those who enjoy the blessings of a merciful Saviour.—*Norristown Register*, June 20, 1838.

[Conrad Hipple's name appears on the Depreciated Pay-Roll; he served as Fifer of Capt. Michael's company Chester County Militia, Sept. 1781. Buried in St. Johns P. E. Churchyard, Norristown, Pa.]

Edward Hector.—Died on Friday the 3rd of January 1834, aged about 90 years.

Edward Hector, a colored man and a veteran of the Revolution. Obscurity in life and oblivion is too often the lot of the worthy—they pass away, and no "storied stone" perpetuates the remembrance of their noble actions.

The humble subject of this notice will doubtless share the common fate, he has joined the great assembly of the dead and will be soon forgotten, and yet, many a monument has been "reared to some proud son of earth" who less deserved it than "poor old Ned." His earlier and better days were devoted to the cause

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of the American Revolution; in that cause he risked all he had to risk—his life; and he survived the event for a long lapse of years, to witness the prosperity of a country whose independence he had so nobly assisted to achieve, and which neglected him in his old age.—*Norristown Register*, January 15, 1834.

During the war of the revolution, his conduct on one memorable occasion, exhibited an example of patriotism and bravery which deserves to be recorded. At the battle of Brandywine he had charge of an ammunition wagon attached to Col. Proctor's regiment, and when the American army was obliged to retreat, an order was given by the proper officers to those having charge of the wagons, to abandon them to the enemy, and save themselves by flight. The heroic reply of the deceased uttered in the true spirit of the Revolution: "The enemy shall not have my team; I will save my horses and myself!" He instantly started on his way, and as he proceeded, amid the confusion of the surrounding scene, he calmly gathered up a few stands of arms which had been left on the field by the retreating soldiers, and safely retired with his wagon, team and all, in face of the victorious foe. Some years ago a few benevolent individuals endeavored to procure a pension, but without success. The Legislature, however, at the last session, granted him a donation of \$40.00, which was all the gratuity he ever received for his Revolutionary services. It is a circumstance somewhat remarkable that his wife, to whom he was married upward of fifty years, and who attended his funeral in perfect health, suddenly expired about an hour after returning from his grave.—*Free Press*, Norristown, Pa., January 15, 1834.

X. Y.

[Edward Hector, private in Capt. Hercules Courtney's company, 3d. Penna. Artillery, Continental Line, was mustered March 10, 1777.]

Isaac McGlathery.—Died on Monday 25th ulto., Isaac McGlathery, of Whitpain Township, in this County, in the 86th year of his age.

Mr. McGlathery was one of the heroes of the Revolution, the friend and companion of Lafayette in the days of trial—both have now departed to that bourn from which none return. United in life, in the cause of humanity, we trust they are again united in the regions of immortal happiness enjoying together the reward of the just made perfect.—*Norristown Register*, August 6, 1834.

Isaac McGlathery.—Died on Monday, 25 ulto., residence Whitpain township, in the 83rd year of his age. He was an officer in the Revolution and served his country during several campaigns. He lived respected and died lamented.—*Free Press*, Norristown, Pa., August 6, 1834.

[Second Lieutenant of Capt. Jacob Peterman's company, Fourth Battalion, Philadelphia County Militia, Col. William Dean, December 22, 1778.]

Henry Shotz.—Another Revolutionary Patriot Gone. Died at his residence, in Upper Salford township, Montgomery county, on the 24th inst., Mr. Henry Shotz, in the 83d year of his age.—*Norristown Register*, December 31, 1834.

James Bean.—In Lehigh county on the 16th ulto. James Bean aged 80 years. He was a Lieutenant in the Revolution, in the Montgomery county cavalry.—*Norristown Register*, November 8, 1837.

Philip Keesey.—Another Revolutionary Patriot gone. Departed this life in Springfield township this county on Thursday 16th of May ulto. Mr. Philip Keesey, in the 85th year of his age.

The deceased was one of those who, girded on his armor in the defence of his country. He was a patriot

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Frederick Zearfoss.—Died on Friday the 11th. inst. in Whippain township, Montgomery county, Frederick Zearfoss, one of the oldest patriots of '76 in the 82d year of his age.—*Norristown Register*, October 16, 1844.

[Buried at St. John's Lutheran Church, Center Square.]

Jacob Latch, Sr.—Died at his residence in Lower Merion township, this county, on the 29th ulto. Jacob Latch Sr., in the 87th year of his age. The deceased served in Washington's army in this State and New Jersey, during the Revolutionary war.—*Norristown Register*, July 8, 1845.

George Leader.—Died in Pottstown on 13th of August ult. George Leader, in the 92d year of his age. The deceased was a soldier of the Revolution, and his remains were followed to the grave by a large concourse of citizens; the Pottstown Brass Band playing a solemn dirge from his late residence to the place of interment, the body being taken into the church, the Rev. Mr. Harman and the Rev. Mr. Miller, of the Lutheran church both preached on the occasion.—*Norristown Register*, September 3, 1845.

Christian Moser.—Died on the 22d. inst. at the residence of his son-in-law, in Swedesburg, Upper Merion township, Christian Moser, in the 84th year of his age. Mr. M. was of German extraction, his father having immigrated to this country and settled in Berks county, a short time previous to the birth of the former. He was among the true and unflinching patriots of '76, having been engaged in some of the most memorable battles which mark the history of the Revolution. At the massacre of Paoli he barely escaped with his life, and at the taking of Stony Point, he obeyed the mandate of his leader, with a devotion and heroism which the true lover of his country can only know. During the

later years of his life, a cataract in both eyes so prevented his vision, that life too seemed scarcely worth possessing, but his character, firmness, and resignation so strangely marked, that even painful bodily afflictions did not disturb the calmness and tranquility of this truly venerable man.—*Norristown Register*, January 9, 1839.

[Buried at St. John's Lutheran Church, Center Square.]

Benjamin Markley.—It is with regret of no ordinary kind, we record the death of our worthy and esteemed friend, Capt. Benjamin Markley, a native of Montgomery county, who departed this sublunary sphere on 10th. July, at his residence in New Hanover township. He marched forth a captain of a company in the War of the Revolution. He served as a member of the Executive Council of the State, office of Justice of the Peace and associate judge of this county.—*Norristown Herald*, July 14, 1819.

[Buried in Lutheran Churchyard, New Hanover.]

William Findlay.—Died yesterday morning after a lingering and severe illness, at his residence in Unity township, the venerable William Findlay, a hero of the Revolution, and for many years a representative of Congress from this district. The service which this worthy man rendered to his country, and the character which he invariably sustained, will be long borne in remembrance by his fellow citizens.—*Norristown Herald*, April 18, 1821.

William Hayman.—Another Revolutionary Patriot gone! Died suddenly at his farm in Delaware Co., on Sunday morning last, Capt. William Hayman, formerly of the Navy of the United States, in his 84th year.—*Norristown Herald*, September 24, 1823.

Henry Freedly.—Died on Friday last at Pottsgrove, Henry Freedly, in the 67th year of his age, an old and

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respectable inhabitant of the county. His remains were interred on Saturday last, in the Episcopal [St. John's] burying ground in the borough of Norristown, attended by a respectable concourse of relatives and friends. Mr. Freedly was one of the few surviving patriots, who assisted in the great struggle for Independence. Through the whole course of his life, he sustained the character of an honest, industrious and upright citizen, and a useful member of society.—*Norristown Herald*, October 8, 1823.

John Mc. Collister.—Died in New Hanover township in the 80th year of his age, John Mc. Collister, a soldier of the Revolution.—*Norristown Herald*, October 8, 1823.

Thomas Forrest.—Died on Sunday evening last, in the 78th year of his age, at his country seat near Germantown, Col. Thomas Forrest a distinguished Revolutionary officer, and not long since a member of Congress.—*Norristown Herald*, March 23, 1825.

John Andrew Sox.—Died at the residence of Charles Corson in Upper Providence township, on Tuesday the 23d ulto. John Andrew Sox, a soldier of the Revolution. His death was singular and unexpected, being a few moments before his death to all appearance in good health, when he suddenly fell and expired—thus after having escaped the dangers of the field of battle, and just having retired to spend his days in quiet, he is snatched in one moment into eternity.—*Norristown Herald*, May 31, 1826.

[Buried in Lutheran Churchyard, Barren Hill.]

Charles Bisson.—Died on Tuesday 28th March last, Charles Bisson, of Gwynedd township, aged 74 years, a soldier of the Revolution.—*Norristown Herald*, April 19, 1826.

[Buried in Bethel Churchyard, Worcester.]

John Lowery.—Died on Wednesday afternoon last, at the residence of his son Thomas Lowery Esq. Capt. John Lowery, long a respectable inhabitant of this county and late of this Borough, aged 81 years, 8 months and 26 days. Immediately upon the Declaration of Independence, he volunteered his services in defence of his country, and was a captain in the army during the remainder of the war. He was remarkable for his kindness and suavity of his disposition, and lived and died in affectionate esteem of all who knew him.—*Norristown Herald*, February 18, 1829.

John Harple.—Died on Thursday 21st June near the Trappe, John Harple, one of the few surviving heroes of the Revolution, in the 80th year of his age.—*Norristown Herald*, July 11, 1832.

Daniel St. Clair.—Died on Monday morning last at an advanced age, Daniel St. Clair, of Norriton township, an officer of the American Revolution and son of venerable Gen. Arthur St. Clair.—*Norristown Herald*, February 20, 1833.

[Buried at St. James P. E. Church, Evansburg.]

William Hagy.—Died on Sunday evening the 23d. ult. at his residence Lower Merion, William Hagy in the 77th year of his age. Mr. Hagy served his country during part of the American Revolution, lived to a good old age and died respected by all who knew him.—*Norristown Herald*, March 5, 1834.

Alexander Moore.—Died at the State Magazine, Philada., on the 12th inst. Alexander Moore, the Superintendent, in the 85th year of his age. He was a soldier of the Revolution, was in the battle of Brandywine, and long a respectable inhabitant of Philadelphia.—*Norristown Herald*, May 18, 1831.

Jacob Shade.—Departed this life on the 23d. ult. at his residence in Limerick township, in the 76th. year of

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his age. The deceased was a Soldier of the Revolution, having entered the army in the service of his country at a very early age.—*Norristown Register*, January 20, 1841.

Adam Homsher.—[of Whitpain] b. Oct. 7, 1752; d. Jan. 31, 1845 aged 93 y. 3m. 24 d.

[Buried at Wentz Reformed Church, Worcester township.]

James Mahany.—Died Aug. 14, 1823, 86th year, at Evansburg. He was a faithful soldier of the Revolution and served from the commencement to the close thereof, and was engaged in most of the hard battles without receiving a wound or being taken prisoner.—*Norristown Register*, September 3, 1823.

Samuel Biddle.—Died on Monday 18th. inst. at his residence in Upper Merion township, Samuel Biddle, eighty-second year of his age. He was among those patriots who struggled for American Independence.—*Norristown Register*, March 27, 1839.

John Goodwin.—Died June 16, 1824, aged 84; late of Abington township. The deceased was one of the worthies of the Revolution. He was frequently promoted to public trusts and discharged his duty to the general satisfaction. He was Crier of the several courts of Montgomery county, from the time they were first organized to the day of his death, a period of forty years.—*Norristown Register*, July 28, 1824.

Frederick Beiteman.—Died Sept. 16, 1826, aged 74, in Douglass township.—*Dotterer's Perkiomen Register*.

[He was by profession a physician, and in the Revolution served as Captain.]

Charles Thomson.—Died on Monday eve the 16th. at his residence in Lower Merion township, the venerable patriot Charles Thomson Esq., in the 95th year of his

age. Farewell thou hoary headed patriot and sage! A great nation will truly feel thy loss. A few years more and all your contemporaries will be mingled with the dust. But their memories should be the theme of gratitude for ages yet unborn.—*Norristown Herald*, August 25, 1824.

[Formerly Secretary of Congress.]

Andrew Knox.—Died at his house in Whitpain township, the 17th. ult. Andrew Knox, in the 80th. year of his age. . . . The friends of the American Revolution will be gratified by the recital of an incident in his life, which connects his name with that revolution. His office, a magistrate, procured him the honor of a visit from certain Royalists, when the British army held the city of Philadelphia. About 4 o'clock in the morning of the 14th. of February 1778, seven armed refugees approached his house, two stood sentry at the back window, while the other five attempted the door. Finding it bolted, they endeavored to gain admittance by artifice. Squire Knox, partly dressed, came to the door at their call, when a dialogue took place nearly as follows: *K.* "What do you want?" *R.* "I came to tell you that the enemy are coming, and to warn you to escape for your life." *K.* "What enemy?" *R.* "The British." *K.* "And who are you that speak?" (A friendly name was given, and on looking out the window the Squire saw their arms in the moonlight.) *K.* "I believe you are the enemy." Upon this they burst the door and attempted to force their way in. Mr. Knox seizing the open door with his left hand, with his cutlass in the other, saluted the aggressors in a manner they did not expect, and repeated his strokes. The assailants meanwhile, made repeated thrusts with their bayonets, from which Mr. Knox received two or three slight flesh wounds, and had his jacket pierced in several places, but the door standing ajar, covered his vitals and saved his life.

By this time Mr. Knox's eldest son, then a young stripling, having laid hold of a gun loaded with small shot, came to the scene of action and asked his father if he should shoot. The Squire having just broke his cutlass on one of the enemy's guns, now apprehended that he must surrender, and thinking it imprudent to exasperate the foe to the utmost, told his son not to shoot, trying his weapon further and finding it capable of service, he continued to defend the pass, and his son wishing to co-operate struck one of the assailants with the barrel of his gun and brought him to his *knees* (and to his *prayers*, it is hoped). This gave the besieged an opportunity to close the door, whereupon the party presented their pieces and fired five balls through the door. Whether it arose from deliberation or from the scattered position of the men, so it was that some of these balls passed through the door directly and others obliquely, so as to hit a person standing by the side: and in fact, Squire Knox, who stood there as a place of safety, received a touch by one of them. Thus foiled in their object and perhaps that the report of their guns would alarm the neighborhood, the men commenced a retreat towards the city. Squire Knox having at the approach of day collected some friends and armed men went in pursuit. They tracked the blood several miles. One of whom had taken refuge in a house was taken, brought back and made an ample confession. This fellow being found to be a deserter from the American army was tried by court martial for the desertion only, condemned and executed near Montgomery Square. Another was apprehended after the British left the city, condemned by a civil court and executed. Of the rest little is known.—*Norristown Register*, November 6, 1808.

William Anderson.—Another Revolutionary officer gone to his tomb. . . . William Anderson Esq. who

departed this transitory existence at 3 o'clock on Tuesday morning last, in the 67th. year of his valuable life. Mr Anderson acted a conspicuous and highly honorable part in our Revolutionary struggle—he was at the siege of Yorktown and surrender of Lord Cornwallis. He served throughout the campaign with honor to himself and advantage to his country. He was a citizen of Delaware county for many years; he represented the county in Congress several times; held the appointment of Judge of the Courts in Delaware county, and at the time of his decease was attached to the Customhouse department. In every position that Mr. Anderson filled he acted for the benefit of the public, which has always entitled him to the public's most respectable consideration.—*Herald and Free Press*, Norristown, January 5, 1830.

Philip M. Russel.—Departed this life on Wednesday evening at a quarter past one o'clock, at his residence in the Northern Liberties [Philada.], Philip M. Russel Esq. at the advanced age of ninety years; a man who served his country with fidelity and honor as an officer during the whole of the Revolutionary War, and discharged since then all the duties of a private citizen with an exemplary exactness. He has left a large posterity consisting of ten children and thirty grand-children, an example which should ever be their pride and endeavor to follow.—*Herald and Free Press*, August 17, 1830.

Christopher Sherer.—Reading, Sunday last, Christopher Sherer, aged 78, one of four Revolutionary patriots.—*Herald and Free Press*, March 23, 1830.

Thomas Wallace.—Sunday morning 22d. at four o'clock, after a short but severe illness, Thomas Wallace, in the 85th year of his age. For many years an inhabitant of Southwark, Philadelphia.—*Herald and Free Press*, August 31, 1830.

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William Dean.—Died on Saturday morning last at his residence in Montgomery county, Col. William Dean, in the 67th year of his age. Of a strong and ardent mind, he early discovered a military genius, though but a youth of 17, his active intrepidity attracted the attention of Gen. Forbes, and he took him by his side when the British colors were first hoisted on the walls of Fort Duquesne. In the Revolutionary contest, he took an early and active part in the cause of his country and the equal rights of man.

He was elected Lieut. Colonel in the first militia regiment that was formed in Montgomery county and in that capacity he served at Amboy with high reputation. The surviving patriots who were present at the memorable battle of Princeton can and will bear ample testimony to his cool, intrepid valor. At the close of the war, he was elected a Justice of the Peace. His complaint was of the pulmonary kind and many wearisome nights and days were appointed unto him, which he bore with that cheerful firmness characteristic to his mind.—*Norristown Register*, September 16, 1807.

John Wentz.—Died March 11, 1818, at his residence in Whitpain township, John Wentz Esq. in the 58th year of his age, after a lingering illness. The various trusts both of a *military* and *civil* nature confided to him by his country, from an early period of his life he discharged with fidelity, ability and integrity.—*Norristown Herald*, March 18, 1818.

Vachtel D. Howard.—[Maryland Light Dragoons|
Died March 15, 1778.| Aged 30 years| In defence of
American Liberty.]

[Buried at St. James P. E. Church, Evansburg.]

John Stidinger.—Died September 19, 1830. A veteran of the Revolution.—*Herald and Free Press*, September 28, 1830.

William Denning.—Died at his residence in Mifflin township, Cumberland county Pa., Jany. 18, 1831, William Denning in 99 year of his age. The deceased was an Artificer in the army of the Revolution. He it was who, in the days of his country's need, made the only successful attempt ever made in the world to manufacture wrought iron cannon, two which he completed in Middlesex, and commenced another and larger one at Mount Holly, but could get no one to assist him who could stand the heat, which is said to have been so great, as to melt the lead buttons on his clothes. This unfinished piece lies as he left it, at either Mount Holly Forge or Carlisle Barracks. One of those completed was taken by the British at the battle of Brandywine, and is now in the Tower of London. The British government offered a large sum and an annuity to the person who would instruct them in the manufacture of that article, but the patriotic blacksmith preferred obscurity and poverty, in his own beloved country. The strength of his good constitution continued near his last, and he was able to walk to the village of Newville, two miles from his residence, until about six months before his death.—*Free Press*, January 18, 1831.

Peter Grubb.—Died October 28, 1830, Peter Grubb, aged 80 years, less a few days. Came to America aged 14 years, settled in Lancaster county; in the war of the Revolution he took up arms in favor of his adopted country, and supported her cause, with all the ardour of an American. He became a member of the Methodist Episcopal church forty years ago and continued till the day of his death an ornament of the church, and his daily walk was an example worthy of imitation.—*Free Press*, November 16, 1830.

Samuel Wiggins.—Died May 9, 1831, Samuel Wiggins aged 75 years. He was at the Massacre of Paoli,

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was a faithful soldier in time of need and a worthy citizen in time of Peace.—*Free Press*, May 10, 1831.

Joseph Heister.—Died at his residence in Reading on Sunday evening last, Gen. Joseph Heister, in the 80th year of his age. Gen Heister was late Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and one of the heroes of the Revolutionary War. He entered the army at an early period of his life, was engaged in the battle of Long Island, was among the captured of that day so disastrous to the American cause and subsequently confined on board the prison ship Jersey. After his exchange had been effected he again entered the army and was engaged in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. After the war he served many years in the State Legislature, and in the Congress. In private life the deceased was a kind and indulgent parent, a good, charitable and hospitable neighbor, and a warm and zealous friend.—*Free Press*, June 20, 1832.

Andrew Todd.—Died May 12, 1833, at his residence in Upper Providence, Andrew Todd, a tried patriot of the Revolution, and one who performed the various duties of a long life, in a most exemplary manner.—*Free Press*, May 15, 1833.

[Buried at the Lower Providence Presbyterian Church.]

Col. Francis Wade.—Died in Philadelphia, January 1, 1810. He was an active and zealous partisan at the period of our Revolution, which tried men's souls.—*Norristown Register*, January 10, 1810.

LETTER OF GEORGE WASHINGTON TO
FRANCIS HOPKINSON 1787.

Mount Vernon. Feb' 5th 1787.

Dear Sir,

We are told of the amazing powers of musick in ancient times; but the stories of its effects are so surprising that we are not obliged to believe them, unless they had been founded upon better authority than Poetic assertion—for the Poets of old (whatever they may do in these days) were strangely addicted to the marvellous;— and if I before doubted the truth of their relations with respect to the power of musick I am not fully convinced of their falsity—because I would not for the honor of my Country; allow that we are left by the Ancients at an immeasurable distance in every thing; and if they could sooth the ferocity of wild beasts could draw the trees & stones after them, and could even charm the powers of Hell by their musick, I am sure that your productions would have had at least virtue enough in them (without the aid of voice or instrument) to soften the Ice of the Delaware or Potomac and in that case you should have had an earlier acknowledgment of your favor of the 1st December which came to hand but last Saturday—

I readily admit the force of your distinction between “a thing done” and “a thing *to be done*” and as I do not believe that you would do “a very bad thing” “indeed”—I must ever make virtue of necessity and defend your performance if necessary, to the last effort of my musical abilities

But my dear Sir, if you had any doubts about the reception which your work would meet with or had the

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smallest reason to think that you should need my assistance to defend it, you have not acted with your usual good Judgement in the choice of a Coadjutor; for should the tide of prejudice not flow in favor of it (and so various are the tastes, opinions, & whims of men that even the sanction of Divinity does not ensure universal concurrence), what alas! can I say to support it? I can neither sing one of the songs nor raise a single note on any instrument to convince the unbelieving. But I have however one argument which will prevail with persons of true taste (at least in America) I can tell them that *it is the production of Mr. Hopkinson.*

With the compliments of Mrs Washington added to mine, for you & yours

I am dear Sir

Your most obed^t & very humble Servant

George Washington.

The Hon^{ble}

Fran^{cis} Hopkinson.

(1)

The ANTIDOTE.

In some REMARKS on a Paper of David Lloyd's, called A Vindication of the Legislative Power. Submitted to the Representatives of all the Freemen of Pennsylvania.

[*Si mihi pergit qua vult dicere, ea, qua non vult audiet, Terent.*]

AN Extraordinary Step in Politicks having been made here last Winter, the Matter was drawn into a Controversy, which notwithstanding the Design in bringing it on the Stage, was managed with an Appearance of Decency towards the late Proprietary and his Family; till our present Chief Justice David Lloyd, finding one Side of Dispute carried an Air of Opposition to that Interest, which he had for many Years past taken too much Pleasure in opposing: He could not, it seems, let slip the agreeable Occasion, without indulging his Inclinations in a Performance, to which, whether he had any justifiable Call, will appear from the following Remarks on it.*

The Case itself is this,

The Proprietary, in appointing his Deputies in Government, ever gave them Instructions for their Conduct, which were nearly the same to each successively, since his last Return to England; and from our present

* It was in reply to David Lloyd's "A Vindication of the Legislative Power, Submitted to the Representatives of all the Free-men of the Province of Pennsylvania, now setting in Assembly." [Philadelphia: Andrew Bradford. 1725. Folio, pp. 4.], that James Logan published "The Antidote." In the Americana Division of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania will be found both Lloyd's and the two editions of Logan's publications. The second edition of "The Antidote" differs only in having ten lines added; an "Advertisement" of six and a half lines, and then three lines of "Errata." It is this edition we reprint.

Governour a Bond was taken for the Observance of those to Him, of which the Principal were these, To suppress Vice, and discourage Faction: To be advised by the Council in all Things of Moment: Not to intermeddle in Affairs of the Proprietary's Lands: To preserve a good Understanding with our Neighbors and Indians: To guard the Religious Rights of the People, and above all, to Maintain Liberty of Conscience: And some of these, especially in relation to the Concurrence of the Council, from an Occasion given, were lately prefs'd further, in certain private Instructions, which by the Governour's communicating them to the Assembly, have been published to the World. This Piece of Conduct produced from me a Memorial to the Assembly; and this Memorial an Answer to it from the Governour. David Lloyd was so highly pleased with the Performance in this latter, that, to express his Satisfaction and perhaps in Return to the Complement pass'd upon him, when on Occasion of these Debates, he was term'd our Oracle of the Law, he thought fit to step out as a Champion for the Cause, and from the Treasures of his Profession, to undertake by Legal Authorities, as he calls them, to make it appear, that It was not in the Proprietarys Power to lay his Deputy under any Restriction: That the Governour cannot be bound by any Instructions, save what relate to his Allegiance, the Acts of Trade, and the Constitution: (So that even in Affairs of the Proprietary's Lands and Rents, he is free to assent to what Acts he pleases) and that the Obligation taken by the Proprietary, for his Security, is against Law, and utterly void. And then he advances to treat the Proprietary himself so injuriously, and load him with such Reflections, that it may justly raise our Astonishment, how a Person cloth'd with a Profession, which ought to imply that lovely Spirit of Meekness and Charity, which makes the true Characteristic of the Christian Religion, should

for so long a Tract of Time, foster the contrary Spirit of Revenge, and breath it out against the injured Object of his Resentments, not only during Life, but now for seven Years after his Decease. A Persecution unknown even to ancient Pagans, whose Sayings on this Head ought to load some Christians with Confusion.

To that Performance, tho' in Appearance principally pointed against me, as well as to others of the same kind, I resolved to be silent; having been long satisfied on my own Account that Time seldom fails to do Justice to Truth in such Cases, and that while my Benefactors own me Grateful; while my Employers after Twenty-Five Years Experience acknowledge me Faithful; while my Creditors confess my Justice, and all Attempts against my Reputation, in Point of Honesty, return only on my Acusers Heads, it is not worth my Time, to be at any Pains in my own Vindication, to those who advise with their Consciences, in forming their Judgments; and the Sentiments of others, I shall ever disregard. But having been lately assured in the County of Chester, that the Author has endeavour'd there to recommend himself as a Patriot, by that Paper and to diffuse the Venom of it amongst the People, I think it my Duty to give it a proper Antidote, by shewing, that his Law is misapplied, his Reasoning false, his Reflections on the Proprietary, unmerited and unjust, and that the whole Performance, instead of being a Service to the Publick, is truly a Dishonour to the Government.

To begin with his Legal Authorities, offered, as is pretended, in Favour of the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and the Regular Power and Franchises of Government, yet wholly confined within the narrow Limits of this single Point, That a Deputy cannot be restrained by his Principal; he produces only two reported Cases; the first, in their natural Order and in Time, is from Hobart, page 12. where Sir. D. Norton

High Sherif, appointing one Chamberlain his Deputy, took a Bond with Security, to indemnify his Principal from Escapes, &c. with this farther Condition, that the Deputy should not execute any Extent, &c. for above the Value of Twenty Pound without Notice first given to the High Sherif, and a Special Warrant obtained of him for the same.

The Sherif sued the Bond on an Escape, and had Judgment by the whole Court, on that very Bond, which therefore with D. L's Leave, was not declared void but that Part of the Condition by which the Deputy was restrained from executing Writs, &c. above a certain Value, was declared so, for these plain Reasons, as they naturally arise from the Report, viz. That a Sherif, being in relation to the Service of Writs, &c. only a Ministerial Officer, he must execute all the Legal Writs, that are brought to him, in which the King himself cannot abridge his Power: That having appointed a Deputy, that Deputy is under the same Obligations, and cannot be restrained by the High Sherif, any more than the High Sherif can be restrained by 'the King. And that this is highly reasonable, as well as tis Law, is what every rational Man must allow, for otherwise had the Sherif any such Power, he surely might deny or delay Justice.

This is an approv'd Case, and is universally allow'd, but what Relation it bears to the Matter in Question, is submitted to the Judgment of every impartial Man to determine. The other is an extraordinary One; and that it may be the better understood (if that be possible.) I shall here give it at large, in the Words of the Book, as it stands in Page 95. Of Salkeld's Reports, published in 1717. viz "Charles Kett being seized in Fee of a Copyhold, demised it to his Wife for Life, Remainder to Charles his Son in Tail, and if he died without Issue, under Age Remainder to Elizabeth his Wife in Fee. M. Keck the Master in Chancery was

Steward of this Mannor by Patent, ad exercendum per se vel deputatum. M. Keck appointed one Clerk to be his Deputy, who acted as such many Years, and was sent for by Chas. Kett, to take a surrender of the Lands. Clerk went not himself but by a Writing under his Hand and Seal, appointed A. and B. to be his Deputies joyntly and severally, only to take this Surrender, which was done by A. accordingly, and afterward presented and Elizabeth Kett the Defendent admitted thereupon by Clerk." Here the Point in Question, as far as it can be collected from the Report, which is exceeding imperfect, was, Whether A. Deputy to the Deputy Steward, had good Authority to take the Surrender? The Court judged he had, and in delivering their Opinion, Chief Justice Holt is said to have express'd himself in the Terms transcribed by D. L. in eight or Ten Lines of his Paper, in which these three Things are very surprizingly asserted, viz I That a Deputy has full Power to do any Act or Thing, which his Principal may do. II. That a Man cannot be a Deputy to do any single Act or Thing. III. That a Deputy cannot make a Deputy. Now unless, whatever is delivered to us, by the Name of Law, is to be implicitly believed, as a Matter of Faith, without the Use or Exercise of our Understandings, we may without Breach of Modesty, say, that all these Assertions are irreconcilable to the known Law of the Land, or to the Case itself, in the express Words of it. For to the Ist, 'tis well known, (and Judge Hobart, in the first Case, gives some Instances of it) that there are divers Things, which a Sherif (the Officer mentioned in both Cases) can and must do in his own Person, which his Deputy cannot do. 'Tis therefore not true, that a Deputy has full Power to do any Act or Thing, which his Principal may do, as this Book expressly has it. To the II.d, in the Case before us, "A and B are appointed by Clerk to be his Deputies jointly and Sev-

erally, only to take this Surrender, which was done by A. accordingly." And this by the Judgment of the Court was allowed to be good: Therefore, either this Judgment was wrong, or otherwise it is not true, That a Man cannot be a Deputy to do any single Act or Thing only. Besides, that Deputies may be appointed for one single Act or Thing, as well as Attornies are appointed to receive one particular Debt, to confess one Judgment, &c. is so clear, and well known, that it needs no Words to confirm it: And this very Case in the subsequent Reasoning, implies it. To the III.d, in the same Case, "Clerk Deputy to Keck appointed A. and B. his Deputies, and the Appointment was judged good: Therefore, either this Judgment was wrong in this also, or else it is not true, That a Deputy cannot make a Deputy. I can also shew him an indisputed Authority where it is said. That the Deputy of the Deputy is the Deputy of the first Officer, Altho' there be twenty, the one under the other, &c. But the Law is not my Business, and I choose to argue only from D. L's own Quotations. He has therefore been extremely unfortunate, in this printed Essay of his Skill, after a Practice of above Forty Years, in producing an Authority, in order to prove a certain Bond void, from a Case, in which Judgment was given for the Plaintiff, on the Bond there sued by him. And yet much more so, in bringing in for his main Support, another Case which, could his Eagerness for the Cause have allow'd him Time to consider it, he might easily have perceived is inconsistent (as the Words stand there fairly printed) with it self, with the Law, and with common Sense and Reason.

But it may be charged as a Presumption in one, who makes no Pretence to Skill in the Law, to question so great an Authority as Sir John Holts, deliver'd in a Book (in Appearance) so pompously recommended by the late Lord Chancellor and 12 Judges; And I should

freely acknowledge it a Piece of Arrogance, if such a Person as I, should oppose the real Judgment of that great Man, tho' I find his opinion after learned Arguments, and long Discourses used on the Bench to support it. has sometimes been over-ruled by the other Judges; as in the Case of Lane v. Cotton, &c. in the same Book, Pag. 17. But the Opinion, as 'tis printed in the Case before us, is so exceedingly inconsistent, that I take it to be incumbent on us, in respect to that great Name, now to allow it to be His. Serjeant Salkeld, from the Character given of him in the Front of the Book, was undoubtedly an able Lawyer, but the Work itself is posthumous and published (in Confidence, it may be presumed, that the Elogium of the Man, might pass for one to the Book it self) without any Manner of Account, in what Condition these Reports were left by the Serjeant at his Death, by whom they were digested, or whether ever they were revised; all which is generally expected in posthumous Pieces, to prevent the World's being imposed on by Booksellers, or others, who resolve at any Rate to make a Penny by their Publications and most commonly by ostentatious Proposals for Subscriptions. But however this be, 'tis evident not only from this Case, but several others, that the Book wanted the last Hand or the Author. Now is this singular, for divers printed Cases have been afterwards adjudged not to be Law, and as Chief Justice Holt himself frequently observed of some others, that they were misreported in the Books. He could not but have pass'd the same Censure, and probably with more Resentment had He lived to see this published, as from Him with such Imperfections.

But as 'tis no uncommon Thing for Lawyers to be at a Plunge, not only with Book-Cases, but even with Statutes; The Rule then is to expound the Law by the Reason of it, and this in our Case (if I mistake not) will render the Matter plain, viz. In all Cases, where

the Principal has it not in his Choice, whether he will do an Act or forbear it, as a Sherif in the Execution of Writs, these his Deputy is equally obliged, and his Principal cannot restrain him; nor is there one intelligible Case in the Books (if I am rightly informed) that will carry this Point any further. But where the Principal is not obliged by the Course of the Law, to do any Act, or to do it in one Manner more than in another, but is to apply Justice, Wisdom, and provident Circumspection (The Words in the Royal Charter introductory to the Grant of Powers) in deliberating whether, or in what Manner, it is to be done; there I presume no Man of Skill and Integrity will pretend, that a Deputy, to such a Principal, may not be restrained by Instructions. Deputies are of various Kinds, and the Nature of their Office or Trust gives the Rules for them. Those for a Deputy Sherif are no more to be applied to a Lord Deputy of Ireland; than the Law of a Constable, to the Office of an Admiral. It springs from a Narrowness of Conceptions, peculiar to some Men, to argue from a Word or Name, without Regard to the Nature of the Thing in Question: And it would be equally absurd to apply the Rules for one Kind of Deputy (excepting that great one of Fidelity) to all others, because the Word every where consists of the same six Letters, as to argue from the Books, that because a Serjeant in Westminster, must appear at the Bar, in a white Coif, therefore Serjeants with Maces or Halberts, must present themselves in the same whimsical Dress, in their respective Duties and Stations. But from what honest Principal D. L. should on the late Occasion, think it incumbent on him, by his Judgment in the Case, to set the Governour at large from any Obligations, when he cannot but know the Law is, That for a Deputy, Respondeat Superior (the Principal must answer) or how he can answer in his Station, for giving any Judgment on a Bond, that is

not yet before him, (which is just of a Piece with acting the Barrister on the Bench) I shall leave it to himself to account for to such as believe his Character gives them a Right to demand an honest Reason for the several Parts of his Conduct.

And having thus far done with his Law, to bring the Matter to a short Issue, I here engage to deposite two English Counsels Fees, against one from him, if he will venture on the Decision of the Learned there, that I have here interpreted the Law about Deputies right and that he has officiously mistook in his Judgment, for which Reason, among divers others, I presume, it will never in these Cases, be referr'd to.

In closing his Authorities, he says "It was the Case in Hobart which [in the Year 1704.] govern'd the Opinion of the Council (when Judge Mompelson assisted) to declare that Part of Colonel Evan's Commission void, which reserved to the Proprietor the final Assent to all such Bills as he passed into Laws, and therefore admires that I, who was not only present at those Debates, but either drew up or copied and signed that solemn Resolution, can so strenuously insist upon the Restriction now in Debate, &c." and on the other Hand, I cannot but admire, that he should either furnish the Governour with this, or produce it himself, as if it were at all to the Purpose, or that because he cited it to R. M. he could imagine the Council wanted a Law-Case to inform them, of what from the King's and Proprietor's Charters, before them, was so plain, that it could not possibly want such Explication.

But pray, what is that Opinion to the Point in Hand? The whole is printed in the Paper called, The Governour's Defence, &c. and is only this, that the saving there mention'd, was void in it self; but did not vacate the rest of the Commission; and that the Laws pass'd by Governour Evans, under the Great Seal, could not be annull'd by the Proprietary, without the Assembly.

Now I would ask, by what Kind of Reasoning it will follow, that because, a Law, when pass'd under the Seal, cannot be annul'd by the Proprietary, but is binding upon Him, therefore (tho' all our Laws derive their Force from His Authority) He has no Right to direct in the passing of them, when the very Reason here given, shews the Necessity there is for his Caution. Which is much the same, as if it should be argued, that because Lands sold and convey'd by an Attorney, fully empower'd, are no longer the Constituent's, but the Purchaser's, therefore a Constituent has no Right to limit his Attorney: or because a Marriage consummated, cannot be annulled by Parents, therefore Parents have no Right to restrain there Children in Marriage: A kind of Reasoning that I confess, is well adapted to the Law we have had, and therefore I am pleas'd to see them come so naturally together.

I must here also mention another old Nostrum of D. L's, which he has laboured to inculcate, and of late with some Success, viz That because the Proprietary cannot make a Law without the Consent of the People (a Restriction which the happy English Constitution indispensibly requires) therefore no others can be concerned in Legislation, but the Proprietary himself or his Deputy, and the Representatives of the People; which has of late been largely insisted on, and to support the Opinion, the Words of the Royal Charter have been prolixly quoted: Upon which I shall here discharge, what I have been told, was incumbent on me, viz. To shew by what authority I look upon me, to expound those solemn Evidences for our Constitution in a quite different Sense (as 'tis said) from all others who have yet consider'd them, by frankly declaring that I never expounded these Words of the Charter in a Sense differing from any Man I ever knew, or heard of. D. L. and those who borrowed of him only excepted, That the Language in granting the Powers of

Legislation, in the Royal Charter for this Province is exactly the same with that for other Proprietary Governments. That Maryland is the ancientest Government of that Kind now existing, that I know, as we are the latest; and that in Charter for that Province, the Words by which the Assent of the People in Legislation is required, are so exactly the same with those in the Charter for this Province, as the Copies lately printed here will fully show, that they have both been undoubtedly from the same Draught. And to close the whole, That, in Maryland, (as well as all the English Colonies, this only excepted) they have, and ever had a Legislative Council, upon the foundation of the same Words, and no other, which from our Charter are advanced to prove, it is not in our Power to have One. I am therefore not the only Person, who has expounded these Words in that Sense, because in our Great Grandfather's Days they were in the same manner expounded, and thro' several Generations, have continued the same to this Day. I would not however be thought desirous to renew that Argument, which by this Time is brought before its proper Judges; but I take this Occasion, as a very fit one to discharge so incumbent a Duty, which, I hope, will be receiv'd, as fully satisfactory, by those who imposed it.

What next ensues, is an Instance for such mean spirited Envy and Prejudice, that it would extort one's Pity; for speaking of our Constitution of Assemblies, tho' he well knows, that by the Royal Charter, their Manner of convening and whole Establishment, entirely on the Proprietary, yet lest any Honour should redound, or Gratitude be thought due to Him, he turns off the whole (in his 7th Paragraph) to an Act of Assembly passed in the 4th of Queen Anne, and from that Act declares the Privileges of our Assemblies, as if from thence they were deduced to us; When we must either suppose him exceeding ignorant in his Station, or

else allow him to know, that from the Act he mentions, there is not one single Privilege derived; and that in these Points, It only repeats the Exact Words of the Proprietor's Charter, without the least Addition, Explanation, or Variation whatsoever, and if he knew this, what an Excess of Biass must it require, to translate that to another Merit, which was purely the Proprietary's gratuitous Grant in his Charter? Tho' had the whole been founded on such an Act, it would have argued the same Goodness in the Proprietary, exerted either by himself, or by that Deputy who pass'd the Act viz, Colonel Evans, whom he elsewhere treats so injuriously, tho' he pass'd not only That, but near as many others in Number, with One Assembly, and many of them very valuable, as have been enacted in this Province, in the Ten Years last expired. From the same Spirit, is also that trifling Cavil in his 16th Paragraph, at my terming the Proprietary the Founder of this Colony; a Title the Governour freely allow'd, in repeating it with a kind of Applause. But D. L. must omit no Occasion, it seems, of shewing that in these Cases, he cannot change. In the next Paragraph to this, viz the 17th, without any Manner of Occasion given, but from the Overflowings of his Heart, he pushes out his Reflections in a Torrent: The first of which is this, The first Purchasers (says he) bought their Lands dear, and came under perpetual Quit-Rents, which far exceeded what the Proprietors of the adjacent Provinces required of their Tenants. And if this were true, as 'tis, egregiously false, Pray what was that to D. L. who neither was one, nor was then perhaps in a Condition to be one of these Purchasers? The first adventures into America run extream Hazards, and paid dear for their Settlements with their Blood; those of the Virginia and Maryland having sometimes lost Hundreds, in a Battle with the Indians. But for some Years before the Grant of this Province,

then almost surrounded with English Colonies, I have not heard of One English Life lost, by any Act of Hostility: Which therefore might justly make some Disparity in the Consideration, to be paid for Lands here; and yet we shall find this Difference lies just on the other side. In Maryland the first Quit-Rents were two Shillings Sterling in Gold or silver, for one Hundred Acres. Afterwards they were raised to Four Shillings: And if there has been a Relaxation, it was for the valuable Consideration, first of Two, and now of Three Shillings, paid to their Proprietary in Britain, for every Hogshead of Tobacco shipt in the Country for that Kingdom, which amounts to much more, than all the Quit-Rents ever did: Besides that they now also pay Purchase Money. In Virginia and New York, the Quit-Rent to the King, is Two shillings and six pence per Hundred Acres; and the Charges of the Grant (especially in the latter) equal a Purchase. In North and South Carolina, (Proprietary Settlements) they are a penny per Acre: In Jersey the whole Country being entirely sold off to certain Purchasers, they could reserve no Quit-Rents to themselves, but for the Lands granted, before the sale, to others, about Four Shillings per Hundred is required.

These are the terms in the Neighbouring Colonies; when in this Province, the Conditions were only Forty Shillings per Hundred Acres, and the Quit-Rent but one Shilling, which is so far from being the highest, as D. L. falsely affirms, that it is evidently the lowest that has been set in any of the Colonies round us. These, I say, were the Terms of the first Proprietor's Grants to the Purchasers: And when they were published, it was undoubtedly surprizing to see what Numbers, with Gladness accepted them in order to quit their native Soil, their Friends and Relations, and to trust themselves with their Families, on the boisterous Waters, to which most of them had been utter Stran-

gers. No less than 32 Ships (as had been affirmed) came in the first two Years, freighted with Passengers and their Goods, to seat themselves in a Wilderness, under the Government and Conduct of that great and good Man, who maugre All that D. L. can offer to the contrary, will still be justly stiled the Founder, as he was the Father of this Colony. Then, delivered from the Severities of that Reign against Dissenters, and arrived in a Land, that upon reasonable Endeavours, yielded the agreeable Prospect of Plenty; Love united their Hearts dilated with Joy, and thro' a Desire, at least, to presage the best, viz the Continuance of it, the Capitol Town, as I have elsewhere observed, had the Name given it of Brotherly Love: then, Freedom to the people, with the full Enjoyment of the Faces and Company of their Friends, without Restraint, was sufficient Happiness. The Proprietor, with the vast inward Satisfaction, of having contributed to the Ease of such Numbers, saw himself surrounded, with grateful Hearts, and cheerful Countenances, the Acknowledgments they joyfully returned, for the Paternal Affection and Tenderness extended to them, by their Proprietor, Governour, and Friend, united in one Person. They were then, as the Israelites, after they had seen their wonderful Deliverance thro' the Red Sea, before any Corah or Dathan appeared, and so for some Time continued: But as those chosen People had some such amongst them, as charged their mighty Leaders with taking too much upon them, so Here, Instruments started up.—But I must end this Digression which I hope will be excused, as the natural Result of an honest Indignation, at the Vileness, and such Falshood and Malice, thrown out, without any Provocation, against the Deceased, whose Memory, the Europeans here (after the Example of the poor Native Indians) unless abandon'd to the foulest Ingratitude must forever Revere.

He goes on in the next Sentence to say, But when they came to be handled in Secretary Logan's Office they were told they must pay Half a Crown, or a Crown English Money, for every City-Lot for ever, which the Proprietor had freely given to his Purchasers, expecting, as was thought, but Twelve Pence Sterling per Annum, for every Hundred Acres of their Land. And here again, is an exact Match to the Preceding. The Proprietor granted Lands to the first Purchasers, by Deeds of Lease and Release, referring for the manner of Location, to certain Concessions, by which concessions it was agreed, that there should be laid out in the City Liberties, two Acres for each Hundred of the first Five Hundred Thousand Acres purchased. But of other Lots in the City, there was not the least Mention: For this the Proprietor most judiciously reserved to himself, that not only those Purchasers (tho' they had vastly the Preference) but all others who might incline to build in, and improve the Town might be accommodated. On laying out the City in 1682. the Rent was fully settled between the Proprietary and the Purchasers at Five Shillings for one Lot of 102 Foot in Breadth, the whole Length between the Front and Second-Street, and the same for 132 Foot in the High-Street, Two Shillings for 51 Foot on the West-Side of the Second-Street, and part of Chestnut-Street, and One Shilling for about 50 Foot in all the other Streets, then designed in the City Plot: But for these last, such as were no Purchasers (commonly called Renters) paid about 5.s. more or less. Now, where or how D. L. might then be passing his Time, is out of my Reach to guess; but sure I am, that I was scarce well out of Coats, when these Rents were not only settled, but most of the valuable Lots were confirmed on those Terms by Patent, under the Proprietor's own Hand, of which D. L. who had been a Conveyancer here, for at least twice Seven Years, and Deputy Recorder for

many Years, before the Proprietary's last Arrival, could not possibly be ignorant. And when Eighteen Years after that Agreement, I came into the Office, I strictly pursued the same, to the best of my Knowledge in the few Lots, that then wanted Confirmation; or if I ever miss'd it, 'twas by Misinformation only. This Assertion therefore, that Half a Crown or a Crown Yearly was demanded from every City-Lot is so notoriously false, and the intended Insinuation against the Proprietary, so dishonourable that I shall say no more of it, than to leave those who can approve of such Publications, to make it up with their own Consciences; for the Author (I much doubt) is in these Cases past Reproof. No Man being more sensible than himself how trifling these Reservations are, when compared with the Value of the Lots; seeing he received from me, One Hundred and Seventy Five Pounds for one vacant Lot, for which the Proprietary had no other Consideration (besides his Benevolence to the first Purchasers) than two Shillings Sterling Yearly.

He still proceeds in the same Paragraph, to say, And when they came for their Patents, there was a Reservation of three full and clear fifth Parts of all Royal Mines, free from all Deductions and Reprisals for digging and refining the same. whereas the Royal Charter had reserved but one Fifth, &c. Sure D. L. would not have it thought, the Proprietor accepted of this Province from the King, in Trust only for others, without any Interest to himself: If not, why might he not reserve his own? Those Mines never pass in a Grant; but where they are expressly named. But they were named in none of the English Deeds, I ever saw; therefore what Part of them, the Proprietor was afterwards pleased to grant, appears to have been a Favour, and as such claims an Acknowledgment instead of a Reflection. And now having in this Paragraph, thrown plentifully about him, to give it the better Countenance,

as if leveled at me only; he winds it up with referring to the Journals of the House for divers other Instances of my Abuses and ill Treatment of the People; that is, such other Instances as the preceding: for I challenge the World to produce either from those Journals, or otherwise, one Instance of my having knowingly wrong'd any Man, either in my Publick or Private Capacity, since I first knew the Difference between Wrong and Right: And in this I cannot but think myself fortunate, that tho' I entred young into very great Trusts, which the Proprietary (neither by my Seeking, nor with the Approvation of my own Judgment) was pleased to repose in me, yet when my Fidelity to my Master turned his Enemies upon me, and my Reputation and Conduct was racked, as on the Tenters, and pryed and searched into, with the most rigid Scrutiny that ill nature could apply, all my Crimes were made up of such Articles as those now brought by D. L. in that invidious Paragraph, on the Stage.

In his next he says, I reflect, pretending the Lieutenant Governour was referr'd to the Proprietary's Quit-Rents for his Support. And surely I may well pretend it, when I can shew it under his own Hand. But on that just and plain Observation, in my Memorial viz, that "If Lieutenant Governours are not liable to any Restrictions," seeing the Proprietary in his absence, never received one Penny to himself, or his Family from the Government, tho' others have had large Sums; it would be much more eligible and safe for the Proprietary, when He could not personally reside in the Province, to divest himself of the Government, and resign to the King, under whom He might be sure of such Orders, which must then be necessarily obey'd (tho' his own might not) as would effectually secure him against all Infractions on his Proprietary Rights." D. L. with a singular Turn is pleased to say, Now if this has any Meaning, it must be concluded

that Colonel Evans, [Here he knows the Person, it seems, who was referr'd to the Quit-Bents, tho' just now it was called a Pretence] was deny'd Support, and our present Governour has had large Sums from this Government: If so, then it plainly shews the Difference between acting as a free Agent in Affirmance of our Constitution by Law and Charter, and submitting to an ill Management destructive to the whole. At which I cannot say, I am surprized, because I am not now to admire at any Perversion or Degree of Disingenuity, from that Quarter in this Cause; of which whether this be an Instance or not, others will judge. But I must hereupon take the Freedom of giving him a Caution; viz That if he resolve to BAKE into those unhappy Times, to which he too justly applies the Word Tragedy it may tempt me, who have it in my Power, from good Originals, his own Draughts, Letters, &c. to entertain the World with what would much better be for ever sunk in Oblivion, viz: The History of his Conduct in this Province from the Year 1700. when he first let in his mighty Resentments, on being removed by Order of the Lord Justices in 1699. from all Offices of Trust and Power, to the Year 1710. when the Country, quite tired with his Impositions, served him on their Part, as the Regal Authority had done before. But as I have the highest Aversion to such fruitless Contention; and as it would engage me to revive the Memory also of his nearest Associates, now deceased, whose Names and Characters ought rather to lie buried in Silence with them in their Graves; nothing less than Necessity shall oblige me to so disagreeable a Task. I must however tell D. L. that when he presided not in the Assembly, Colonel Evans was provided for not only by a large Sum given at once, but by a further Appropriation for three Years, which tho' somewhat scanty, yet continued during his Time in the Administration. But upon the Occasion here given, and the Notice he

has, elsewhere in his Paper taken of Ordinances, I am obliged with more Plainness to tell him, and inform the World, that the Point in Difference between that Gentleman and the Assemblies, wherin D. L. truly presided, which made the most Noise, was the Establishment of Courts, that had faln in 1706. by the Repeal of a former Act for appointing them. The Governour applied to the Assembly to restore them by a Law; and a Matter of this Importance, all rational Men expected, might without Delay or Difficulty be dispatched. But all those Expectations proved vain. D. L. Talents that Way were relied on, and for a Proof of them after a Months Adjournment, he produced a vast Bill of about 20 Sheets, crowded with Matters, so far from being essential to the Constitution of Courts, that some of them were never before, nor have never since, in these Parts, to the best of my Knowledge, been either proposed or heard of; yet by the Influence and Management of the Draughtsman, they were so strenuously insisted on, under the Name of Privileges, (of which the Licensing of Publick Houses solely by the Justices was one) that unless the Governour would give into them, the Country must still languish, under an entire Stop to the Administration of Justice, of which they had been deprived, for about twelve Months before. The Governour hereupon, after many fruitless Endeavours, for a Law, had Resort to the only proper Expedient in his Power, which was to restore them by an Ordinance, the sole Method that had been allow'd by the Crown, in some of our Neighbouring Governments. And the more effectually to prevent exceptions, this was drawn, as near as could be, in the express Terms of D. L's Bill, in all the Parts essential to the Constitution of our Courts; as their Number, their Nature, their Terms or Times of Sitting, with what else was truly necessary for a regular and uniform Establishment of them, throughout the Province. Yet such was D. L's Opposi-

tion at that Time that this necessary Provision for procuring to the People their primary and greatest of all Rights in Government, was so highly Remonstrated, and declaimed against, as illegal, because not founded on an Act of Assembly; and so wildly were the Inhabitants arroused, that I have seen some who had been summoned to serve on a Grand-Jury, in a Court of Quarter-Sessions, openly in the Face of the Court deny its Jurisdiction; which whenever the Tragedy of that Time, mentioned by D. L. comes to be wrote, I suppose, may properly be allowed to make one fine Scene of it. Yet on the other Hand, when in the Year 1719. On the Repeal of another Act of the same Kind, our present Governour in affirmance of our Constitution as the Words are, or to prevent any Stop or Failure in the Administration of Justice, thought fit to continue the Courts, without waiting or applying for either Law or Ordinance; we then saw the Quondam great Patriot for these Privileges, as now Older and Wiser, very quietly submitting, and without any other Appointment than a Commission and a Salary, (which doubtless carries much Strength both in Law and Reason with it) acting in the highest Station of our Courts, condemning Criminals, &c, without Hesitation, all which, I here say, was acted well, and shews, that on proper Considerations, advanced Years may enable a Man to reform his Judgment in one Case tho' they may not on the old Core, till all contending Passions are laid equally quiet in the Dust. Yet in this Case, the least that could be expected (one would think.) from such a Patriot, in that Station, after such mighty Clamours in the Days of Tragedy, might have been to move for a Law at least: But for two Years and a half (the salary coming duly in) there was, as far as I have heard, a perfect Silence in the Matter till the late Attorney-General considering the Weakness of that Foundation for our Courts, thought it necessary to

move for one, and without any Delay obtained it. And so much for the Comparison. Thus having, if I mistake not, made good what I proposed, which was to shew the Weakness both of D. L's Law and Reasoning, and that his Reflections on the deceas'd Proprietary were unmerited and unjust; to the Breast of every considerate honest Man, I shall now leave it to be judged, how far consistent his Performance is with the Honour of this Government, either in Respect to our deceased Founder, his Family now living, or to any other Person acting under their Authority. He has called it, I hear, his Legacy, that when dead, he may yet speak; and no Man, I believe, will envy him the Reputation, of having his Memory and Sentiments, in that manner, perpetuated. I have been told also, that he pretends, he was called by the Assembly to the Work: But that nowhere appears, nor is it to be credited: He had only Leave to print it, as they ordered divers other Things to be published, not because they approved of them, but for another obvious Reason. I ought next to proceed to his Treatment of my self: But his Reflections are so unbecoming a Man of Spirit, and are so silly with their Spite, that I cannot think it worth either my own or my Reader's Time to consider them: His whole 12th Paragraph, closing with a Sting in its Tail at some One Person, is such a trifling Composition of Jargon; that the civillest Thing can be said of it, is to allow it no meaning at all; for granting it any, it must be only this, that in all Governments, where the Council has a Negative, that is in all the other English Governments in America, there is more Danger of Arbitrary Power in one Person, from Two Checks, than there can be from One; which is too irreverent toward an English Constitution, and too outrageous an Attack upon common Sense, to imagine it could be intended by him. But as he seems willing to trace a Great Example, that had been set before him,

in charging me with affecting Power, and is pleased to distinguish me from the other Members of the Council-Board; I must here in my own Vindication, once more challenge all Mankind, to produce one single Instance, where I have ever arrogated, courted or coveted Power, in any publick Affair whatsoever: Or that during the 23 Years, that I have been of that Board I ever made one Motion there, against the true Interest of the Country, for which I freely appeal to all the other Members of it, now living. My own Conscience bears me witness (and the angriest of my Enemies cannot prove the contrary, but) that I have been equally Faithful to the Proprietary, and Just to the Inhabitants, yet Envy against the One (with some Political Views elsewhere) has laboured to incense the Others against me. I have (also) been surprizingly charged with falsifying the Council's Minutes: But the Event of that Inquiry, before its proper Judges, fully shews that Innocence is not rashly to be attack'd, and possibly may prove, that Weapons form'd against it may happen to return where they were never expected, or intended.

I shall now come to his latest Clause, where for a finishing Stroke he tries to put the Bear-Skin on me, as if I were to be run down immediately in a common Hunt: But I cannot have so mean an Opinion as he seems to entertain of the Judgment of the People. 'Tis true, they have sometimes been misled: Men may be stagger'd by new Pretences, and false Colourings may impose on their Understandings for a Time: But Rectitude is the natural Disposition of the Soul, and when forced from it by Arts or Illusions, yet (like the Needle panting after its Pole) being left to it-self, it will shew, that Truth and Justice, are the real and adequate Objects, of its Esteem, its Love, and Desire. I am not therefore apprehensive of much Danger from temporary Mistakes. I have been charged with Disrespect to some former Assemblies, and I acknowledge I have blamed them: Both Kings and Parliaments have err'd

and Mankind have openly censured the one or the other (and some both) for certain Proceedings in England, towards the middle of the last Century: Yet this no ways derogates from either Regal or Parliamentary Authority the Powers of both being justly accounted as sacred, within their respective Limits. No Parliament, 'tis probable, was ever conven'd more regularly than that I have hinted, of Nov 1640. Yet all Men condemn their excessive Abuse of Power: No Assembly, perhaps was more duly elected, according to our Constitution, than that of 1709. yet the Country, at their next Choice, shew'd so entire a Dislike of their Proceedings against the Proprietary, that (as I was informed then in Britain) they were all turn'd out to a Man. I may therefore be allow'd to be still of the same Opinion with the Country, who never shew'd themselves more unanimous, than they did generally on that Occasion. Nor is it more a Crime to persist in it, than to be faithful to my Trust, the true Source of my Troubles here. But if, because I have opposed the unjust Attacks made upon the Proprietary, any can be so wild, as to imagine me disaffected to the true Interest and Privileges of the People, they must, when they consider my Circumstances in the Place, with my Family, either conceive me exceedingly blind to what regards my self, or acknowledge the gross Absurdity of supposing, that to strengthen an Interest, to which my Posterity can have no nearer Relation, than all the rest of the Province, I should favour the least Appearance of Oppression or Arbitrary Power, (were it true that Attempts of that kind had ever been made here) or deprive my Children of the least Advantage, they might in common with their Neighbours justly claim. No sensible Man who believes me Master of any competent Degree of Reason, can imagine this. On the contrary, I can truly affirm, my Views and Aims (however calumiated) have constantly been the same, viz Universally to promote Justice, the only Foundation,

on which any Establishment can become truly great, safe and honourable. And as I have already, in this Paper, taken Notice of that amiable Disposition to Love and Union, which with an honest Simplicity, and an open Integrity, shed a beautiful Lustre on the first Adventurers with the Proprietary into this Province; and which seem to have drawn down such a Blessing on their Endeavours, that the Settlement soon became the Wonder, at least, if not the Envy of the Colonies round us; so, nothing in relation to the Publick, has been more earnestly my Desire than that our Conduct might still continue a just claim to the same Esteem and Reputation. But alas! the Pale has been broke into. George Keith, the Grand Apollyon of this Country's Peace, gave the first fatal Blow. Hence the Minds of Numbers were tainted and soured, not only one against another, but against the Proprietary himself, who could not but condemn the Proceedings of that turbulent conceited Man, and from hence more easily succeeded those unnatural Disputes I have mentioned, joyned with Revenge, which cost the Country vast Sums, besides the Confusion, without the least Benefit to the People; had even all that was contended for, been gain'd. These 'twas thought, in 1710, were happily ended; and may the Spirit be for ever crushed, and never suffer'd to raise its monstrous Head again. Let the Proprietary, who is still our Governour in chief (and may he ever be encouraged to continue so) have his Own, as well as the People Theirs, with proper Securities from the Person He intrusts and not be placed in a worse Condition, by weak Pretences from the Law, or otherwise, than any private Man would be content with, in the minutest of his own Affairs, where he confides in another: Let us with an unshaken Regard to Right, study and promote the Credit and Honour, the true Interest and Peace of the Publick; ever guarding, as we would against Fire to our Houses, or Leaks at Sea, against that Grand Reproach, that

Destructive Bane, to Families, Communities, and Countries, Intestine Divisions. We are bless'd with mighty Privileges, not only those of an English Subject, to their utmost Extent, and those other plain Ones, granted by the Proprietary's Charter; but these also, which can never be too highly valued, an Exemption from Racking Rents for Lands, oppressive Taxes, Tythes, and Military Appointments. Let us therefore be grateful and quiet, without hazarding any of those we really enjoy, by endeavouring, to be better than very well; which has ever been attended with Danger. Nor led by Sounds only, make our selves the Property of designing Men, who to compass their own Ends, amuse with the Charm of misunderstood Words, and empty deluding Prospects. Let us cheerfully support and obey the Regular Powers of Government, and as far as possible, preserve our publick Credit. These Things (if I mistake not) will truly redound to our Honour; and my hearty and constant Endeavours for these will be found the only Crimes, for which I can be charged, in Relation to this Province.

Philadelphia,
25. Sept. 1725.

J. LOGAN.

Advertisement.

These are to certify all whom it may concern, that those ingenious Persons, who have heretofore, either in Print or Manuscript, treated any Thing I have wrote, with Scoffs, Invectives, Trifling Cavils, Drollery, Scurrility, &c, may freely go on in their Way; for I shall ever think such Performances, in what relates to myself, below my Notice. Nor shall I have more Regard to any Reply that may be offered to this Paper, unless the Law produced in it, be Standard, The Arguments carry some Reason, and the Assertions some Truth in them, and be to the Purpose: But I shall by my Silence, shew a just Contempt of every Thing relating to the Publick, that is not solid, or becomes not a serious, honest Man.

J. L.

ROLLS OF THE SECOND REGIMENT PHILADELPHIA COUNTY MILITIA, LIEUT.-COL. ISAAC FRANKS, 1794.

[A recent accession to the Manuscript Division of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania are the rolls of seven companies of the Second Regiment Philadelphia County Militia, Lieutenant-Colonel Franks, which, as the names indicate, were largely composed of citizens of Germantown and vicinity. The Militia of the State was to furnish 8200 men for the army being organized to suppress the "Whiskey Insurrection."]

A Return of the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th Classes of Capt. William Renshaw's Com^y

<i>1st Class</i>	
George Kigler	Jacob Fisher
W ^m Ogleby	W ^m Ross
George Brown	Steven Rouss
Isaac Bennett	Christian Glows
George Easher	<i>3d Class</i>
John Wensel	Michael Shyer
James Lukens	David Bowman
John Foster	Andrew Bute
Jacob Slanter	Peter Price
Joseph Readman	Godfrey Shronk
Tho ^s Grady	Henry Folk
W ^m Loyens	Jacob Rise
	John Mowry
	Antoney Runor
<i>2d Class</i>	John Runor
Peter New	W ^m White
Michael Long	Richard Blunk
Jacob Myer	Jonathan Gooden
Peter Mun	
John Washenton	<i>4th Class</i>
Charles Brown	Martin Strous
Jacob Miller	Richard Worrone

Jacob Fiss	James Coyle
John Slanter	Andrew Miller
John Wise	John Banor
James Cowrey	Cunard Bear
Richard Hickens	Mathias Huess

*A Return of the first 4 Classes of the 5 Com^s of the
2d Regt. P. C. M.*

1st Class

Barnard Getts
Garritt Rittenhouse
Barnard Sugart
John Gysell
Philip Shinkle
George Emry
W^m Smith
Nicholas Unrue
Nicholas Boos
Martin Friese
George Moyer

3d Class

Jacob Lowry
Christian Goodknecht
Peter Riffert
George Fight
Philip Swarts
Abraham Corper
Jacob Super
Jacob Hurter
George Unrue
John Robison
Christopher Juke

2d Class

Jacob Good
Conrad Tedel
Casper Strouse
Jacob Moyer
Antoney Conrad
William Heisler
Joseph Minnick
Edward Dellon
John Campman
John Unrue
Abraham Shafer

4th Class

W^m Shafer
Conrad Showoecker
Fred^t Smith
Benj^a Paul
John Sharpneck
Daniel Sharpneck
Joseph Paul
James Nice
Abraham Kyser

Michael Marsteller, Capt.

N. B.—No person marches out of the foregoing classes.

490 *Second Regiment, Philadelphia, 1794.*

A List of the first four Marching Classes of the 7th Com^o of the 2d Regt. P. C. M. Com^d by Capt. Jacob Darling.

1st Class

Philip Simon
Alexander McDonald
Tho^o Burke
Tho^o Cox
Frederick Warner
Rudolph Reiger
Conrad Redinger (has
 foun^d a substitute).
Joseph Groskop
Tho^o Cox Jr
Geo. Duy
Joseph Mulenberger
Hugh Hoy
Joseph Green

3d Class

Thomas Phares
John Shuster
John Coope
George Krause
Jesse Gouge
Daniel Casner
Sam' Mechlin
George Wintercast
George Keel
John Sharpless
Joseph Nice
Adam Fox

2d Class

Amos Roberts
John Hart
Henry Sorber
Mathias Settinger
Christopher Ottinger
Abraham More
William Kime
Peter Deal
John Bringham
John Wile
William Davy
John Lowrey

4th Class

George Will
Archibald M^o Lane
Peter Adams
Charles Colliday
Jacob Reiger Jr.
Jacob Sommers Jr.
W^m Cunningham
Jacob Miller
Michael Kerbach
Edw^d Gauge
Geo. Royal
Lewis Layman

Return of the Names of those that March.

<i>1st Class</i>	<i>3d Class</i>
Philip Simon	The ^r Ferris
Geo. Duy	Jos. Nice
George Sleight sub.	Adam Fox
<i>2d Class</i>	<i>4th Class</i>
John Wile	Geo. Wile
	Jacob Sommers
	Michael Kerbach
	W ^m Cunningham
	John Raggan, a substitute for Joseph Reiger
	Jacob Darling, Capt.

A Return of the names and surnames of all those persons who are Classed in the second and four Classes of the Second Com^o of the 2d Battl. of P. C. M. com^d by Lieut. Col. Isaac Franks.

<i>1st Class</i>	<i>3d Class</i>
Jacob Know	Jacob Repine
Israel Dickeson	Jacob Everman
Geo. Martin	Philip Husband
Philip Jones	Dan' Thomas
W ^m Steiner	Christian Yeakel
Zachanas Nieman	W ^m Statman
	John Dutweiler
<i>2d Class</i>	<i>4th Class</i>
Christian Durton	Henry Hinkel
W ^m Streper	Philip Marewine
David Williams	Charles Carbonter
Frederick Hoos	Olry Sheets
Jacob Witteman	Michael Sheets
Joseph Knittle	James Linte
Henry Cress	

27 Day Sep^r 1794

Henry Snyder, Capt.

N. B.—This is to Certify that none of the Classes Marches.

A Return of the Names and Surnames of all those Persons who are Classed in the first four Classes of the first Com^o of the 2d Batt. of Phila. Co. Militia commanded by Lt. Col. Isaac Franks.

<i>1st Class</i>	<i>3d Class</i>
John Stretzel	Emanuel Fox
Titus Yerkes	Jacob Rex Jr.
William Mock	Francis Bukius
Casper Guyer	Jacob Cress
Daniel Light	W ^m Cress
Valentine Keiper	David Hinkle
John Peters	John Gominger
Jacob Altimose	Fred ^k Haus Jr.
David Henry	John Mysinger
	Godfrey Pleager
<i>2d Class</i>	<i>4th Class</i>
Jacob Edleman	Dennis Streper
Michael Fisher	Martin Schlatterer
Conrad Shitz	Jacob Keysel
George Keiper	Joseph Kibler
Conrad Hinkle	John Hinkle
Jacob Keiper	George Riter Jr.
Joseph Randle	Ebenezer Major
Samuel Thompson	Charles Nice
	Joseph Williams
27 th day of Sep ^r 1794	
John Huston	

N. B.—Jacob Altimose of the 1st Class and Joseph Williams of the 4th Class Marches & Casper Geyer of the 1st Class & Frederick Shingle in place of John Gominger and John Burnhelter in place of Titus Yerkes.

A List of names belonging to the 3d Com^y 2d Regt. P. C. M.

<i>1st Class</i>	<i>3d Class</i>
Jacob Lukens	George Shuster
Benj ⁿ Jones	Lewis Alloway
John Caldwell	Sebastian Barrel
John Nunemaker	Jonathan Taylor
Valentine Smith	Joseph Livizey
Joseph Crawford	Joseph Levering
Peter Widener	W ^m Saunders
W ^m Flew	John Gorgas
Jacob Cassner	John Boyer
George Crespin	Martin Steinbeck
Sebastian Miller	Henry Tibbin

<i>2d Class</i>	<i>4th Class</i>
Henry Keeley	Robert Hellings
Mathias Hays	John Wood
Joseph Stergis	John Hinkle
Michael Bittenhouse	Mathias Davis
Thomas Gray	Jacob Whitman
Michael Levering	Philip Weaver
John Livizey	Charles Warner
Andrew Hong	Enoch Davis
George Dunnahower	John Righter
John Thonaker	Isaac Hensberry
James Sesihard	

30 Day Sep^r 1794

John Moyer, Capt.
3 Com^y 2 Regt. P. C. M.

A Return of the names of those that Marches to perform their Tour of Duty 30 Sep^r 1794.

Mathias Davis	George Crispen
Thomas Gray	Joseph Sturgis
Lewis Alloway	George Shuster, Fifer

John Caldwell, Drum^r

Henry Tibbin is at present an invalid but followed on.

A Return of the Names and Surnames of the Four Marching Classes belonging to the Fourth Company, commanded by Benjⁿ Engle, of the 2d Battⁿ of P. C. M.

1st Class

Enoch Schnyder
John Nutts
Frederick Knorr
John Nevill
John Butcher
Conrad Carpenter
Charles Bensell
Christopher Kinner
Jacob Bowman
Abraham Kelter
Christian Wedich
Daniel Bowman

3d Class

Claudius Storke
Thomas Paul
James M^cClean
Henry Felty
Abraham Kolp
Philip Hittle
Lawrence Dill
James Jameson
Daniel Rittenhouse
Jacob Bieddee
Daniel Pastorius
William Martin

2d Class

Jacob Tripler
George Keyser
Jacob Nevill
Benjⁿ Shedager
Valentine Warner
John Harmond
John Moyer
George Hergesheimer
Benjⁿ Marshall
Philip Duke
Phenias Watson

4th Class

Joseph Bish
Joseph Lase
Sam^l Wilson
Jacob Pickel
Michael Reiter
John Peck
Robert Whartenby
Robert Eaton
John Hulby
Clemmond Bonsel
Casper Heft Jr.
Joseph Wilson
James M^cMultre

N. B.—Casper Heft Jr. Jacob Tripler Charles Beusell Lawrence Dill Tho^s Paul John Nevill Jacob Buddy & Henry Felty Marches.

AN EARLY PETITION OF THE FREEMEN OF
THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA TO THE
ASSEMBLY, 1692.

To the Representatives of the Free-Men of this Province of Pennsylvania. And Counties Annexed, In Assembly Conven'd at Philadelphia the 10th of the 3d Month, 1692.

The great and main end of publishing the promulgated Bills so long before your Convention, being (as we are sensible), in order to our Perusal, that we may thereupon have a full Opportunity of Conferring with and Communicating our Minds freely to you (our Deputies or Delegates) of whom we have made Choice, for the Preservation of our Liberties and Properties touching our Approbation or Dislike of any or all the said Bills. And because of the Difficulty to procure, as well as many Inconveniencies that attend a Transient Discourse or Verbal Conference, we have made choice of communicating our Scence and Mind to you by this way and manner, hoping we shall not need to doubt, but you will readily endeavour to gratifie the honest Desires, and answer the just Requests of those, whose Choice you are, by whose Power you Act, and with whose Liberties you are Intrusted.

The Thing therefore, touching which we at present give you the trouble of these Lines, is a certain Bill, promulgated for the Assessing and Leavying One Penny per Pound out of the supposed Value of every Man's Estate, either Real or Personal, and two Shillings per Head for those not otherwise Rated which Great Tax, as it will doubtless amount to a great Sum of Money, for which we know no present Necessity,

neither is there any particularly alledged in the said Bill; so the deep Impression it will make in our Estates, much of which (as to divers of us) lies dead in Lands, of little value or profit at present, tho' liable to be highly Rated at the Wills and Pleasures of the Promulgators themselves (and others also, who are Traders in Merchandize, being liable to considerable Losses, by reason of the great Rise's and Hazards of these Perilous Times (as some have deeply felt) besides the many other ill Consequences thereof, as the ill Foundation it layes for a succeeding Governor, of which you are not insensible) is very grievous, and greatly discouraging to us; and as it may almost Ruin many at present, who having little besides Land, whereon they can scarcely get their Maintenance, and being highly Taxed, may have neither Corn nor Money to defray the same, as well as those others among us, who are uncertain whether we have really any thing of our own, or not; so will you find, that if you once Confirm the said Bill, it will be very Prejudicial and Detremental to the Free-men (who are the Kings Subjects) both of this Province and Counties annexed, in time to come; for the thing once past, will not easily be Recalled; Besides also, you will find it, (as well as our selves) of dangerous Consequence, and an ill President for the future, for as the People grow in Wealth, and Governours in Power, so shall the Tax be laid Heavier.

And 2dly If it be so heavy, and grievous, when there is no Necessity therefore, (as we are sensible of at present) what may we expect, will come on us, when there is any Colour or Pretence of a Necessity indeed? And though the annexed Counties may suppose they shall not touch this heavy and grievous Burthen with one of their Fingers, let them assure themselves, that if ever they and we be again as formerly, they will Unavoidably taste of the same bitter Cup.

Consider these things, we desire you, as the Agriev-

ance of the Free-men, by Virtue of whose Love, Trust and Confidence, you are what you are at this Time; neither Argue nor Dispute, for Arguments sake, against the Validity of the Arguments herein used, but let them find that Entertainment and Regard with you, as becomes true and faithful Trustees, who intend to answer the end of their Election and Electors, by keeping their Country free from Bondage and Slavery, and avoiding such Ill Methods as may render Themselves and Posterity liable thereto, for, in short, as we said before, we are not sensible of any present Necessity for raising Money on this account, especially since (if our Neighbouring Counties be in our Condition) the Province is more indebted already than they are easily capable of paying, both for Quit-Rents, and upon other Publick Accounts, and much more is needful, in order to Publick Buildings, as Prison, Market and Court Houses, with other Publick Things, unavoidable Requisite, to defraying which Charge, we understand not the present Tax to be any wayes intended; and since you well know how little a Time Things have been on the Foot they now are, how long will be their Continuance on the same, is Uncertain although we may well conclude of no very long Continuance, from the Deputy-Governours own words, which divers of us heard him express at the Publication of his Commission, [That he Hop'd it would not be Long] which [Hope] doubtless he had some just ground for and seeing nothing is more Certain, than that no great Charges can have accrew'd in this little Minute of Time, therefore be Wary and Cautious: Remember, an ill Foundation is more than half a degree of to an ill Structure: And think not amiss, because we are plain with you, or that it consists not with your Dignity or Honour to regard the Will and Mind of those who have, through great Confidence in your Wisdom and Integrity, entrusted their Lives, Liberties and Estates in your Hands, espe-

cially since they presume no farther than becomes honest Free-Men, speaking only what Necessity, and the Care of their Posterity compells them to, and That, which being longer delay'd, might come too late, and be said in vain: which we once more hope you will well consider, and answer our Expectations accordingly, by Refusing the Passing of the aforesaid Bill.

Andrew Robinson	Isaac Sheffers
John Jones	Jacob Isaac
Charles Pickering	Leonard Arenes
Thomas Peart	Peter Kearles
Thomas Harris	John Luyken
Philip England	Peter Clever
Charles Saunders	Walter Symans
Phillip Richards	Arent Clinken
Joseph Pulgeon	Joseph Ambler
Daniel Hephly	Thomas Langston
Zachariah Whitpane	Griffith Jones
Albertus Brandt	Humphrey Waterman
John Whitpane	John Farmer
Anthony Sturges	John King
William Snead	John Duplovys
Young Morgan	George Willcox
Abraham Hooper	William Carter
Robert Wallis	Joseph Fisher
Thomas Budd	Francis Rawle
Christopher Davison	John Test
William Trotter	Edward Douty
John Brock	William Hearn
Richard Buzby	James Chick
William Buzby	Joshua Morris
John Harper, Sen.	John Fellows
Richard Sutton	Joseph Knight
James West	John Colley
Pierre Cherbonnan	James Shatick
Andrew Seeply	Daniel Cook
Claus Rittenhowes	Hipelitus Lefever

John Hart	Richard Cocker
George Emlen	William Bevan
John Murrey	Jeremiah Osbourn
Thomas Hooton	Ralph Ward
George Burson	James Poulter
John Fletcher	James Cooper
John Gilbert	John Cox
Yeamans Gillingham	Thomas Jenner
Thomas Rutter	Martin Hoult
Abraham Tunis	John Miffin
Harman Op, de Graves	Joseph Yard
Jacob Shumaker	Derick Keiser
Jan Lensen	Paul Kastner
Cornelius Scvers	Gerrit Hendricks
Hanse Malan	Derick Sall
Thomas Shute	Closs Tomson
Francis Daniel Pastorius	John Douden
James Coate	Henry English
John Haywood	Arnold Cassel
John Craven	Hugh Gooud
Robert Turner	John Turner
Joshua Carpenter	William Hudson
Thomas Paschall	Hans Peter Umstat
John Redman	Allen Foster
Nicholas Pearce	John Loftus
Samuel Atkins	John Smart
Thomas Hill	Daniel Jones
John Parsons	John Shippey
Phillip James	William Hard
Nathanel Sykes	Daniel van Beeck
Joseph Walker	Edward Smout
William Paschall	Richard Hilliard
Cesar Ghiselin	John Waite
John Songhurst	John Griffith
Thomas Janvier	Edward Farmer
Henry Flower	Randal Spakeman
Nehemiah Allen	Thomas Sisom

Thomas Curtis	William Crews
Isaac Warner	Thomas Bingley
John Bethel	Henry Bowehor
John Saunders	Joseph Brown
Henry Johnson	Daniel Pegg
Christopher Sibthorp	William Snouden
Thomas Makin	Thomas Willard
Josiah Elfreth	Abel Noble
William Lee	Thomas Boyer
William Preston	John Carver
Edmund Wells	George Eaton
Robert Row	Richard Whitfield
Anthony Taylor	Benjamin Duffield
Thomas Fairman	John Worrell
Jan Willemse Huyseen	John Eaton
Nathaniel Lamplugh	Henry Wells
Henry Furnis	Erick Mullakie
Benj Whithead	Thomas Kitchin
Francis Cook	Thomas Kember
Richard Pierce	John Sibley
Anthony Weston	Joseph Ashton
George Harmer	Richard Worrell
John Furnis	John Ayre
Thomas Hall	Thomas Graves
William Oxley	Peter Taylor
Joseph Cross	Toby Leech
Lyonal Britten	Michael Gamblin
William Boulding	Edward White
John M'Comb	Richard Hall
John Stephens	Richard Dungworth
Joseph Tugwell	Thomas Maddox
Gabriel Wilkinson	Jacob Hall
Robert Merrifield	Thomas Clarke
John Southworth	Jacob Evans
William Laycock	Robert Adams
Samuel Nichols	Elias Keach
Nicholas Rideout	Michael Bucher

Thomas Cross
Thomas Kitchin
Patrick Kelly
Jonathan Lewslie
David Sherkis
Thomas Godfrey
Edmund M'Veagh
Edward Eaton
John Wells
William Howard
Cadwelader Lewis
Thomas Bradford
John Butcher
Daniel Street
Richard Tomlinson
William Wells
Thomas Cocks
Henry Haward
Abraham Pratt
Nathaniel Walton
Robert Longshore
Otto Ernest Kock
Michael Nelson
Erick Cock
Gunner Rambo
Yocum Stouce
Hance Nelson

John Cock
Erick Mousenson
John Rambo, Jun.
Andres Bangson, Jun.
Lasse Boone
Andres Bangston
Peter Rambo, Jun.
Swan Swanson
Josem Tanck
John Cocks
Kasper Kass
Neels Nelson
John Scouton
Andres Jones
Andres Rambo
John Stelle
Andres Whelar
Swan Boone
Zacharias Cock
Peter Cock
Banks Bankston
William Smith
Thomas Waite
Andrew Griscom
Richard Bassnet
John Tatham

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

LETTER OF DOLLY P. MADISON TO JOHN PARISH, franked by her husband James Madison, Secretary of State, from the Parish-Wharton-Cox Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.—

Dear friend—

I am solicited by a Negro Man lately taken into our serves to write thee a few lines on the subject of his freedom—to which he thinks himself entitled by living with the new Dutch Minister Seven Months in Phil^a he belongs to Catharin M^cCall of Virg^a perhap Thomas Harison knows something of him, he has been 13 months absent from his native state—if thee will write me a line I should be glad to releave his mind & do what I could to procure his liberty—but am affraid his mistress who is a friend of mine would not take it well of me, & I therefore dare not appear active in the affair.

D. P. Madison

OATH OF P. GORDON, CHANCELLOR, OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1726/7.—Original Mss. presented to the Historical Society by Mr. Richard Waln Meirs.

I do Swear That I will well and truly Serve in the Office of Chancellor for this Province of Pensilvania wherewith I am Entrusted I will do Right to all manner of People as well to poor as to Rich I will not Know nor Suffer the Hurt or Disheriting of the King nor that the Rights of the Crown & the Proprietor of this Province be Distress'd by any Means as far forth as I may it Let and if I may not Let it I will make it clearly & expressly be known And I will do and purchase the King's Profit and the Right of the Proprietor of Pensilvania in all that I reasonably may.—

Jurat apud Philad^a die Jovis
secundo die Februarii Anno
tredecimo Georgii Magnae Brit-
aniae Franciae et Hiberniae Regis
Fidei Defens^r &c Anno Dnⁱ 1726/7
In Concillio.

So help me God
P. Gordon.

INTERESTING LETTER OF ROBERT WALN, original in the Manuscript Division, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, presented by Mr. Richard Waln Meirs.—

Philada. Oct. 3rd, 1787.

Dear Cousin

Altho it would give me much pleasure to have thy Comp.y on fourth day next, yet if it will be inconvenient to come I cannot insist upon it, and must return thee my thanks for thy readinefs to oblige me, and think it would be but a poor return of thy kindnefs to be too prefsing, especially when I am so well convince'd of thy inclination to comply with my request. It is a great fatisfaction to me to hear that Cousin Betsey is better, please to make my respects to her with my sincere wishes for her recovery,—and likewise return my thanks to Cous. Betsey ju.^r for her kind wishes & inform her that I am very sorry in being depriv'd of her Comp.y.—Thee would not censure ye Convention so severely if thee knew every circumstance respecting ye Negroes—by far ye great-

est part wishes to abolish that trade entirely, & a resolution was offer'd for that purpose, but ye Southern Delegates positively refus'd their consent & threatened to retire if ye motion was not withdrawn—and as their absence would have broken up ye House, it was thought best to withdraw it, and introduce another / which was carried / & which will put it in ye power of Congress at ye end of 21 years to put a total stop to that iniquitous traffic—and as each State is still at liberty ye enact such laws for ye abolition of slavery as they may think proper, ye Convention cannot be charg'd with holding out any encouragement to it—Almost all ranks of People here are dispos'd to adopt ye propos'd system of Government, but some of ye back County members are oppos'd to it—The Assembly on sixth day last proceeded to ye appointment of a State Convention but were warmly oppos'd by a few members, who, finding a large majority against them, spun out ye debate till ye house were oblig'd to adjourn, & at ye time appointed for their next meeting absented themselves; in consequence of which ye attending members cou'd not make a house—this so enrag'd ye People that a large body headed by Capt. Barry went in pursuit of ye absentees, found two of them— / a sufficient number for their purpose / and reproach'd them for their disorderly conduct; told them that they did not wish to influence their votes but insisted upon their attendance, & inform'd them that as ye People were greatly enrag'd they could not answer for their safety should they refuse to comply—tho lost to flame the last argument had its weight & they were conducted to ye house—this proceeding tho not strictly regular had ye desir'd effect—ye Assembly compleated their business & ye minority being sixteen in Number solac'd themselves with an address to their constituents fill'd with misrepresentations of facts, & reproaches both on ye Members of Convention & Citizens of Philada.

Thy loving Cousin,

Robt. Wain.

ORDER OF GOV. WILLIAM FRANKLIN OF NEW JERSEY FOR HIS SALARY,
1765.—

By his Excellency William Franklin Esq. Captain General & Governor in Chief in and over the Province of New Jersey & Territories thereon depending in America &c.

No. 118

To either of the Treasurers of the Province of New Jersey Pay unto myself or order the sum of Three hundred Pounds proclamation Money, it being for one Quarters salary as Commander in Chief of this Colony ending the Twenty-first Instant, for which this shall be your sufficient Warrant.

Given under my Hand in Council at Burlington the twenty first day of August, 1765.

W^m Franklin.

By his Excellencys Command

Cha Read.

On the back endorsed W^m Franklin, and "Oct' 26, 1769,
Exam'd & allow'd Jno Stevens,

T. Wetherill."

LETTER OF GEN. JOHN ARMSTRONG TO GEN. WILLIAM IRVINE.

Carlisle 30th January 1778.

Dear Sir,

Your favour of the 14th Ins^t I rec^d a few days agoe, which was the first I had heard from you Since we parted near the Trapp when you went to Lancaster for a Supply of Cash—nor did I know what was become of you from that day to this only Once heard you were at Reading & had wrote me a letter about the begining of Decemb' which

had come to the hands of Major Henry, who must have lost or forgot to deliver it as it never came to my hands. I got to this place on the 10th Ins^t and hope to remain untill the Spring (except once to York Town) having first fixed the Service of Such of the Militia as are to be out this Winter on the East Side of Scuykill.

What remains of your Bagage is now here at my House I wou'd have left it at Lancaster, but knew of no place except the Tavern where I did not chuse to leave it. When the Enemy were at Chestnut Hill The Bagage Waggons being all hurried off Some ten or twelve miles I lost the Chest of the Liqours that remain'd both yours & mine & my old Brandy Kegg which cou'd not be repaired—the reason given to me was that the Bungs of the Vessels turn'd down in driving in the Night & the spirits ran out—but I doubt not it also found a different Channel. The things you had in a Sack I expect are Safe. With respect to the House you write of I am at a loss what to answer, there are so many Seeking & I am yet undetermined whether to move back to my Plantation in the Spring or not but think that most probable. I wish to be able to Serve you in either the Town, or Country House or perhaps only in a part of One. As to getting a House in Town, I believe it is now not an easy matter to find one & will be worse in the Spring, therefore if you incline to come here, wou'd advise you by all means to come up y^r Self for a few days & make tryal either to rent or purchase, I have heard but of one House which but an ordinary one and not in the best part of the Town, the Owner has refused £50 Rent for it a little Logg-House. I may perhaps Sell either my Town House & Lot, or my Plantation provided I get such price & pay as Others do, but not else.

M^r Callenders Lower place is Sold for about £12000.

I think you Shou'd take a Ride here. Please to present my Compliments to Mr^r Irwin & believe me to be y^r Affectionate
friend & humb^l Serv^t

John Armstrong

P:S: Let me give you my
real opinion, that I shou'd think
up the River Delaware one of the
Safest places in Penns^a next Campaign.
J. A.

THE AFFAIR AT PAOLI.—The following interesting letter gives a tradition in connection with the affair at Paoli. There are letters extant, both British and American (among them one from Wayne to his wife), that state that at the battle of Germantown Wayne's division had not forgotten the treatment of Grey's infantry at Paoli, and used their bayonets freely, but that the Americans sent a message to the British camp that they would be revenged, we have no evidence.

Beresford Barracks,
The Curragh Camp, Ireland.
7th June 1914.

Dear Sir.

I am writing to ask your kindly help in an endeavour to unravel a somewhat obscure point of history. . . . My Regiment, which for the past thirty-three years has borne the title "Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry" is composed of two older units which were formerly known as the 32d and the 46th Regiments of Foot. These two are now united as the First and Second Battalions, respectively, of the Duke of Cornwall's Infantry. The old 32d dates its continuous life from the first year of Queen Anne's reign, while the 46th came to light some few years later. Our regimental history is to a great extent that of the warfare of four continents and of the building up of the British Empire. It is evident, therefore, that my own Regiment (in common

with many others in the British service) has a certain solid reality in its past which is worth taking some pains to put before the minds of the present generation of soldiers.

In the course of so long and eventful a life it is but natural that the Regiment should have acquired certain badges, distinctions and traditions, and it is upon the subject of one of these that I now venture to address you.

I would beg to bring you back to the year 1777 when the British army under Howe was advancing from the South upon Philadelphia. The peculiar incident is the affair of the night of the 20th-21st of September, when the British General Grey came upon your General Wayne in his bivouac. It is unnecessary to go into details. There can be no doubt but that the affair was a horrible slaughter. According to tradition, however, it had a curious sequel.

The story goes that, after the deed of blood had been committed, the American soldiers caused a spirited message to be carried to the British camp to the effect that they would be revenged upon the perpetrators and that, when their opportunity came, they, in their turn, would show no mercy, and would refuse quarter to their foe. Now the unit that had taken the most conspicuous part in the business was the Second Light Battalion. This corps was, according to the custom of the period, a composite body made up of the light companies of a number of different regiments. One of these companies happened to belong to the 46th Foot, now the Second Battalion of my Regiment.

Upon the receipt of this threat the men of the Light Battalion are said to have sent back a reply in the following terms: That they alone had done the deed and that they were prepared to face the consequences. But, in order that their opponents should not wreak their vengeance upon men who had borne no part in the affair, they announced that they had adopted a device by means of which they might be recognized in the field. Light troops were then distinguished from others by the wearing of a feather in the cap; and the soldiers of the Second Light Battalion declared that in future their feathers would be dyed red.

There is no doubt but that this mark of distinction was actually adopted at the time, but what is far more extraordinary is that it is still maintained to this day! When in due course light companies came to be abolished the distinctive mark, adopted many years earlier by the light company of the 46th, was taken up by the whole Regiment. In after years, when the 46th came to be united to the 32d Regiment, a representation of the red feathers was adopted by both. In the course of years the meaning of it has been well nigh forgotten. But, though patterns of head-dress have varied from time to time with changes in fancies and fashions, in some form or another, the red has remained constant in the Regiment. Today upon our helmet plates we bear, among other devices, two red feathers crossing each other. On our caps there is a patch of red cloth behind the badge. In fact, at home or abroad, in peace or in war, wherever the Regiment may have been serving, officers and men have ever borne a tuft, a patch, a "puggaree" or a plume of red in their head-dress.

So much is certain, and the badge is duly sanctioned by authority. The strange thing is that no official record of the incident that led to the first adoption of the red feather is to be found. I have sought in vain in books of history, written upon both sides of the Atlantic. I have applied to the British War Office and I have sought among the Public Records. My quest has been fruitless. As a last resource I appeal to you who are situated near the scene of action. Can you help me?

The points that I am trying to clear up are: First, whether there

exists any record of the threat of revenge and of the reply; and, secondly, whether it can, if possible, be determined why one company of the Light Battalion and one alone, namely that drawn from the old 46th Regiment, should have retained the distinctive mark to the present day.

I would be most grateful also if you could kindly supply me with a rough sketch of the ground about the Schuylkill River (as it was in 1777), showing the position of Howe's camp, that of General Wayne's detachment, of Smallwood's militia, and the route taken by Grey. All the accounts in the various books mention a number of places, names, and of houses and taverns along the road, but not one has a map by means of which alone the exact details of the narratives are intelligible.

In one of the American histories to which I have referred for information I notice that mention is made of a monument having been erected upon the site of General Wayne's camp. I hope that there is no longer any bitterness among the sons of either nation regarding the events of the eighteenth century—certainly there is none upon this side and we are the people who were whipped! I would, therefore, dearly like to reproduce in my pamphlets a picture of the memorial that was erected to the memory of the brave men who fell upon that awful night, and also the wording of the inscription. Might I ask you of your kindness to send me a photograph of it? Even a picture post card would be very welcome and acceptable.

Trusting that you will regard this letter in a favourable light, that you will forgive me for troubling you, and will kindly do what lies in your power to help me,

I remain yours very faithfully,

J. H. T. Cornish-Bowden (Major),
The Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry.

To the Librarian,
Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

COL. ELEAZER OSWALD'S FRENCH-IRISH EXPERIENCES.—

"I am a citizen of Philadelphia in the United States of America and served as lieutenant colonel of artillery during that Revolution.

The death of one of my wife's relations occasioned my coming to England to settle some domestic affairs. This was at the time that France was invaded last year. It was my intention to return home as soon as my business was settled, but the dangers to which France was then exposed by the invasion and the anxiety I felt for the success of the Revolution determined me to defer my return to America and to come to France and offer my services in any manner in which I could be usefully employed.

"In London I purchased a horse for which I gave forty guineas and arrived with him in Paris the beginning of September last. The Minister Servan gave me an order to join the army then commanded by Dumourier at St. Minchand. A few days afterwards I was announced in general orders as colonel of artillery. I was in the memorable battle at Geminaps and afterwards in another the day before the army of France took possession of Liege. At the close of the campaign I had a conge to come to Paris.

"I arrived in Paris at the time that the affairs of Ireland were becoming serious and bore the appearance of a revolution. The executive council were then employing themselves to know what was the real situation of things in that country, and as I was an American and could go to Ireland with less suspicion than another person I was sent by the Minister Le Brun upon that business. I left my horse in his care and possession. I retained by rank as colonel of artillery and asked no other recompense for the business I undertook than what my expenses should amount to.

"I set off from Paris about the 20th of February last. When I arrived at Calais the passage to Dover was obstructed and the war with England commencing. Soon after I had no other way of getting to Ireland than by a neutral vessel to Christiansand in Norway and from thence through Scotland to Ireland.

"When I arrived in Ireland the volunteers had tamely suffered themselves to be disarmed by the British soldiery and all prospect of a revolution in that country was at an end at least for a time. I returned by an American vessel from Ireland to Bordeaux, where I arrived about the last of May. I came immediately to Paris and made my report of the state of affairs in Ireland and the circumstances of my journey to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, from which department I received only my account of travelling expenses and was told my horse was dead for which I can get no compensation.

"I was then referred to the war department for my pay as colonel of artillery and after having been attending (attended) upon these departments ever since the 8th of June, I am now informed that I cannot be paid either the arrears of pay due to me or for my horse. Thus circumstanced I have appealed to the National Convention for justice not doubting but some mode will be pointed out by this committee to satisfy my claims.

"Paris, September 1, 1793.

"Eleazer Oswald."

Queries.

MEDICAL GRADUATES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA:—Biographical information is asked, or the source whence it can be had, of the following medical graduates of the University of Pennsylvania, for the Alumni Catalogue now preparing. Information may be sent to Ewing Jordan, M.D., 1510 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Penna.

	1834.	Crump, George	Va.
		Davis, William	Va.
Abbott, Thomas H.	S. C.	Denig, George W.	Pa.
Alexander, John Thomas	La.	Dossey, Alonzo B. C.	S. C.
Allen, Samuel A.	Va.	Drake, Joseph A.	N. C.
Anderson, Richard	Va.	Duloney, William J.	Va.
Armistead, William		Fowler, Newton	S. C.
Anthony	N. C.	Frayser, John R.	Va.
Bacon, William B.	Ga.	Gaakill, Isaac Penn	Pa.
Balfour, William Thomas	Va.	Germany, William	Ga.
Baugh, John Malone	Va.	Gilliam, John R.	N. C.
Beekman, William		Gilpin, John Bernard, Jr.	
Fenwick	N. Y.		Nova Scotia
Bellamy, Samuel Crowell	N. C.	Godon, Victor L.	Pa.
Binford, Henry A.	Ala.	Graham, Calvin	Va.
Bond, John W.	N. C.	Grattan, John T.	Va.
Booker, Shields	S. C.	Gregg, David R.	S. C.
Bouchelle, Robert M.	N. C.	Hambleton, Alexander	Md.
Bower, William H.	Va.	Harrison, Thomas A.	Va.
Boyd, John	Pa.	Hawling, John S.	Va.
Buchanan, Archibald H.	Tenn.	Helm, William D.	Ky.
Chambers, Benjamin F.	S. C.	Henry, William	Pa.
Chewing, Albert Gallatin,		Hite, Walker Maury	Va.
Jr.	Va.	Hollingsworth, J. Yellott	Md.
Coate, Daniel	Upper Canada	Holmes, William Irvine	Pa.
Coleman, Richard	N. C.	Hope, Thomas M.	Va.
Conover, William Johnson	N. J.	Horlbeck, Peter	S. C.
Cotten, John A.	N. C.	Horning, Lewis	Pa.
Cross, Richard	Va.	Hoxton, William W.	D. C.

Hull, Peter K.	Va.	Wildman, Elias	Pa.
Huston, Nathan J.	Pa.	Woodward, Alfred	N. J.
Irvine, James Furgus	Pa.	Woodworth, Robert	N. Y.
Kemp, William Miller	Md.	Woolverton, Jonathan	Upper Canada
Kennedy, Edward H.	Pa.	Wright, David Minton	N. C.
Ker, John James	La.		
King, David D.	Pa.		
Kinsey, Jefferson	Pa.		
Kirk, John W.	S. C.		
Lathrop, Horace	N. Y.		
Lewis, Norbone Wealey	Va.	Anthony, John	Va.
Lofland, Hazlet	Va.	Averett, Louis H.	Va.
Lovelace, Peter E. H.	Va.	Barnett, James W.	Va.
McCants, Robert James	Miss.	Bartlett, John William	West Indies
Pembroke	S. C.	Bates, William Jourdan	Ohio
McDaniel, Richard H.	S. C.	Blackman, Josiah	N. C.
McRuer, Daniel	Me.	Blount, Thomas W.	N. C.
Malone, Thomas Stith	Ala.	Booth, Robert N.	Va.
Mason, William A.	Ala.	Brown, Alexander	N. J.
Mauck, Aaron	Pa.	Brown, Thomas	Pa.
Mayo, John	Va.	Browne, Peter	Va.
Michie, James W.	Va.	Bryant, Alexander	Va.
Miller, Francis E. K.	Ga.	Bussy, John B.	Ga.
Mitchell, Charles H.	N. Y.	Calliham, Phares W.	Miss.
Montgomery, Joseph		Chrisman, John B.	Pa.
Fautleroy	Va.	Clarke, Richard	Va.
Murphy, Charles T.	S. C.	Covington, Albert	La.
Neves, Albert G.	Va.	Craghead, William Glenn	Va.
Norcom, Benjamin Rush	N. C.	Creigh, Thomas, Jr.	Va.
Palmer, George W.	Ga.	Crump, James M.	Va.
Pannill, David	Va.	Davies, John B.	Va.
Peete, George W.	Va.	Davies, T. Lancaster	England
Phillips, William	S. C.	Dickinson, James R.	Va.
Pitchford, Thomas Jefferson	N. C.	Downing, William D.	Pa.
Powell, Lemuel Brown	N. C.	Dulany, Benjamin	D. C.
Prince, Abner	Del.	Durell, Charles J. F.	N. H.
Punnett, John	St. Thomas, Isd. W. I.	Eddy, Norman	N. Y.
Radford, John B.	Va.	Egbert, William M.	N. J.
Read, Robert A.	Va.	Fisher, Samuel B.	Va.
Reese, Henry W.	Va.	French, William	La.
Rice (Rev.), Edward	Pa.	Fromberger, John Henry	Del.
Robinson, James S.	N. C.	Fussell, Edwin	Pa.
Shotwell, Abraham V.	N. J.	Guyton, Charles B.	Ga.
Smith, Joseph A.	N. C.	Hammett, William	Va.
Sterett, Green	Ky.	Hasson, John	Md.
Stokes, George	N. C.	Hatchett, Richard J. H.	Va.
Taliaferro, Edmund		Hazard, Thomas Arnold	R. I.
Pendleton	Va.	Hendree, John T.	Va.
Taliaferro, William, Jr.	Va.	Hepburn, William	Pa.
Taliaferro, William Q.	Va.	Hetzel, John Newton	Pa.
Tennent, Henry	Del.	Hogg, Thomas T.	Tenn.
Thomas, George W.	Ga.	Holeman, George Payne	Va.
Turner, Pitticus	Va.	Holmes, Jansen W.	Miss.
Turnipseed, Zachariah	S. C.	Hurd, Justus	Miss.
Wade, Elbert C.	Va.	Jefferson, William D.	Va.
Wall, Richard R. L.	N. C.	Keenan, Charles Grandison	Tenn.
Watson, Beverley O.	Tenn.	Keene, Stephen S.	R. I.
Watson, Edwin	Va.	Keichline, Charles P.	Pa.
Wickes, Stephen	N. Y.	Kennedy, William	
		Edmondson	La.

Knorr, John Keyser	Pa.	Russ, John Dodd	Conn.
Lane, William H.	Ga.	Sayers, David	Va.
Lefferty, John Warren	Canada	Skinner, Charles	N. C.
Lindsay, James M.	Ga.	Sloane, Bryan W.	N. C.
Linton, John Sankey	Ohio	Smith, Charles W.	Pa.
Livingston, Samuel	Tenn.	Smith, Henry Wellington	Miss.
Long, George W.	Tenn.	Smith, James Malcolm West	Indies
Love, William K.	S. C.	Southall, Turner H.	Va.
McBride, George C.	Ala.	Southgate, Robert	Va.
McCabe, Robert	Del.	Stubbs, Richard	West Indies
McCallmont, George F.	Pa.	Sullivan, Wade	Va.
McClure, Samuel	Pa.	Taylor, Benjamin Waller	Fla.
McCullough, George	Pa.	Taylor, George Washington	S. C.
McNairy, John S.	Tenn.	Taylor, Richard F.	Va.
Malloy, Archibald	N. C.	Torian, Thomas	Va.
Mann, William M.	Pa.	Turner, James B.	Ala.
Marx, Frederick	Va.	Wagner, Ferdinand L.	Pa.
Michener, Charles Plumley	Pa.	Walker, Percy	Ala.
Moore, James Mott	N. C.	Wallace, William	Va.
Moore, Madison T.	N. C.	White, James Hamilton	N. J.
Morris, Daniel F.	Va.	Whittle, John Sinclair	Va.
Noyes, Charles	D. C.	Wickersham, Morris S.	Pa.
Ogilby, Hugh J.	Ga.	Williams, James McIntosh	Miss.
Owen, Benjamin Rush	Tenn.	Williamson, John Worsham	Va.
Perry, Sidney S. or A.	N. C.	Williamson, William	
Pierce, James Loring	Pa.	Boswell	Va.
Pope, Alexis Darwin	Ala.	Wilson, Charles Crawford	N. C.
Quenichet, William Francis	Va.	Wilson, Samuel	Va.
Riddick, Edward Goodman	N. C.	Winfield, William S.	Va.
Robertson, Joseph A.	Va.	Wofford, James H.	S. C.
Robertson, William H.	Ky.	Young, Robert Graham	Pa.

Book Notices.

YEAR BOOK OF THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY, 1914. Edited by Barr Ferree, Director of the Society. New York, 1914. 8vo, pp. 256. Illustrated.

The Year Book of this Society is a record of its annual work and a summary of contemporary patriotic and historical activity in Pennsylvania. In addition to the lists of officers and members of the Society, a full account of the proceedings of the fifteenth annual festival, and a record of Pennsylvania anniversaries in 1913, liberally illustrated, are among the prominent features of the present issue. For fifteen years Director Ferree has exhibited remarkable devotion and loyalty to the interests of the Society, which enjoys the distinction of being the foremost patriotic society of its kind in the United States.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION 1765-1865, together with a list of County Histories, Atlases, and Biographical Collections, and a list of Territorial and State Laws. By Solon Justus Buck. Published by the Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, 1914. 8vo, pp. 514. Illustrated.

This is the second volume of the Bibliographical Series of the Illinois Collections being edited by Prof. Alvord; the first was Scott's "Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois." The author has classified his work under three heads: Travels and Description, 1765-1865, in which he gives a list of all books containing accounts of travel in the territory included within the state of Illinois from its occupation of the British in 1765 to the end of the year 1865, and also includes geographies,

guide books and gazetteers. Under "Historiography of Illinois Counties," the list is comprehensive, from 1854 to 1912, and the interest in this class of works appears to be unabated. The list of "Territorial and State Laws, 1788-1913," a full set of which is possessed by the Illinois State Historical Society, is a valuable collection to the legal literature of the State. The volume has been ably compiled, is well arranged and the annotations will be cordially appreciated. A very full index will be found helpful.

THE CHILDREN OF THE WORLD: A Simple account of Man's origin and Early History. By Edward Clodd. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1914. pp. 240. Price \$1.25.

This is a new edition, rewritten and enlarged, of a work written in simple language, of the progress of man from the unknown time of his appearance upon earth to the period from which historians ordinarily begin. As the Table of Contents indicates, the first part of this book describes the progress of man in material things, while the second part seeks to explain his mode of advance from lower to higher stages of belief. Although the work was written for the young, it will afford to older persons interesting information concerning primitive man.

CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN HISTORY 1877-1913. By Charles A. Beard. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1914. Pp. 397.

Prof. Beard has found, that in teaching American government and politics, there are large numbers of students who have no knowledge of the most elementary facts of American history since the Civil War. The excuse of the students has invariably been there are no text-books. To supply the student and general reader with a handy guide to contemporary history he undertook the work under notice, which begins with the restoration of White dominion in the South and ends with the campaign of 1913. At this time when the public is keenly interested in the operations of political machinery and problems, the work is of distinctive value as a survey of what preceded the political campaign of 1913.

ROMAN IMPERIALISM. By Tenney Frank. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1914. 8vo, pp. 365. Maps. Price, \$2.50 net.

Ancient Rome was the first republic that successfully built up and governed a subject Empire. Professor Frank's work undertakes to analyze the factors that worked for and against imperialism in the ancient republic, to discuss the experiments in governing its possessions, and to estimate the consequences of these experiments. The author has made every effort to incorporate the latest results of scholarly investigation in his book, so that it may prove of value in courses of history and government, but the volume will also claim the attention of the general readers who may be interested in comparing modern imperialistic tendencies with the very striking parallels offered by Rome's history. Notes have been added at the end of each chapter in order to aid the reader who desires to pursue the subject further and to indicate the basis for such new statements the author has made.

THE WEST IN THE DIPLOMACY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By Paul Christen Phillips, Ph.D. Published by the University of Illinois, Urbana. 1912. 8vo, pp. 247.

Prof. Phillips in this essay shows to what extent and in what respects the Mississippi Valley was a subject of diplomatic negotiations in the American Revolution. Although many different views have been advanced on this question, he does not believe that any American scholar has, as yet, made any considerable use of the material available in this country and Europe for the purpose of getting at the exact truth. Although Spain's ambition to get control of the lands bordering

on the Gulf of Mexico and the Mississippi is well known, he does not think that the definite purpose back of her tortuous and apparently vacillating policy has ever been properly explained.

Vergennes's professions of friendship for the United States and his opposition to their claims to the West have been regarded too long as a proof of his duplicity. Vergennes himself did not regard his policy towards the West as unfriendly to his ally, or as inconsistent with the terms of the treaty of alliance, and, at no time did he attempt to conceal his views. The evidence shows that he was conceding to the United States all he thought they had the right to claim. The main outlines of British policy are well understood, but the efforts of Shelburne to detach the Americans from the French alliance have not received the attention they deserve. The ability of Franklin as a diplomat appears in a new light when it is understood that, but for the obstinacy of Jay and Adams, he would have obtained for his country the richest parts of Canada.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF BANKING IN ILLINOIS, 1817-1863. By George William Dowrie, Ph.D. Published by the University of Illinois, 1913. 8vo, pp. 181.

Early Illinois banking passed through four distinct cycles. The first originated and reached its climax between the years 1814 and 1819. The second began in 1821 and reached a culmination in 1824-1825. The mania for internal improvements in the thirties caused the development of a third movement which came to a climax in 1837. The adoption of the stock-bank system in 1851 began the fourth cycle which attained the highest point in 1860. Prof. Dowie shows that in each of these movements events follow a regular sequence—an urgent demand for a plentiful medium of exchange, laws to safeguard generous issues of paper, fictitious prosperity due to speculation, suspension of redemption followed by collapse of the bank issue, hard times, developments of a strong anti-bank sentiment—the beginning of the next cycle after a surprisingly brief interval. The material for this essay has been gathered from legislative records, newspapers, banking journals, county and state histories, and the letters and biographies of prominent men. The chapter headings are: The Monetary Situation in Illinois Previous to the Establishment of Banks; Territorial Banks; Banking a State Monopoly; Banking and Internal Improvements; The Free Bank System of Illinois.

A HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL CAPITAL. From its Foundation through the Period of the Adoption of the Organic Act. By Wilhelmus Bogart Bryan. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1914. Vol. I. 8vo, pp. 669. Maps. Price, \$5.00.

With the termination of our war for independence, closely followed the consideration in selecting the location of the seat of government of the United States—convenience of access to all portions of the country—central as to population and territory and location on a navigable river. There was another element: The jurisdiction of the general government must be supreme; there must be no divided sovereignty, no state to exercise equal authority with the general government. Offers of sites in the States of New York, Maryland, New Jersey, Virginia and Pennsylvania were made, but for a time sectional jealousies were so strong that it seemed probable the confederacy would fly apart into a number of independent states. Finally, in 1790, Congress decided that for the ensuing ten years Philadelphia should be the seat of government, after which it would be transferred to the federal district selected on the Potomac. The author in this volume presents a consecutive historical account of the action of Congress and the states, the final selection of the site, the plans for the federal city, public buildings, the develop-

ment of improvements, social customs, and concludes with the capture of the city by the British, the flight of the President and his Cabinet, the destruction of the capitol, White House, and public and private buildings. The data has been gathered from many authentic sources.

GARDENS AND GARDENERS OF GERMANTOWN. By Edwin C. Jellett. Germantown, 1914. 8vo, pp. 92. Illustrated.

This is an address delivered before the Site and Relic Society of Germantown, and for distinctness the author has divided his subject into three parts: The formative period extending from 1683 to 1740, during which Germantown was founded, when it became a village with its houses confined to a "Pike," its interests being largely agricultural; the period of development extending from 1740 to 1854, during which the village expanded to the measure of a town, wherein farms gave way to "estates," when pretentious gardens were prepared, and professional gardeners appeared; and the modern period, extending from the year 1854 to 1911, during which marked changes were made, elaborate gardens flourished, and wherein Germantown became an integral part of the city of Philadelphia. As a contribution to local history it will be appreciated.

BROTHER ALBRECHT'S SECRET CHAMBER. A Legend of the Ancient Moravian Sun Inn at Bethlehem, Penna., with Historical Notes concerning persons and events during Colonial and Revolutionary Days. By James B. Laux, Lititz, Penna., 1914. 8vo, pp. 64. Illustrated. Edition, 300 copies.

In this little book the author has given life and color to an ancient tradition connected with the famous Sun Inn, of Bethlehem, based on an old abandoned subterranean passage that leads from its rock-hewn cellar to some long-forgotten outlet. The characters that play their part, with few exceptions, are actual personages who were at one time guests of the noted hostelry, dating from the days of Indian warfare, the Revolution and later times. The text is copiously illustrated with contemporary sketches of buildings and portraits, which in themselves are worthy of special commendation.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By Matthew Page Andrews, Ph.D. J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1914. 8vo, pp. 378. Appendix xxxiv. Index xiv. Illustrated.

This new History of the United States, in a concise and compact form, the results of the latest thought and research, noting with care all differences of opinion in regard to any complicated points in the nation's history, is well arranged, written in a readable style, and will be found of value to the critical student and general reader. The references and suggestions for special studies at the end of each chapter, with the data in the appendix, will be helpful. The work is profusely illustrated with portraits of distinguished personages, important events and maps.

THE BALKAN WARS, 1912-1913. By Jacob Gould Schurman. Princeton University Press, 1914. pp. 114. Maps. Price \$1.00 net.

There is a peculiar timeliness in Mr. Schurman's book, in view of the fear of universal war in Europe threatened by the quarrel between Austria-Hungary and Serbia. In writing of the future of the Balkans he is of opinion, that if they are permitted to settle their own affairs without the intervention of the Great Powers, there is no reason why the existing relations between Greece, Serbia, Montenegro and Roumania, founded as they are on mutual interests, should not continue, and if they continue, peace will be assured in spite of the Bulgars' cry for revenge and readjustment. The danger lies in the influence of the Great Powers with their varying attractions and repulsion.

est part wishes to abolish that trade entirely, & a resolution was offer'd for that purpose, but ye Southern Delegates positively refus'd their consent & threatened to retire if ye motion was not withdrawn—and as their absence would have broken up ye House, it was thought best to withdraw it, and introduce another / which was carried / & which will put it in ye power of Congress at ye end of 21 years to put a total stop to that iniquitous traffic—and as each State is still at liberty ye enact such laws for ye abolition of slavery as they may think proper, ye Convention cannot be charg'd with holding out any encouragement to it—Almost all ranks of People here are dispos'd to adopt ye propos'd system of Government, but some of ye back County members are oppos'd to it—The Assembly on sixth day last proceeded to ye appointment of a State Convention but were warmly oppos'd by a few members, who, finding a large majority against them, spun out ye debate till ye house were oblig'd to adjourn, & at ye time appointed for their next meeting absented themselves; in consequence of which ye attending members cou'd not make a house—this so enrag'd ye People that a large body headed by Capt. Barry went in pursuit of ye absentees, found two of them— / a sufficient number for their purpose / and reproach'd them for their disorderly conduct; told them that they did not wish to influence their votes but insisted upon their attendance, & inform'd them that as ye People were greatly enrag'd they could not answer for their safety should they refuse to comply—the lost to flame the last argument had its weight & they were conducted to ye house—this proceeding tho not strictly regular had ye desir'd effect—ye Assembly compleated their business & ye minority being sixteen in Number solac'd themselves with an address to their constituents fill'd with misrepresentations of facts, & reproaches both on ye Members of Convention & Citizens of Philada.

Thy loving Cousin,

Robt. Waln.

ORDER OF GOV. WILLIAM FRANKLIN OF NEW JERSEY FOR HIS SALARY,
1765.—

By his Excellency William Franklin Esq. Captain General & Governor in Chief in and over the Province of New Jersey & Territories thereon depending in America &c.

No. 118

To either of the Treasurers of the Province of New Jersey Pay unto myself or order the sum of Three hundred Pounds proclamation Money, it being for one Quarters salary as Commander in Chief of this Colony ending the Twenty-first Instant, for which this shall be your sufficient Warrant.

Given under my Hand in Council at Burlington the twenty first day of August, 1765.

W^m Franklin.

By his Excellencys Command

Cha Read.

On the back endorsed W^m Franklin, and "Oct' 26, 1769,

Exam^d & allow'd Jno Stevens,
T. Wetherill."

LETTER OF GEN. JOHN ARMSTRONG TO GEN. WILLIAM IRVINE.

Carlisle 30th January 1778.

Dear Sir,

Your favour of the 14th Ins^t I rec^d a few days agoe, which was the first I had heard from you Since we parted near the Trapp when you went to Lancaster for a Supply of Cash—nor did I know what was become of you from that day to this only Once heard you were at Reading & had wrote me a letter about the begining of Decemb^r which

514 *Officers of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.*

CURATOR.

GREGORY B. KEEN.

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The Council of the Society is composed of the President, Vice-Presidents, Recording Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, Treasurer, Auditor, and the twelve Councillors. Hon. James T. Mitchell is President, and Gregory B. Keen is Secretary of the Council.

TRUSTEES OF THE PUBLICATION FUND.

HON. S. W. PENNYPACKER,

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SIMON GRATZ.

(JOHN W. JORDAN, Editor of Publications.)

with many others in the British service) has a certain solid reality in its past which is worth taking some pains to put before the minds of the present generation of soldiers.

In the course of so long and eventful a life it is but natural that the Regiment should have acquired certain badges, distinctions and traditions, and it is upon the subject of one of these that I now venture to address you.

I would beg to bring you back to the year 1777 when the British army under Howe was advancing from the South upon Philadelphia. The peculiar incident is the affair of the night of the 20th-21st of September, when the British General Grey came upon your General Wayne in his bivouac. It is unnecessary to go into details. There can be no doubt but that the affair was a horrible slaughter. According to tradition, however, it had a curious sequel.

The story goes that, after the deed of blood had been committed, the American soldiers caused a spirited message to be carried to the British camp to the effect that they would be revenged upon the perpetrators and that, when their opportunity came, they, in their turn, would show no mercy, and would refuse quarter to their foe. Now the unit that had taken the most conspicuous part in the business was the Second Light Battalion. This corps was, according to the custom of the period, a composite body made up of the light companies of a number of different regiments. One of these companies happened to belong to the 46th Foot, now the Second Battalion of my Regiment.

Upon the receipt of this threat the men of the Light Battalion are said to have sent back a reply in the following terms: That they alone had done the deed and that they were prepared to face the consequences. But, in order that their opponents should not wreak their vengeance upon men who had borne no part in the affair, they announced that they had adopted a device by means of which they might be recognized in the field. Light troops were then distinguished from others by the wearing of a feather in the cap; and the soldiers of the Second Light Battalion declared that in future their feathers would be dyed red.

There is no doubt but that this mark of distinction was actually adopted at the time, but what is far more extraordinary is that it is still maintained to this day! When in due course light companies came to be abolished the distinctive mark, adopted many years earlier by the light company of the 46th, was taken up by the whole Regiment. In after years, when the 46th came to be united to the 32d Regiment, a representation of the red feathers was adopted by both. In the course of years the meaning of it has been well nigh forgotten. But, though patterns of head-dress have varied from time to time with changes in fancies and fashions, in some form or another, the red has remained constant in the Regiment. Today upon our helmet plates we bear, among other devices, two red feathers crossing each other. On our caps there is a patch of red cloth behind the badge. In fact, at home or abroad, in peace or in war, wherever the Regiment may have been serving, officers and men have ever borne a tuft, a patch, a "puggaree" or a plume of red in their head-dress.

So much is certain, and the badge is duly sanctioned by authority. The strange thing is that no official record of the incident that led to the first adoption of the red feather is to be found. I have sought in vain in books of history, written upon both sides of the Atlantic. I have applied to the British War Office and I have sought among the Public Records. My quest has been fruitless. As a last resource I appeal to you who are situated near the scene of action. Can you help me?

The points that I am trying to clear up are: First, whether there

"I set off from Paris about the 20th of February last. When I arrived at Calais the passage to Dover was obstructed and the war with England commencing. Soon after I had no other way of getting to Ireland than by a neutral vessel to Christiansand in Norway and from thence through Scotland to Ireland.

"When I arrived in Ireland the volunteers had tamely suffered themselves to be disarmed by the British soldiery and all prospect of a revolution in that country was at an end at least for a time. I returned by an American vessel from Ireland to Bordeaux, where I arrived about the last of May. I came immediately to Paris and made my report of the state of affairs in Ireland and the circumstances of my journey to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, from which department I received only my account of travelling expenses and was told my horse was dead for which I can get no compensation.

"I was then referred to the war department for my pay as colonel of artillery and after having been attending (attended) upon these departments ever since the 8th of June, I am now informed that I cannot be paid either the arrears of pay due to me or for my horse. Thus circumstanced I have appealed to the National Convention for justice not doubting but some mode will be pointed out by this committee to satisfy my claims.

"Paris, September 1, 1793.

"Eleazer Oswald."

Queries.

MEDICAL GRADUATES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA:—Biographical information is asked, or the source whence it can be had, of the following medical graduates of the University of Pennsylvania, for the Alumni Catalogue now preparing. Information may be sent to Ewing Jordan, M.D., 1510 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Penna.

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			Davis, William	Va.
Abbott, Thomas H.	S. C.		Denig, George W.	Pa.
Alexander, John Thomas	La.		Dossey, Alonzo B. C.	S. C.
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Balfour, William Thomas	Va.		Germany, William	Ga.
Baugh, John Malone	Va.		Gilliam, John R.	N. C.
Beekman, William			Gilpin, John Bernard, Jr.	
Fenwick	N. Y.			Nova Scotia
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Boyd, John	Pa.		Hawling, John S.	Va.
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Conover, William Johnson	N. J.		Horlbeck, Peter	S. C.
Cotten, John A.	N. C.		Horning, Lewis	Pa.
Cross, Richard	Va.		Hoxton, William W.	D. C.

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Book Notices.

YEAR BOOK OF THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY, 1914. Edited by Barr Ferree, Director of the Society. New York, 1914. 8vo, pp. 256. Illustrated.

The Year Book of this Society is a record of its annual work and a summary of contemporary patriotic and historical activity in Pennsylvania. In addition to the lists of officers and members of the Society, a full account of the proceedings of the fifteenth annual festival, and a record of Pennsylvania anniversaries in 1913, liberally illustrated, are among the prominent features of the present issue. For fifteen years Director Ferree has exhibited remarkable devotion and loyalty to the interests of the Society, which enjoys the distinction of being the foremost patriotic society of its kind in the United States.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION 1765-1865, together with a list of County Histories, Atlases, and Biographical Collections, and a list of Territorial and State Laws. By Solon Justus Buck. Published by the Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, 1914. 8vo, pp. 514. Illustrated.

This is the second volume of the Bibliographical Series of the Illinois Collections being edited by Prof. Alvord; the first was Scott's "Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois." The author has classified his work under three heads: Travels and Description, 1765-1865, in which he gives a list of all books containing accounts of travel in the territory included within the state of Illinois from its occupation of the British in 1765 to the end of the year 1865, and also includes geographies,

guide books and gazetteers. Under "Historiography of Illinois Counties," the list is comprehensive, from 1854 to 1912, and the interest in this class of works appears to be unabated. The list of "Territorial and State Laws, 1788-1913," a full set of which is possessed by the Illinois State Historical Society, is a valuable collection to the legal literature of the State. The volume has been ably compiled, is well arranged and the annotations will be cordially appreciated. A very full index will be found helpful.

THE CHILDREN OF THE WORLD: A Simple account of Man's origin and Early History. By Edward Clodd. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1914. pp. 240. Price \$1.25.

This is a new edition, rewritten and enlarged, of a work written in simple language, of the progress of man from the unknown time of his appearance upon earth to the period from which historians ordinarily begin. As the Table of Contents indicates, the first part of this book describes the progress of man in material things, while the second part seeks to explain his mode of advance from lower to higher stages of belief. Although the work was written for the young, it will afford to older persons interesting information concerning primitive man.

CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN HISTORY 1877-1913. By Charles A. Beard. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1914. Pp. 397.

Prof. Beard has found, that in teaching American government and politics, there are large numbers of students who have no knowledge of the most elementary facts of American history since the Civil War. The excuse of the students has invariably been there are no text-books. To supply the student and general reader with a handy guide to contemporary history he undertook the work under notice, which begins with the restoration of White dominion in the South and ends with the campaign of 1913. At this time when the public is keenly interested in the operations of political machinery and problems, the work is of distinctive value as a survey of what preceded the political campaign of 1913.

ROMAN IMPERIALISM. By Tenney Frank. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1914. 8vo, pp. 365. Maps. Price, \$2.50 net.

Ancient Rome was the first republic that successfully built up and governed a subject Empire. Professor Frank's work undertakes to analyze the factors that worked for and against imperialism in the ancient republic, to discuss the experiments in governing its possessions, and to estimate the consequences of these experiments. The author has made every effort to incorporate the latest results of scholarly investigation in his book, so that it may prove of value in courses of history and government, but the volume will also claim the attention of the general readers who may be interested in comparing modern imperialistic tendencies with the very striking parallels offered by Rome's history. Notes have been added at the end of each chapter in order to aid the reader who desires to pursue the subject further and to indicate the basis for such new statements the author has made.

THE WEST IN THE DIPLOMACY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By Paul Christen Phillips, Ph.D. Published by the University of Illinois, Urbana. 1912. 8vo, pp. 247.

Prof. Phillips in this essay shows to what extent and in what respects the Mississippi Valley was a subject of diplomatic negotiations in the American Revolution. Although many different views have been advanced on this question, he does not believe that any American scholars has, as yet, made any considerable use of the material available in this country and Europe for the purpose of getting at the exact truth. Although Spain's ambition to get control of the lands bordering

on the Gulf of Mexico and the Mississippi is well known, he does not think that the definite purpose back of her tortuous and apparently vacillating policy has ever been properly explained.

Vergennes's professions of friendship for the United States and his opposition to their claims to the West have been regarded too long as a proof of his duplicity. Vergennes himself did not regard his policy towards the West as unfriendly to his ally, or as inconsistent with the terms of the treaty of alliance, and, at no time did he attempt to conceal his views. The evidence shows that he was conceding to the United States all he thought they had the right to claim. The main outlines of British policy are well understood, but the efforts of Shelburne to detach the Americans from the French alliance have not received the attention they deserve. The ability of Franklin as a diplomat appears in a new light when it is understood that, but for the obstinacy of Jay and Adams, he would have obtained for his country the richest parts of Canada.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF BANKING IN ILLINOIS, 1817-1863. By George William Dowrie, Ph.D. Published by the University of Illinois, 1913. 8vo, pp. 181.

Early Illinois banking passed through four distinct cycles. The first originated and reached its climax between the years 1814 and 1819. The second began in 1821 and reached a culmination in 1824-1825. The mania for internal improvements in the thirties caused the development of a third movement which came to a climax in 1837. The adoption of the stock-bank system in 1851 began the fourth cycle which attained the highest point in 1860. Prof. Dowrie shows that in each of these movements events follow a regular sequence—an urgent demand for a plentiful medium of exchange, laws to safeguard generous issues of paper, fictitious prosperity due to speculation, suspension of redemption followed by collapse of the bank issue, hard times, developments of a strong anti-bank sentiment—the beginning of the next cycle after a surprisingly brief interval. The material for this essay has been gathered from legislative records, newspapers, banking journals, county and state histories, and the letters and biographies of prominent men. The chapter headings are: The Monetary Situation in Illinois Previous to the Establishment of Banks; Territorial Banks; Banking a State Monopoly; Banking and Internal Improvements; The Free Bank System of Illinois.

A HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL CAPITAL. From its Foundation through the Period of the Adoption of the Organic Act. By Wilhelmus Bogart Bryan. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1914. Vol. I. 8vo, pp. 669. Maps. Price, \$5.00.

With the termination of our war for independence, closely followed the consideration in selecting the location of the seat of government of the United States—convenience of access to all portions of the country—central as to population and territory and location on a navigable river. There was another element: The jurisdiction of the general government must be supreme; there must be no divided sovereignty, no state to exercise equal authority with the general government. Offers of sites in the States of New York, Maryland, New Jersey, Virginia and Pennsylvania were made, but for a time sectional jealousies were so strong that it seemed probable the confederacy would fly apart into a number of independent states. Finally, in 1790, Congress decided that for the ensuing ten years Philadelphia should be the seat of government, after which it would be transferred to the federal district selected on the Potomac. The author in this volume presents a consecutive historical account of the action of Congress and the states, the final selection of the site, the plans for the federal city, public buildings, the develop-

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Vol. XXXVIII

JANUARY, 1914

No. 149



THE

PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE

OF

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY

PUBLISHED BY
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA
FOR SUBSCRIBERS

PHILADELPHIA

1914

For Sale at 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia. Price 75 cents
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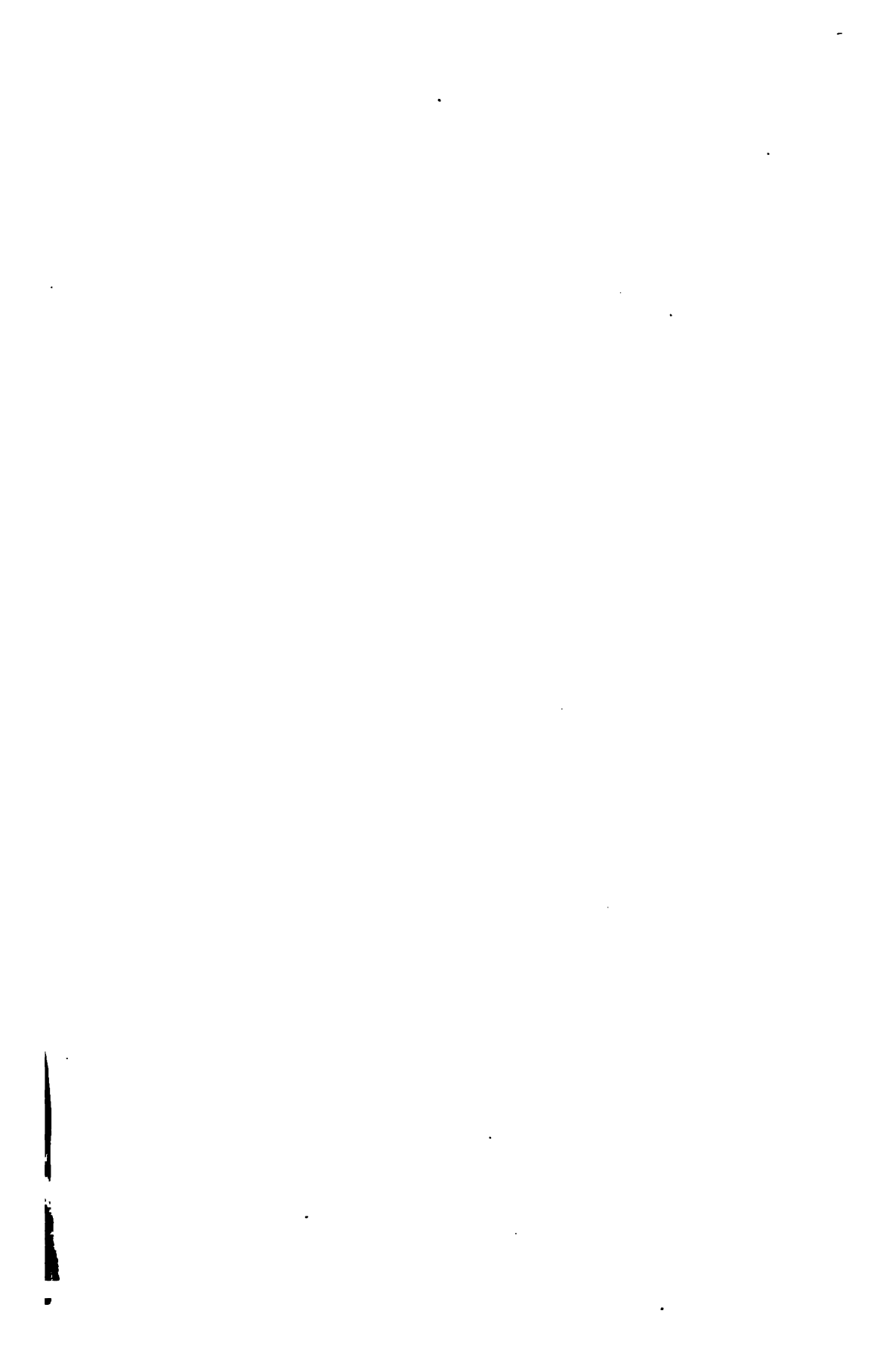
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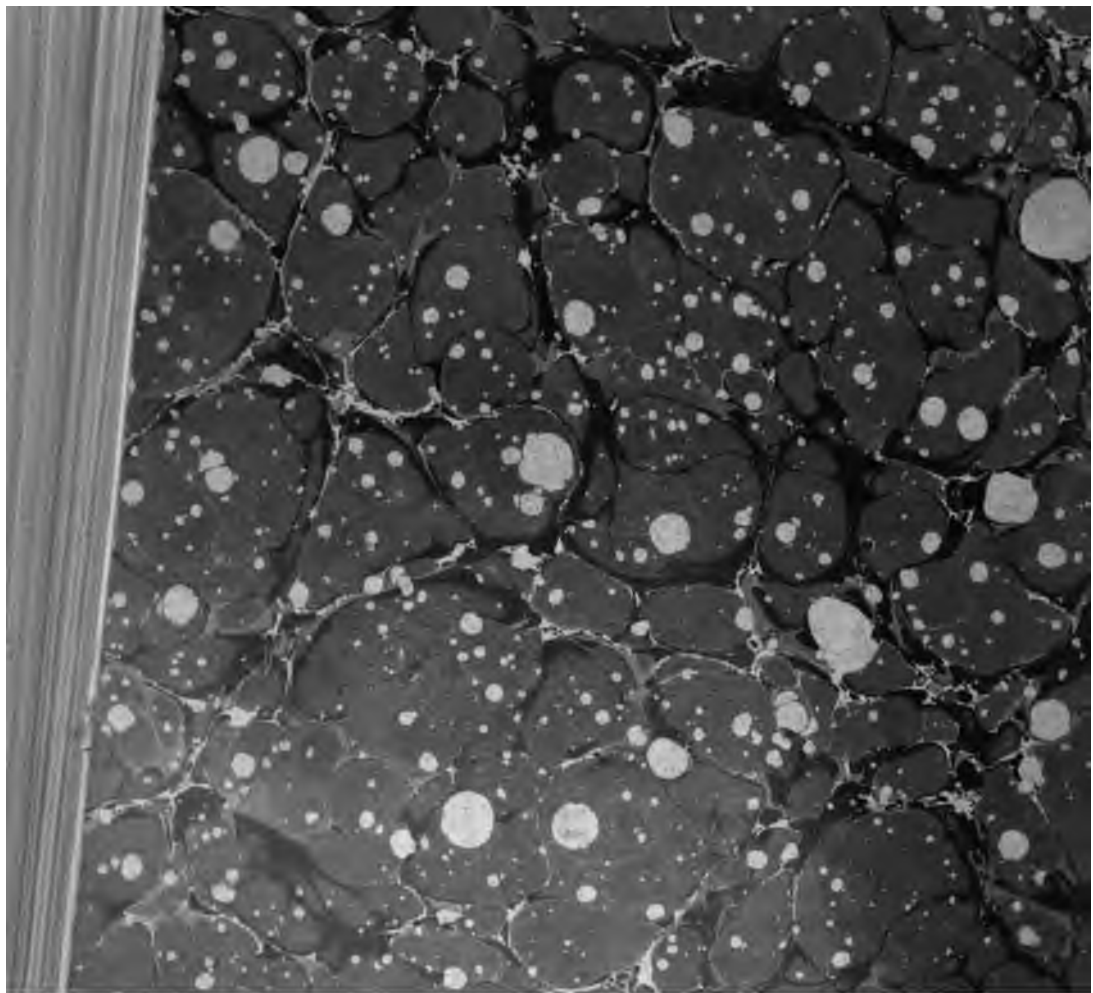
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