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Pennsylvania

Magazine

OF

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Vol. XVIII.

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

1894.

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VOL. XVIII.

1894.

No. 1.

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DEFENCES OF PHILADELPHIA IN 1777.

CONTRIBUTED BY WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

The following documents form a part of a volume I have for some years intended to complete, a full record of the councils of war held by Washington with his general officers during the Revolution. Such a record would result in many surprises, as the councils were more productive of timidity and caution than of action, and came to be regarded as the easiest method of attaining negative results. Hamilton more than once breaks into indignant speech on the conclusions of the usual council, and in time the instrument was discarded, and the general thrown more upon his own initiative and the advice of a few of his most trusted officers. For action, the advice of many was a hinderance; for information, such advice was of value. It is because the opinions given by the respective officers on the proper defences of Philadelphia belong to the latter that they have an historical as well as a personal value and interest.

On May 31, 1777, Washington wrote to Governor Patrick Henry of the expected sailing of a large fleet of the enemy—estimated at a hundred sail—from New York. What

Howe's immediate object was could only be conjectured; but it is believed that he had one of two purposes: either to possess the Hudson River or to attack Philadelphia by way of the Delaware. For either of these operations his command of the sea gave him peculiar advantage, as he could keep Washington in suspense at Middlebrook until his blow in either direction was ready to be struck. On the very day of writing to Governor Henry, Du Coudray, a French officer, came into camp and presented to Washington a contract signed by Silas Deane, practically giving him a rank above that of Greene, Sullivan, Knox, and others, and the command of the artillery in the Continental army. The coincidence is worth noting, as Du Coudray was employed on the defences of Philadelphia some weeks later. The situation early in June is given in the following record:

“ At a Council of General Officers held at Head Q<sup>rs</sup> at Middle Brook, the 12<sup>th</sup> day of June 1777

“ Present

“ His Excellency, the Commander in Chief

“ Majors General	Brigad <sup>rs</sup>
“ [Nathaniel] Greene	[William] Maxwell
“ Lord Stirling	[Henry] Knox
“ [Adam] Stephen	[James M.] Varnum
“ [Benjamin] Lincoln	[Anthony] Wayne
	“ [Peter] Muhlenberg
	“ [George] Weedon
	“ [William] Woodford
	“ [Charles] Scott
	“ [Thomas] Conway.

“ His Excellency, the Commander in Chief informed the Council, that from various intelligence and many concurring circumstances, it was evident, General Howe had collected nearly the whole of his Force at Brunswic in Jersey—That it appeared to him beyond doubt, that General Howe, had one of two objects in view—either the defeat of the Army under his immediate command—or to possess himself of Philadelphia—he stated the importance of the Highland

passes & of the Fortifications on the North River, in & contiguous to the Highlands and then proposed the following Questions.

“ *Question.* Will it be expedient in the present conjuncture of things & from the information received, to draw any & what part of the Troops stationed at Peekskill near the Highlands, to reinforce this Army ?

“ *Answer.* All The Troops should be drawn from Peekskill to reinforce this Army in Jersey, except one thousand effectives of the Continental Regiments—This Number with the Convalescents & such Militia as are there & can be occasionally drawn in, is esteemed Sufficient to defend the posts there under the present appearances of affairs.

“ *Question.* Will it not be necessary to post Troops at Morristown to preserve it, as a post of Communication?—If it will, what number of men should be stationed there ?

“ *Answer.* It will be necessary to maintain that post.—The Detachment of Connecticut Troops under Lieu<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>o</sup> Butler & the Two Wyoming Independent Companies should be employed in that Service.

“ *Question.* What will be the best mode of promotion of Feild & other (inferior) Officers in the Army ?

“ *Answer.* All officers below the rank of a Major, should rise regimentally. Officers of that rank superior should be promoted on a larger Scale, Viz on the line of their State. These Rules however, tho they should be observed in general cases, where there lies no objection, should not be established as conclusive, or prevent promotion for particular merit.<sup>1</sup>

“ Original Minutes

“ ROB. H. HARRISON *Secy.*”

The movement of the fleet, mentioned by Washington to Governor Henry, was premature, and for more than two weeks Howe remained at Brunswick, surprising his opponent by his inactivity, yet developing his plans to attack Phila-

<sup>1</sup> See “ Washington to the President of Congress,” June 20, 1777, in my Writings of Washington, Vol. V. 446.

delphia by water. On the night of June 13 he moved a part of his force to Somerset Court-House, with the object of bringing Washington out of his safe position to a general engagement. Congress was more affected by Howe's manœuvre than was Washington, and ordered Arnold, then guarding a pass at Coryell's Ferry, to take command of all the militia at Bristol and on every other part of the river to the eastward of Philadelphia. Four days later Howe had retired not only from Somerset, but from Brunswick, falling back to Amboy, a step caused, as Washington supposed, by despair at finding the militia of New Jersey and Pennsylvania turning out to oppose them. The mystery of his intention deepened, and greatly perplexed Washington. Burgoyne had appeared on the lake, and so threatened the passes of the Hudson River. Yet the American commander thought this might be only a feint, designed to draw his force to Peekskill, and thus leave Howe a free road to Philadelphia. The activity of the British on Staten Island pointed to a speedy embarkation of a considerable force, but for what purpose could not be ascertained. If it was for the North River, a junction with Burgoyne must be provided against. If it was for Philadelphia, that city must be strengthened. In this doubt, Washington sent a reinforcement to Peekskill, and moved the main army to Morristown, whence he could the more readily move in either direction as the plan of the enemy was unfolded. Days of anxiety followed, aggravated by the evacuation of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, under unexpected and suspicious circumstances, by St. Clair.<sup>1</sup> Arnold was ordered to the Northern army, leaving Philadelphia and its defences. "I think," wrote Washington, on July 22, "the works at Billing's-Port well worthy of attention and it is expedient to effect their completion as soon as possible."

<sup>1</sup> Landon Carter, of Virginia, on learning of this event, wrote that he never expected much of St. Clair, as he was a Scotchman. The sentence is of interest as pointing to the prejudice among the Virginians against the Scotch, in whose hands the tobacco trade of the colony centred. Glasgow owes much of its importance to this commodity.



At last something definite was obtained in secret intelligence. The sailing of a large fleet to the Hook could be seen; the fact that Southern pilots were on board pointed to Philadelphia as the object. The American army had been edging towards Peekskill, but now moved southward to Ramapough. On the 24th the British ships stood out to sea, and the Continental army began a march to Philadelphia. At half-past nine on the morning of July 31, Washington received an express from Congress announcing the arrival of the fleet at the capes of Delaware, leaving no doubt as to the action to be taken. At ten in the morning Washington and his aides were in Philadelphia and the army close behind him. Going farther to the southward, he was met at Chester by the annoying intelligence of the fleet again leaving the coast, and renewing the suspense. It was in this interval that the general asked for advice on the fortifications of Philadelphia, and received the following replies:

## OPINION OF MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

[Undated.]

“Philadelphia is an object of such magnitude, the prejudices of the people in the surrounding States so strong, in its favor, as to its importance and consequence, the manufactories and supplies for the army so numerous in that city, that the loss of it would so affect the country and the army that very great injury would arise to the common cause of America. To prevent so great an evil, it is necessary to fix upon some plan to guard the avenues leading to the City both by land and water, and as its security depends upon both being effectually obstructed, it requires a nice examination into the natural strength of each and the force and obstruction necessary for both to be pointed out as far as possible.

“The approaches to the City by land may be made so many different ways, the City so difficult to fortify from its natural situation, that the only security it can have by land is an equal or superior force to that of the enemy. If this

be granted as it evidently must, then the plan of fortification upon the river should be so constructed as to draw the least possible force from the land army and render the obstructions on the river so effectual, as to make the approaches that way as difficult or more so than by land. The necessity of dividing your Excellency's attention to both objects is so obvious, and the folly of guarding one of the passages while the other is left open so evident that there need be no arguments to prove howe'er secure the river passage may be rendered, they all must fall of course unless our force proves superior to the enemy in the field. Having premised these few things, I shall briefly give my opinion respecting the fortification upon the river with some remarks upon strong fortified posts, the influence they have upon the circumjacent country, and the pannick that generally succeeds their loss.

“The Delaware being a long and narrow river, the channel crooked and very confin'd, it must be somewhat difficult and not a little dangerous for a large fleet to get up and moor securely in the channel; the fear of the fire ships and fire rafts in such a narrow channel, and quick current, will be consider'd as so many discouraging circumstances to attempt opening a passage to the City.

“There are very different opinions respecting Fort Mifflin; the situation of this fort, as it cannot be injured by regular approaches renders it an object of greater importance and consideration, than a fortification of twice its strength that could be annoy'd by regular approaches; its distance from the Red Bank upon the Jersey shore is such as secures it from any great injury from that quarter; the land upon Pennsylvania side can be so easily laid under water that it secures the fortress from any approaches from that side; the front is secur'd by three rows of Cheveau de Frize, and it is impossible to approach it in the rear unless the enemy are masters of the river above and the City also. It appears the fortification is very secure. The natural make of this Island is not so good as I could wish, neither is the Plan of the Fortification so good as it may be, the plan may be improv'd by an additional battery upon the left of ten or twelve

guns, this may be so constructed as to prevent the front Battery being enfiladed and will serve to annoy the enemy if they should attempt to post a ship or floating battery on the left of the Cheveau de Frize to annoy the fort on that quarter. I should think there ought to be a good enclos'd work to contain from three to five hundred men, and about one hundred and eighty cannoniers. This is necessary to prevent the fort from being surpriz'd by an attempt with the boats. This fort aided by the Ships, floating batteries, row gallies and fire rafts, I conceive will be full sufficient to secure the passage of the river. Those who profess the greatest knowledge on the strength of the Cheveau de Frize, assert with confidence and I believe with truth, that they cannot be run down by any force; neither can they be rais'd or remov'd from their places, unless two vessels are fastned to each Cheveau de Frize, one on each side, at young flood, and are rais'd by the purchase of the swelling of the water; the fire from the fort, the Ships, Batteries & gallies, must inevitably sink the vessells before they could raise the Cheveau de Frize. But suppose them to be able to resist all this fire; there would be no difficulty in burning the vessels with fire rafts in such a fixt position.

“The xebeques, floating batteries and frigates should be posted behind the upper Cheveau de Frize, because the passage through the Cheveau de Frize must be stop'd to prevent the Enemy from passing. The row gallies as their draft of water is small—may be at liberty to move up and down the river to annoy the enemy as occasion may offer.

“The fire ships should be posted in the inner channel from Derby Creek, to Mifflin Fort, they will be secure in this position protected by the row gallies from the Enemys boats from any annoyance of consequence. No ship will dare to approach them in that narrow channel neither will they dare to lay a ship to obstruct the passage out of Derby Creek, for fear of being burnt. These ships must be considered as extra defence; their execution being very uncertain, no dependence should be had upon them for the main defence. The greatest injury I think these ships will be



able to do the Enemy is whilst their Ships are below or coming up the river. The only chance of setting the enemys fleet on fire, will be to run the fire ships among them in the night with a good gale and quick tide under foot; favor'd with these circumstances, there is a probability of doing the enemy great injury, provided the person that has the command of the ships behaves with spirit and executes his design with resolution.

“The Commodore and many other Gentlemen, who have made it their business to examine the River, say the channel is so narrow that not more than two ships can lye abreast in it. If this be a fact, as I have no reason to doubt, from the concurrent testimony of so many Gentlemen, it will be impossible for the enemy to bring a greater force up the river than there is to oppose them. How they will be able under these circumstances to remove the obstruction in the river, when they are constantly annoy'd and threaten'd with the fire rafts, is difficult for me to conceive. However it is proposed in aid to these, to add some fortifications upon the land, one at Billingsport, one at Red Bank, and one at Derby's Creek, the situation of all which your Excellency had an opportunity to see. I will just examine how far they will add to the security of the River, and what force it would take to give this aid, and then see wether the security on this side, will not diminish the land force to such a degree as to render the principal object less secure than without them, not to say any thing about the expence and trouble attending their construction.

“The plan of the fortification at Billingsport requires four to five hundred men; Red Bank from two to three, Derby Creek two hundred and fifty. Besides these there must not be less than two hundred cannoniers for the three fortifications; the whole force will amount to upwards of 1200 men, this is a great dimunition of the land force. The works at Billingsport are much superior upon the present plan than they were upon the former, but I could wish them to be contracted still if it was possible. Nay, I could wish them totally demolished if it was not for the prejudices of the



people, and the reproach it would bring upon administration and the military councils of America. There have been prodigious sums of money expended at that place, and people have been taught to expect great security from its strength. To abandon it at this time might alarm their fears, and give the evil dispos'd a handle to censure the leaders of the people for subjecting the Continent to such fruitless and unnecessary expense. Altho these reasons urge strongly for holding the work, yet those that offer themselves for abandoning it, operate much more forcibly with me. The situation of Billingsport fortress renders the approaches easy, the enemy can make good their landing a little below the work, the ground is very favorable but a small distance from the fort to open Batteries, the work is not difficult to invest, and once invested it will be difficult if not impossible to keep open such a communication as to take of[f] the Garrison, and it cannot be expected that a garrison without casements, and only constructed to guard against a storm, can stand a regular siege many days, I should suppose not more than three or four at most, when the Cannon and stores, if not the Garrison, will all fall into the enemy's hands. The effect of such an event upon the army and the country, can easily be conceiv'd from the pannick such instances has produc'd. The warmest advocate for this work will readily grant that it cannot resist regular approaches, but must inevitably fall if the enemy seriously invest it. If they do not invest it, the force of the Garrison is lost by being Idle; if they do invest it, the Garrison must fall. This being granted, then the only advantage that can result from this work is the delay it will cause to the enemy, which not exceeding four or five days cannot warrant the expence, and trouble, in constructing such an extensive work; neither will it be an equivalent for the deduction of force, that it necessarily produces from the army.

“The fort at Red Bank may be considered much upon the same footing with that of Billingsport; only less useful and more unnecessary. There runs a creek into the country between Red Bank and Billingsport, eight or ten miles,

which is now partly banked out. This being open, the enemy can have no communication with Red Bank without a march of eighteen or twenty miles. If they have a mind to seriously invest this fort, it must fall in the same manner as Billingsport. If there is no work there, they cannot take possession of the ground, but with a very considerable part of their army without laying it liable to be cut off.

“In lieu of these inclos’d works, and strong fortifications, I would propose having a number of half moon Batteries thrown up, at such places where the ships can come to annoy the shipping &c, appointed for the defence of the Cheveau de Frize; a few eighteen pounders on travelling carriages, to move from place to place, will more effectually annoy the enemy than fixt Batteries. A very inconsiderable force will execute this business. If there are no inclos’d works on the Jersey shore, the Enemy can make no lodgements without a considerable force, which will oblige them to divide their army. If the shores are defended in the manner I propose the parties may be diminish’d or increas’d as circumstances may render necessary.

“If the enemy operates seriously on the Jersey shore, the forts and fortifications must inevitably fall. If they do not, the men appointed to garrison those works will be Idle and useless. That take it in either point of view, those fortifications are unnecessary, and will be a burden upon the state without affording any additional security to the city.

“The fortification of Derby Creek cannot be more useful than the other two. Its situation is upon an Island, and when the land is laid under water to secure fort Mifflin from approaches, this Garrison will have no opportunity to retreat; especially if the enemy takes possession of the Bridge leading to the Chester road. A few troops at this place will prevent any aid coming to the assistance of the Garrison. This garrison, if invested, must fall in the same manner as the others. If there are only a few Half moon Batteries, form’d with a couple of eighteen pounders on travelling carriages, they will afford all the protection and security to the fire ships that a regular fortification will: they will pre-

vent a ship's laying at the mouth of the creek, or in the back channel. This is all that can be expected from a regular work properly garrison'd. It is most probable the enemy will attempt to burn the fire ships with their boats; the Gallies must protect them, and I have no doubt will. They will be able to protect themselves from any other mode of attack.

“All fortifications in America, except for the security of particular objects, considering the nature of the country are rather prejudicial than useful: the country is taught to expect security, and always loose their confidence upon any unfortunate event. The enemy getting possession of our works, they serve them for strongholds to keep in awe all the circumjacent country—By the assistance of our garrisons, the enemy is enabled to keep a much greater extent of country in subjection. If they had no Garrisons to protect their troops, they would be oblig'd to keep their forces more together. If they were to attempt to erect those works themselves it must necessarily fatigue their troops and delay their operations. The country cannot be conquer'd and held in subjection but by garrisons; it should be our policy, therefore, to have as few as may be. The enemy gains little or no advantage by marching through the country; the inhabitants from their cruelties and abuses, generally grow more obstinate and confirm'd in opposition.

“If we build strong fortifications, the continent must be subject to great expence to support the garrison, besides that of erecting and furnishing the fortress with cannon, military stores, &c. These garrisons only serve to secure a small part of the country, which security is purchas'd by a prodigious drain of men and materials from the army. I could wish that only a few principal passes and capital citys, should have any fortifications about them. The security of the country must depend upon our superiority in the field; if our force is divided and appointed to the defence of particular places, the enemy will be masters of the field, and the country loose their confidence in the army: and notwithstanding the Garrisons at particular places may delay the



enemys operations a little, these advantages are far overballanc'd by the pannick their loss generally strikes upon the country, and the advantage they give to the enemy to hold the circumjacent country in subjection.

“There is one strong reason why the fortifications should not be multiplied upon the Delaware; there is not a sufficiency of cannon to put in the works, without taking from the fortifications, or the naval department; and they cannot be spair'd from these without weakening what I esteem the principal security.

“Upon the whole I would trust the security of the River to the Cheveau de Frizes, protected and defended by fort Mifflin, the shiping, and fire rafts. The channel is so narrow, and the difficulty of removing the Cheveau de Frize so great, that there is very little danger of the enemys opening themselves a passage.

“In drawing up my opinion, its bulk is swell'd much beyond the size I intended, and the fear of enlarging the plan has induc'd me to omit many observations that were necessary as explitives to several propositions.

“NATH. GREENE.

“HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.”

A DEFINITIVE PROJECT UPON THE DEFENCE OF PHILADELPHIA  
IN THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS, BY DU COUDRAY.

“In the account which I have given the Honorable Congress of the state in which fort Mifflin, Redbank, and billing's port, were, the first of August, I think I have Demonstrated, that in the actual situation of things, Litle Dependance should be had on this fort, to Defend both the places, where the River is crossed by the chevaux de frize; and that the gallies, fire-ships, and floating batteries, were the only means in which any Confidence could be placed.

“At present, here is question to Determine the best scene of position, and the best use of the Defensive expediens, pursuant to the Litle Defense that the forts furnish them.

“The two floating Batteries are at present, behind the

Iland which is opposite to Billing's port. I approve of their position in this place, because these Iland being very low and narrow, these batteries will be able to produce above it, a formidable fire against the frigates, which may present themselves, to attack the Line of the chevaux de frize, opposite to Billing's port. these batteries consisting, the one of nine, and the other, of ten pieces of 18, which appeared to me very good, and in a very good Condition in every Respect, can Certainly Defend this passage Long enough, if, as the commodore asserts, three frigates, at most, can present themselves, at the same time. Being well managed they may Defend themselves, even almost infailibly untill the enemy repells them from this position; this the enemy cannot Do, neither by sending frigates in the chanel where they are, this chanel being not deep enough; nor Raising batteries upon the bank on the Right Side, which may be easily covered with water, as the Commodore asserts; But by making themselves masters of the eminence at billing's port, from whence they may burn or Remove them: it is the necessity of hindering, or at least, of Retarding the position of the enemy upon this eminence, to accomplish the forementioned Designe, which Renders absolutely necessary to Continue constructing this fort.

“If, I had been informed sooner of the strengt of the suport, which it is to Receive from the two floating batteries, to Defend the chevaux de frize, and of the small number of frigates, which can appear together in the chanel where the chevaux de frize are; I should have Contracted the extend of this fort, at least on the River side; But the map which I Require for that purpose in my first visit, could not then be found; and I ask'd for it several times since, to no purpose. I shal profit, at least, by these new informations, of which the Commodore alone can warrant the Certainty, to Diminish the number of Embrasures, and to Leave, at the forts of Mifin and Redbank, a part of the Cannon, which beling's port alone should have necessarily exhausted.

“The gallies and fire ships are at present at the mouth of

Derby-creek, below, and in the same chanel, with the floating batteries; a chanel in which the Commodore affirms, as I have already said, that the frigates can not ascend. I approve also of their position. As those gallies carry, some of them, cannon of 24; others, cannon of 18; and as, by their Construction, they present very Little appearance to the frigates, who offer them a very Large one; and the greatest size of the cannon of the frigates being generally only of 12, the gallies will be necessarily superior to them; since according to the Commodore, they can not be attack, but by two or three frigates at most, even in Coming out of this chanel to Conduct the fire ships.

“ But to protect their Retreat, and especially to hinder the enemy from taking possession of the ground which Commands this position, and which, (as it is impossible to have it covered with water, as well as the upper and Lower parts) suplys them with the proper place to fix a battery, which may Repell the gallies and fire ships: it would be necessary to erect a battery there of 8 or 10 Large pieces, at least, defended by the gorge, so as to protect it, against the attack by Land, which the enemy if they have any foresight, cannot avoid making to free themselves from the inquietude, in which they must be Lest the gallies and fire ships may take unawares the frigates, which may be embarrast in the channel of navigation, and which, being stoped by the chevaux de frize, would scape with difficulty the effect of the fire ships.

“ Instead of a well supplied and protected battery, as I have mentioned, his Excellency has seen that this which exist at present in this place, has only one serviceable Cannon; that the parapet of this battery, and particularly the defence of its gorge, are in the worst situation; so that, if it be attacked by Landing boats, it must unavoidably be overcome: unless there be a Considerable body to Defend it.

“ The time is perhaps too urgent, and the means too weak to Repare, at present, the Capital fault that had been Committed in neglecting a place so favourable, to the attack of the fire ships, upon the enemy, which Renders it almost as



important as billing's port. thus, as soon as the enemy shall take possession of the place occupied by these bad battery, which must be keep only as a shew, the gallies and fire ships will be obliged to Retreat, at least, to the place of the same channel where the floating batteries are, and where, as the Commodore says the fregates cannot follow them. they will not be useless there; they will help the batteries in supporting the chevaux de frize, at billing's port; which will be accomplish then, with an assured superiority, untill the enemy establishes batteries, upon this eminence.

“For the want of a well made draught, which we allways have need off; and which I have not been able to suply, on account of the late arrival of the engeneers, who attend me; as well as the perpetual undetermination in which, both they and I, have Lived and continue to Live in every Respect; such are the sentimens, that the instructions received from commodore, permit me to propose relatively to the defence of the first Line of the chevaux de frize, with the gallies, fire ships, and floating batteries.

“I conclude then, that if the precautions be taken to sink only 8 or 9 new chevaux de frize, between and behind the intervalls of the first Line; which as the Commodore asserts, are preposterously thirty feet from one another, and Leaves certainly an opening by which the small fregates may profit; this first Line will be easily defended, at least some days; even, in the bad state, in which the Land fortifications are; either through the neglect of administration; or the contracted understanding of the persons, who have been charged to fortify the batteries of belling's port, and Derby's Creek, which after the new Details I have just made are indispensably necessary in both places.

“From the fast Line I pass now to the second, Relying allways, instead of a sure draught, upon the informations formerly and Lately furnished by the commodore.

“This second Line is formed according to him, by the Rows of chevaux de frize; the first of which is 920 yards Before the point of fort mifflin, and supported, in one side, by hog island, and in the other, by the bank which begins in that

place, and take his Direction towards Red bank, where he joignes the Land, without allowing the passage to the fregates; tho' it allows them to advance, enough to cross the batteries of mifflin fort.

“If this be the only passage; if only three fregates can attack it in front, by Directing their Course towards Red bank, to cross the batteries, as I have forementioned; the gallies and floating batteries, will be certainly sufficient to protect them.

“The most advantageous position, which they can be placed for that purpose, will be to continue keeping them in the channel where the enemy cannot come at them on account of the shallow water, and make them flank the chevaux de frize.

“Thirteen gallies, which present the prow only, will have with their Large Cannon of 24 or 18, as I have forementioned, sure superiority over three, and even six fregates if this Cannon be well managed.

“But hog's iland behind which the gallies should be placed to enjoy these Desirable position, is unhappily wider, and more elevated than that which is opposite to billing's port; behind which the batteries are at present, and where I said they should be left, and the gallies should be carried, when the enemy, by making themselves master of Derby creek, might have obliged the gallies to abandon these position.

“If this elevation and breadth of hog's iland are too extensive to hinder the effect of the fire, they must be carried between fort mifflin and the buoys, so as not to hinder the playing of the battery of this fort, which, however ill-situated and constructed, as his excellency has seen, may notwithstanding be of some utility, even at the great Distance where it is; specially if there be time enough, to make the changes and suitables Reparations, in order to place there seven or eight Large pieces in capacity of playing and being defended.

“The fort where this battery lies is very bad, being inclosed, only on two fronts, by one palisade with bad loop



holes, and very ill flanked ; but as the enemy can Land there, only with chaloupes, it may Resist Long time, even in this weak situation, with six or seven hundred men to gard it ; specially if the army was not far off. but this must not be Depended upon ; as the enemy may make a march towards the north, and be more active in their movemens than they have been hitherto.

“ The fort of billing’s port, when it is finished, can alone assure by a defense of fifteen days the time necessary for the army to arrive to protect this second Line.

“ The possession which the enemy might take of Red bank, and which they will probably do, will not be of great advantage to them ; Considering his great Distance to Repell the gallies and floating batteries, from this two forementioned positions ; specially if the first may be occupied. Besides as the fort constructed upon this eminence, can be put in a State of Defence in that short time, and with a few men, by contracting it, as I have proposed to his Excellency, it will be an additional obstacle to stop the enemy.

“ It Results from the premisses,

“ 1<sup>st</sup> That I persist in thinking that the most suitable place to be Defended is billings port ; on account of the narrowness of the River there ; of the facility with which the floating batteries can support the chevaux de frize, by remaining behind the opposite iland ; of the necessity in which the enemy will be to take possession of the eminence of Derby’s creek, to defend themselves against the fire ships, which they will be allwais afraid to see arrive behind the fregates, stoped before the chevaux de frize in the channel of navigation ; and in short, of the necessity in which they will be of making themselves masters of the eminence at belling’s port, to drive away the floating batteries from this position, where the gallies may come to Reinforce them ; when by their taking possession of Derby’s creek they shall have obliged them to abandon this post.

“ 2<sup>nd</sup> that it is chiefly to put this post speedily in a state of defence, that we must employ the means, which we have, which are too few to be divided between fort miffin and Red

bank, without being exposed to the inconveniency of making a bad defence in both post; instead of making a good one, in a single place, as I have Declared in the first memorial I have given on this object.

“ 3<sup>o</sup> That matters being not in this situation, thro’ the fault of the administration alone, it is necessary to procure some Remedy for the present weakness of the first Line, by putting ourselves in state of protecting the second, and of giving thereby time to the army to arrive.

“ I offer to continue in this Respect my care and that of the commissioned and non-commissioned officers, who attend me; but if his excellency intends that these care should not be useless, and that an invincible disgust should not succeed the most ardent zeal, it is absolutely necessary to cause change in the conduct, which has been observed hitherto, and to accellerate the slowness of the civil and military administration, to wick the Congress adressed us, to procure the means of execution.

“ It is necessary, to accomplish the forementioned objects, that the honourable Congress himself order without delay.

“ 1<sup>st</sup> thousand *effective* workmen every day, for billing’s port, who are to work on holy days, and sundays, under the proper direction of the engeneers whom I have there.

“ 2<sup>nd</sup> the necessary tools, as well as for these workmen, as for my artillery workmen, whom I shall employ to construct the batteries, and to repare the carriages intended either for this, or miffin fort, in the actual circumstances; those that I keep at billing’s port and here, for this purpose, having not yet been able, in spite of my Repeated solicitations, to obtain, this month past, neither all the tools they want, nor even clothes.

“ 3<sup>o</sup> 200 others workmen every day at fort miflin and hundred at Red bank, under the same Conditions, with the former.

“ Provided this Request be granted, I engage to put these three places in a state of defence in the course of this month: viz. to be Defended, Billing’s port, with 400 men and 80 canoniers;—fort miffing with 600 and 500 canoniers; Red bank with 200 men and 20 canoniers.

“During the same time I shall employ the Rest of my engeneers to execute, suitably to the examination of the five places of incampement to be taken between markus’ hook and Philadelphia, the project declared in the memorial adressed to the honourable congress, and communicate the day before yesterday, to his excellency, who honoured it with his approbation.

“I ask for these engeneers no other assistance, besides the horses, and a man to serve them and carry their instruments.

“As to the batteries so necessaries for the support of the gallies and fire ships which are necessary to hold at Derby creek, for reasons which have been given above, it is to be wished that means could be furnished at the same time with that of billing’s port; particularly from the informations given by the Commodore, that there may be furnished from the province frigate fifteen nine pounders, and six of twelf from Captain Reed’s<sup>1</sup> schooner; which vessels are not in a state of defense, for want of men.

“Upon this subject I make the most pressing solicitations, and more so, if conjectures permitted his excellency to believe that the enemy will leave us time to finish billing’s port, I should beg to employ for the Construction of this battery the labourers, that I have demanded to put fort mifflin and Red bank in a state to supply the present weakness of the first line of chevaux de frize, by supporting the second.

“DU COUDRAY.

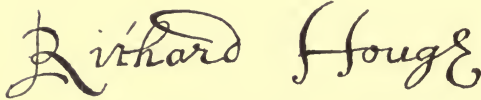
“PHILADELPHIA the 6 august, 1777.”

<sup>1</sup> Captain Thomas Read, who was the first to enjoy the title of commodore in the provincial navy of Pennsylvania. He resigned to enter the Continental service.

(To be continued.)

## RICHARD HOUGH, PROVINCIAL COUNCILLOR.

BY OLIVER HOUGH.



Of Richard Hough's birth, parentage, and early life we

know, at present, very little. Before coming to Pennsylvania he lived in Macclesfield, in the county of Chester, England, and it is said that the remains of several preceding generations of his family lie in All Hallows (now St. Michael's) Church in that town. The name of Hough is indigenous to Cheshire, and in the seventeenth century several families bearing it were living in Macclesfield Hundred. His only relative of the name of whom we know anything is his brother, John Hough, of Macclesfield, who, in 1691, bought of William Penn three hundred and seventy-five acres of land in Pennsylvania, "towards the Susquehanna river clear of Indian incumbrance," and in 1694 conveyed three-fifths of it to Richard, who was then in Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup>

Richard Hough arrived in Pennsylvania, in the ship "Endeavor," of London, Seventh month 29, 1683, bringing with him four servants or dependants: Francis Hough (probably a younger brother or nephew), who was to serve two years and to have fifty acres of land at the expiration of his term; <sup>2</sup> Thomas Wood (or Woodhouse) and Mary his

<sup>1</sup> It has been surmised by several investigators that the John Hough, of Hough, in Cheshire, who came to Pennsylvania in Ninth month, 1683, in the ship "Friendship," of Liverpool, with his wife Hannah and son John, was a brother of Richard Hough, but this supposition is disproved by the deeds for this land, showing Richard's brother John to have been living in Macclesfield in 1691 and 1694, at which dates the John Hough above mentioned was in Pennsylvania.

<sup>2</sup> In 1703, when Buckingham Township was erected, Francis Hough had two hundred and fifty-six acres there, originally laid out for two hundred acres.



wife, to serve respectively five and four years, and each to have fifty acres; and James Sutton, to serve four years, and to have three pounds five shillings per annum and fifty acres of land when his time was finished.

He went directly to Bucks County, where he took up two tracts of land, both fronting on the Delaware River; one about two miles below the site of Yardley, and the other next to the Proprietary's Manor of Highlands. On Holme's map the county is divided into townships, and though no names are given them on it, they were called, before its publication in 1684, by the names afterwards confirmed, together with nearly the same boundaries, by the jury of 1692. Richard Hough's two tracts were in Makefield Township, and both on the township line, the boundary of the upper one forming the line between Makefield and the Manor of Highlands, while that of the lower was coincident with the line between Makefield and Falls. Richard Hough's land being in such a conspicuous position, geographically, in the township, may have been the cause of its getting the name of Makefield, which is generally accepted to be a corruption of Macclesfield. The upper tract ran back from the river about a mile and three-quarters, with a width of about half a mile, and covered the site of the present Taylorsville. At the first survey a highway was laid out between it and the Manor of Highlands, on the township line; this highway is mentioned in a deed of 1688, when Richard Hough sold two hundred and fifty acres of this land, and it is still in use, being now the road from Taylorsville to Eagle.<sup>1</sup> The warrant for this

<sup>1</sup> On Holme's map, the stream now called Hough's Creek is made to rise in the Manor of Highlands and flow through the lands of Richard Hough, Henry Baker, and Joseph Milnor, emptying into the Delaware on the line between the latter and Daniel Milnor. Davis, in his "History of Bucks County," takes this map as authority that Richard Hough and Henry Baker took up land along the creek, and remarks that it was first called Baker's Creek, then Musgrave's, and finally Hough's Creek, after Richard Hough. Holme's map is easily shown to be wrong by a comparison with recent maps made from the latest surveys. Hough's Creek rises in Wrightstown Township, and its general direction is nearly at right angles to the line of the Delaware, while on Holme's map it is

land is dated September 20, 1685, and the patent July 30, 1687; the latter, copied in the Doylestown deed-books, describes it as "five hundred acres next Henry Baker on the Delaware River," and the warrant called for the same amount; but, as usually occurred, the original survey laid off an area that was afterwards found to be considerably in excess of the amount called for, containing over six hundred acres.

The lower tract extended inland nearly three miles and was about a quarter of a mile broad; on Holme's map its lower line constitutes the township boundary, but when the official division was made, in 1692, this boundary was not followed, and the line between Makefield and Falls was run along the upper side of John Woods's land, a mile farther down the river, just above where Morrisville is now, as it remains to the present day. Here Richard Hough made his home and built a stone house, one of the few early ones in the county, only the most pretentious being built of that material. The stone used, no doubt, came from Richard Hough's own land. James Logan wrote to Phineas Pemberton, about 1700, that William Penn had ordered a memorandum to be entered in the land-office, "that ye great

drawn at an angle of about forty-five degrees near the confluence, and farther inland is made to turn so as to be nearly parallel to the river. The map of the present day also shows that the highway separating Richard Hough's land from the Manor of Highlands (now the Taylorsville and Eagle road) is nearly parallel to the line of direction of Hough's Creek and at an average distance of about a mile from it, which would place the creek not only below Richard Hough's tract, but below Henry Baker's. "B. W.," writing in one of the Bucks County newspapers shortly after the publication of Davis's History, calls attention to this mistake of Holme's, and cites early deeds to prove that the creek ran mainly through the two Milnor tracts, which were next below Henry Baker's, and that it emptied into the Delaware a little below the Milnor tracts instead of on the line between them. The same writer also questions Davis's statement as to its name, the deeds calling it Milnor's Creek; he thinks that it was not called Hough's Creek until a much later date, when, in 1791, Oliver Hough became one of the largest landholders on its banks, and that it was so named for him, and not for his great-grandfather Richard.

quarry in Richard Hough's and Abel Janney's lands be reserved when they come to be confirmed, being for ye public good of the county." Tradition asserts that the house was near a spring, most likely at the foot of the rising ground, some distance from the river. On this place lived six generations of the eldest male branch of the family, part of it having remained in their possession till about 1850, when they removed to Ewing Township, Mercer County, New Jersey.

Richard Hough took an active part in all the affairs of the early days of the county, political, social, and religious. He belonged to the Falls Meeting of the Society of Friends, his attainments and character giving him an important place in its proceedings. Before the Falls Meeting-House, the first in the county, was built, in 1690, his house was one of the meeting places, and the Bucks County Quarterly Meeting continued to be held there and in the houses of William Biles, Nicholas Waln, and others, until 1696. When William Penn lived at Pennsbury he attended Falls Meeting, and its minutes have, under date Eighth month 1, 1701, "The Governor being present, a member of this meeting acquainted us of his intention to depart for England in a short time. It was therefore agreed that Phineas Pemberton, Joseph Kirkbride, Richard Hough, and Samuel Dark draw up a certificate concerning him to be in readiness against this day week."

Richard Hough's marriage to Margery Clows, First month 17, 1683/4, is the first one on the Falls records.<sup>1</sup> Associated with him in the concerns of the meeting, as well as in the direction of the affairs of the county, were Phineas Pemberton, Thomas Janney, William Yardley, William Biles, Nicholas Waln, Joseph Kirkbride, and a few others who in private life were his friends, though some of them, like William Biles, differed from him in provincial politics. Phineas Pemberton and William Yardley generally held the same political opinions as Richard Hough.

<sup>1</sup> All dates in this article are old style.



Richard Hough was one of the commission or jury that made the first official division of Bucks County. Although Holme's map, as before stated, represents the whole settlement laid off in townships, and the several districts had been given names and limits for convenience of county officers and others, the limits of the counties themselves were not defined until April 1, 1685, when the Provincial Council fixed their boundaries, and no official division of Bucks County was made until 1692. At the September term in this year the County Court appointed Arthur Cook, Joseph Growdon, John Cook, Thomas Janney, Richard Hough, Henry Baker, Phineas Pemberton, Joshua Hoopes, William Biles, Nicholas Waln, Edmund Lovet, Abraham Cox, and James Boyden a jury to effect the division, and directed them to meet at the Neshaminy Meeting-House in Middletown on September 27. They specified the boundaries of five townships, following more or less the lines of Holme's map, and called them Makefield, "the township at the falls" (Falls), Buckingham (now Bristol), Salem (Bensalem), and Middletown. The jury also designated two townships in the less settled part, without giving them definite boundaries, one to be composed of the districts known as Newtown and Wrightstown, and the other to include Southampton and Warminster and the lands adjoining them; these names had all been in use before the division.

Richard Hough began early to engage in public affairs, and for many years took an active part in the government of the province. He represented Bucks County in the Provincial Assembly in 1684, 1688, 1690, 1697, 1700 (new Assembly elected in October), 1703, and 1704; he was a member of the Provincial Council in 1693 and 1700. His first two terms in the House, in 1684 and 1688, were rather uneventful; in these early years of Penn's rule, with the exception of a few misunderstandings between the Council and the Assembly, as there was in 1688, and trouble caused by dissatisfied individuals, the sessions were occupied by passing and amending laws and other routine work. After Richard Hough's second term (1688) came Governor



Blackwell's administration with its somewhat stormy scenes; but when Richard Hough again returned to the House in 1690, the government had regained most of its serenity. But in the next two years, during which Richard Hough was not connected with the Legislature, trouble arose between the province (or upper counties) and the territories (or three lower counties), and continued with such bitterness that the Council of 1692 was split in two, with T. Lloyd president for the province and Markham for the territories. The Council of 1693, as a member of which Richard Hough next appeared in public life, came on the scene in the midst of very unsettled times; the dissensions of the past two years were still rampant, while hardly had the Council begun its administration when it was deposed by the arrival of Governor Fletcher, with his commission from the Crown to assume Penn's government, and supplanted by a new Council appointed by him.<sup>1</sup> This appointing his own Council,

<sup>1</sup> All historians appear to assume that the Council of 1692 was conducting the affairs of the province up to the time that Benjamin Fletcher came as governor under the Crown. There is some evidence, however, to warrant the conclusion that a new Council had been organized under the Proprietary rule for the year 1693, as was usual at the beginning of each year, in compliance with the law. In the first place, so far as is known, no notice of the change in the government had been sent to the Proprietary's representatives until Governor Fletcher, on April 19, wrote to Thomas Lloyd, who received the letter on the 23d, over a month after the regular time for holding elections; this being the case, elections would have been held at the usual date, March 10, and, the prescribed time for the first meeting of the Council being ten days after the election, the new members would have qualified and taken their seats, and the Council of 1693 would have been in session several weeks before Fletcher's arrival on April 26. Some published lists of members of Council give Richard Hough as a member in 1692, but such fragments of the minutes as remain show that the three Bucks County members for that year were Arthur Cook, Joseph Growdon, and William Biles; Arthur Cook's term expired with the year 1692, and the fact that his name is not on the address to Fletcher is good evidence that he was no longer a member, as he was a supporter of the Proprietary. Richard Hough must then have been the new member for 1693. The elections, therefore, no doubt took place at the usual time, and, if so, there were two Councils for the year 1693, one under the Proprietary's rule and one appointed by Fletcher.

ignoring the one already elected, and his further action in calling for the election and convening of a new Assembly without regard to the existing law as to its time of meeting, number of members, etc., brought a remonstrance from the former Council, seven of them, on April 29, drawing up and presenting to the new governor an address desiring him to convene the legislative power by no other method than that prescribed by the laws of the province already enacted, and reminding him that his instructions from the king and queen directed him to rule according to the said laws. The signers to this address were Joseph Growdon, John Bristow, John Delavall, John Simcock, Hugh Roberts, Samuel Lewis (or Levis), and Richard Hough, all strong supporters of the Proprietary. The governor, by advice of his Council, returned no answer to this address, but continued on his course; after this Penn's adherents took very little part in the affairs of government until his restoration in 1694, many of them refusing to serve under Fletcher as magistrates or to continue in offices they already held. Richard Hough held no office under Fletcher's government, although from a paper dated March 14, 1693/4, certifying to the election of Assemblymen from Bucks County, he seems to have had something to do with conducting the election of that year.

Richard Hough's next appearance in the Assembly was in 1697; William Markham was now governor under Penn, and most of the old laws had been restored. This session of the General Assembly was taken up with the consideration of a letter from Governor Fletcher, of New York, asking for money and men for the defence of that province. The matter was referred to a joint committee of both branches of the Legislature, of which Richard Hough was a member from the Assembly; its report was adverse to Governor Fletcher's demand. The meeting of the General Assembly in 1699, when Richard Hough was again a member of the House, was largely devoted to the consideration

The session of the former was certainly quite short, its authority coming to an end when Fletcher's Council was organized, the protest to the new governor being probably its last action.

of piracy, which at this time had become a great menace to the province, and measures were adopted for its suppression. On May 15, Richard Hough was appointed one of a committee "to inspect into the Account of Charges which have accrued upon occasion of the Privateers plundering the town of Lewes;" this committee reported that the account ought to be allowed as a provincial charge. The action taken at this session, however, was not sufficient, and on Eleventh month 25 a second session of the same Assembly began and more stringent laws were passed against piracy and illegal trade; in these proceedings Richard Hough took quite an active part. In 1700 he was elected a member of the Council for one year, but his term did not last so long, for Penn, arriving in the province in the early part of the year, proceeded to reorganize the whole Legislature; on May 3 the old charter was given up, and the next month Penn appointed his own Council; he dissolved the Assembly on Fourth month 8 and ordered an entire new one to be elected; this met at New Castle on October 14, which thereafter was the regular date of meeting instead of May 10, as formerly. Richard Hough was elected to this new Assembly. On October 16, Robert French, Isaac Norris, John Brinkloe, John Hill, Richard Hough, and Nathaniel Newlin were appointed a committee to draw up a new frame of government; on the 18th they reported that they had drawn up a rough draft of several heads, which was read; on November 13 the heads of the new frame were read for the first time and passed; they were read a second time on the 25th and again passed; two days later the Assembly was dissolved. A second session met on Sixth month 1, 1701, which lasted five days. In 1701, Richard Hough was not a candidate, but had a hand in conducting the election.<sup>1</sup> In 1703, Richard

<sup>1</sup> The following is one of a number of similar papers in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and may be of interest as showing the form of certificate of election of that day:

"This Indenture made the fourth day of September Annoq<sup>o</sup>: doñi 1701 Between Joseph Kirkbride, Jonathan Scaife Richard Hough Samuell Darke and Jeremiah Langhorne — — — — — freemen of



Hough was again returned to the Assembly, but what part he took in its transactions this year, and whether he was conspicuous in the strife between the Church of England party and the Society of Friends, cannot be told, as the minutes for this period are lost.

Richard Hough was re-elected in 1704, and was one of the few supporters of the Proprietary in that year's Assembly. The animosity between the Proprietary's adherents and his opponents, which had long been an undercurrent in politics, now broke forth with full violence, and the country became distinctly divided into two parties, the Proprietary and the Popular. The former, led by Governor Evans and James Logan, and supported by many prominent members of the Society of Friends and other men of note in the province, was often called, from the character of its members and its principles, the aristocratic party; with this party, Richard Hough, always a strong adherent of Penn, and, as a large landholder, in accord with its aims, allied himself. How far Richard Hough opposed the democratic tendency of the Popular party, and how far he was in sympathy with those members of his party who certainly desired the establishment of many of the aristocratic forms of the mother coun-

The County of Bucks And province of Pensilvania of The one part and Samuell Beaks High Shreiffe of the sd County of Bucks of the other part Witnesseth That According to a Writt Baring date the 23<sup>d</sup> day of August Last past To the sd shrieffe derved &c: That wee did meet at the usuall place of meeting in the sd County And Then and there did freely Elect & Chose Joseph Growdon John Swift Joshua Hoopes and William Paxson X To be our Representatives To Serve in Assembly General for the sd provence And To Give Theire Attendance at the Toune of philadelphia The 15<sup>th</sup> day of This Instant Septemb<sup>r</sup>: According To the apoyntm<sup>t</sup> of the Affore sd Writt In Witness Where of wee the sd Shrieffe and ffree men have here unto sett our hands & seales The day And Year first above Written

"SAML <sup>L</sup> BEAKS SHRIEFFE	[SEAL]
"JOSEPH KIRKBRIDE	[SEAL]
"JONATHAN SCAIFE	[SEAL]
"RICHARD HOUGH	[SEAL]
"SAM DARKE	[SEAL]
"JEREMIAH LANGHORNE	[SEAL]"



try, he has left no record; the language of some of the land patents intimates that Penn himself favored the holding of land in some sort of feudal tenure, and Richard Hough seems to have believed, to a great extent, in primogeniture, a belief which developed itself in several generations of his descendants. He was one of those relied on by the party to look after its interests in the Assembly, where it was very much in the minority, David Lloyd, the Speaker of that body, being the leader of the opposition. But his opportunity to serve his party was of brief duration; the Assembly, in the midst of a severe struggle with the governor, adjourned on November 14, and when it again met on May 4, 1705, his death was announced. That of Peter Worrall, another member from Bucks County, was reported the same day; on the 10th it was decided to have their places filled, and the next day three members of the Assembly announced their decease to Governor Evans before the Council, and requested him to issue writs for the election of their successors, which was done; on the 21st, Joshua Hoopes and Samuel Beakes presented themselves "to serve this Assembly for Bucks County, in the Room of Peter Worrall, and Richard Hough, deceased." Some idea of the situation at this time and the esteem in which Richard Hough was held by his associates may be gathered from the following extracts from the Penn and Logan correspondence shortly after his death. Logan wrote (Philadelphia, Second month 5, 1705) to Penn, "I know not what the advancing season, that stirs up humors as certainly in men as in vegetables, may produce, but this past winter we have, as I said in my last, been very quiet, tho' I expect but little good from the present representatives till another election,—the honest being so much out-voted by the men of deep designs or shallow sense, the others' properties. Richard Hough, one of the best in the House, was about three weeks ago, unfortunately overset in a wherry, coming down the river, and, with two other persons, lost his life; the rest were saved. He is much lamented by all that knew him, and understand the value of a good man." William Penn wrote in reply (London, Seventh

month 14, 1705), "I lament the loss of honest Richard Hough. Such men must needs be wanted where selfishness and forgetfulness of God's mercies so much abound."

Logan wrote to Penn again on this subject (Fifth month 4, 1705), and after describing the well-known dispute between Governor Evans and William Biles (who, though a neighbor in the country and an intimate friend of Richard Hough's, was his political enemy), continues, "—yet he" [William Biles] "very much influences that debauched County of Bucks, in which there is now scarce any one man of worth left. Phineas," [Pemberton] "its father, and honest Richard Hough, being gone, but Samuel Carpenter, I suppose, will be prevailed to stand for it next election, whose interest, joined with Joseph Growdon and Jer. Langhorne, which two last were the only that stood for thee of that place the last Assembly, 'tis hoped will be able to carry it, but we have the least hopes there of any part of the Government."

Richard Hough held some other public offices; he was one of the justices for Bucks County.<sup>1</sup> In 1700, William Penn appointed Phineas Pemberton, William Biles, and Richard Hough a "Court of Inquiry," to investigate the state of his affairs in the province.

He was drowned in the Delaware River, March 25, 1705, on his way from his home to Philadelphia. By his will,<sup>2</sup> dated May 1, 1704, he disposed of his property in the following manner: One-half the plantation on which he lived, together with the stone house and out-buildings, to his wife Margery, during her life; the other half to his eldest son, Richard, when he reached the age of twenty-one years; after his wife's death, the whole plantation, consisting of four hun-

<sup>1</sup> Though his name is not on the list published in the "Pennsylvania Archives," this is attested by the probate to the will of William Yardley, 1702/3, in Philadelphia, Will-Book B, which has, "Then appeared before me, Richard Hough, one of the justices of the peace for the County of Bucks," etc.

<sup>2</sup> Admitted to probate June 11, 1705; registered, Philadelphia, Will-Book B, p. 439.

dred and odd acres, to go to his son Richard. To his second son, John, he left his land "lying betwixt Samuel Baker's and Governor Penn's Manor of Highlands which is about three hundred and fifty acres." To his youngest son, Joseph, his land "lying at Neshamine Creek betwixt Randal Blackshaw's and John Gray's, which is about five hundred and seventy odd acres." His daughters Mary and Sarah were given their portions in money. He ordered his land next to John Palmer's, about two hundred and seventy-odd acres, and his land in Buckingham, adjoining Daniel Jackson, four hundred and seventy-five acres, to be sold. He made his wife Margery and son Richard residuary legatees, and appointed them, with his "friend and brother,"<sup>1</sup> William Biles, the executors. The witnesses were Jacob Janney and Abel Janney. This will disposes of over two thousand acres of land, all in Bucks County. Of the five tracts mentioned, two have been already described: the home plantation, which went to Richard, Jr., and John's portion, next to the Manor of Highlands. The latter, at the date of the will, was only three hundred and fifty acres, Richard having sold two hundred and fifty acres of it in 1688. The tract on the Neshaminy, left to the youngest son, Joseph (as five hundred and seventy-odd acres), was one first taken up by John Clows, Richard Hough's father-in-law, as five hundred acres, and after John Clows's death purchased from his heirs by Richard Hough. In after-years, when Joseph had gone there to live, it was found to be over eight hundred and forty acres. It was in Warwick Township when that was erected, and is now partly included in Doylestown Township; part of it (around Houghville) is still in possession of the family. The tract of two hundred and seventy-odd acres, next to John Palmer, was in Lower Makefield, near the home plantation, and was composed of several tracts bought about 1694 from Abel Janney and others, part of the land origi-

<sup>1</sup> If this was anything more than a figure of speech, the relationship probably came about by William Biles having married Jane, widow of Thomas Atkinson and mother of William Atkinson, who had married Richard Hough's daughter Mary.



nally granted to William and Charles Biles. The land in Buckingham was that Richard Hough obtained in 1694 from his brother, John Hough, of Macclesfield, England, being three-fifths of the tract latter bought from William Penn in 1691. John Hough's purchase was three hundred and seventy-five acres, but the land laid off to him was much more, as the resurvey in 1702 showed Richard's three-fifths of it to amount to four hundred and seventy-five acres; this amount was confirmed to him after the resurvey by patent dated November 24, 1702, from the land commissioners, Edward Shippen, Griffith Owen, Thomas Story, and James Logan. These last two tracts were sold by his executors as he directed.

Richard Hough married, First month 17, 1683/4, Margery Clows (*b.* —; *d.* 11, 30, 1720), daughter of John Clows (a large landholder in Bucks County, and member of the Assembly) and Margery, his wife.<sup>1</sup> This was the first marriage under the control of the Falls Meeting. The minutes of the Monthly Meeting have the following concerning it: "Richard Hough and Margaret Clows, have again appeared in the meeting and do desire the meetings consent to take

<sup>1</sup> John Clows, of Gosworth, Cheshire, England, and Margery, his wife, came to Pennsylvania Seventh month 29, 1683, in the same ship with Richard Hough, the "Endeavor," of London, with their children, Margery, Rebecca, and William. They had been preceded by three of their children, John, Jr., Joseph, and Sarah, who came in the "Friends' Adventure," Seventh month 28, 1682. John Clows, the father, brought with him three servants: Samuel Hough (possibly a relative of Richard's, taking this as the only means of getting to America, as many other young men did at that time), Joseph Chorley, and John Richardson. The family settled in Makefield, where John Clows had land on the river front, between William Yardley and John Brock. He also had a tract inland on the Neshaminy, which has been mentioned as purchased by Richard Hough. John Clows represented Bucks County in the Assembly in 1683 and 1684. He died Seventh month 4, 1687, and his wife, Margery, Second month 2, 1698. Of their children, John, Jr., died Fifth month 5, 1683; Joseph married Elizabeth Pownall; William married Sarah Hanfield; Sarah married John Bainbridge, of the New Jersey family of that name; Margery married Richard Hough; and Rebecca married John Lambert, of Nottingham, West Jersey.



each other in marriage. And Friends ordered to make inquiry do say that they find nothing, but they are both clear; therefore the meeting doth leave them at liberty to proceed in marriage; and doth order Thomas Janney and William Yardley to see the same orderly done and performed."<sup>1</sup>

They had five children:<sup>2</sup>

MARY, *b.* 6 mo. 1, 1685; *d.* November 11, 1720. *M.* April 6, 1704, William Atkinson, of Bristol.<sup>3</sup>

SARAH, *b.* 4 mo. 7, 1690; *d.* ——. *M.* 1st, 4 mo. 23, 1708, Isaac Atkinson, brother of William;<sup>3</sup> 2d, ——, Leonard Shallcross.<sup>4</sup>

RICHARD, *b.* ——; *d.* ——. *M.* 1st, ——, 1711/2, Hester

<sup>1</sup> The signatures on their marriage certificate were:

Thomas Janney	Samuel Overton	Joseph Clows
William Yardley	Margery Clows	John Clows
Andrew Ellet	Sarah Clows	
James Harrison	Rebecca Clows	
William Beakes	Ann Harrison	
George Stone	Jane Yardley	
Richard Ridgway	Hannah Overton	
Phineas Pemberton	Leddiah Wharnby	
John Brock	Demarius Walley	
Luke Brindley		
William Beakes, Jr.		
Stephen Beakes		

<sup>2</sup> The dates of birth of these children, given here, are from the records of Middletown Quarterly Meeting. That of Joseph is given differently by several other authorities.

<sup>3</sup> William and Isaac Atkinson were sons of Thomas Atkinson, a minister of the Society of Friends. The latter, with his wife and three sons, came to Pennsylvania in 1682, from Newby, in Yorkshire, England, and settled in Northampton Township, Bucks County; these two sons went to live in Bristol. William served several terms as coroner of Bucks County, was a county commissioner and collector of excise, and common councilman in Bristol, and an elder of Falls Meeting. For a fuller account of this family and connections, see PENNA. MAG., Vol. XI. pp. 310, 311, and 316.

<sup>4</sup> Leonard Shallcross appears to have been married before, but the name of his first wife is not known to the writer, nor are the names of his parents; he had a brother, John, who married Hannah Fletcher, Third month 29, 1710, under care of Abington Meeting, and lived in Oxford Township, Philadelphia County.

Brown; 2d, 7 mo. 27, 1717, Deborah Gumley, of Philadelphia.<sup>1</sup>

JOHN, *b.* 7 mo. 18, 1693; *d.* ——. *M.* ——, 1718, Elizabeth Taylor.<sup>2</sup>

JOSEPH, *b.* 8 mo. 17, 1695; *d.* May 10, 1773. *M.* ——, Elizabeth West.

<sup>1</sup> Probably the widow of John Gumley, of Philadelphia, letters of administration on whose estate were granted February 22, 1714, to his widow, Deborah Gumley.

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth Taylor was daughter of Philip and Juliana Taylor. After the death of Philip Taylor, his land at Tacony, Philadelphia County, was sold by his children, most of them removing to Bucks County, where the family has long been wealthy and influential. The branch descended from Elizabeth's brother Benjamin were large landholders in Makefield, and gave the name to Taylorsville.

POWEL-ROBERTS CORRESPONDENCE, 1761-1765.

[We are indebted to the courtesy of Charles Morton Smith, Esq., for the following extracts from the correspondence of Samuel Powel (subsequently mayor of the city of Philadelphia) and his friend George Roberts, of Philadelphia, which contains interesting references to Dr. John Morgan while he was attending medical lectures in England and Scotland, and also while travelling on the Continent, prior to his return to America.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

LONDON Dec<sup>r</sup> 5 1761.

DEAR ROBERTS,

. . . Yesterday I walked to Hackney and had well nigh lost myself in the Fields thro' the thickness of the Fog. Such a one I never saw before. The coach in which I returned ran upon the banks of each side the Road & in Danger of being overturned. Once the driver lost his way, another time ran his horses against the turnpike house & after many curses at his fellows of the whip who were travelling the same way, arrived at Shoreditch Church. Tho' the lamps were lighted as usual, yet it was almost impossible to see the people in the street.

Mr. Bevan inquired kindly after you & desires his compliments to us as do Honest Morgan & the Major. The Doctor [Morgan] wrote a few days since, but is so immersed in his studies that we must not expect many of his Favors this Winter at least. All our Americans are jolly—Logan says that he goes in the first ship.—Shippen goes on Wednesday next. No news from Philad<sup>a</sup>. A Packett for N. York this day week; if you have any letters send 'em to me, I'll carefully forward them. Thanks for your description of Kennilworth. . . .

SAMUEL POWEL.

TO GEORGE ROBERTS,  
Birmingham.

LONDON, February 14, 1763.

DEAR ROBERTS,

. . . Your first mentioned Favor reached me in the Land of Cakes. In the city of sweet Edenbro I had the pleasure

of a most hearty Welcome from our old fellow traveller the Laird of Moncrief—no less a man than Major Scott. He inquired kindly after his friend Roberts. The name of Lawson set him in a laugh. Upon hearing I had a line from you, he could not rest 'till he heard the letter read.

During my stay in Scotland our good friend D<sup>r</sup> Morgan and myself made a tour along the coast of Fife to St. Andrew's, thence to Perth, next to Stirling, where we had the honor of being most elegantly entertained by the Lord Provost & Magistrates, who crowned their uncommon Civilities by presenting us with the Freedom of their City. So you see we are Burgesses tho' you are not. From Stirling we proceeded to Glasgow, which is the most elegant city, in its buildings I have ever seen. In size it may equal Philadelphia, is laid out much in the same manner, but in some of its streets is far superior in Beauty. From Glasgow we pursued our Route to Edenburg calling at some noblemen's seats by the way. . . . A word or two of its inhabitants & I have done. In general, they are far more polite & hospitable to strangers than their neighbors of the South, access to the best company being more easily obtained. During my stay I passed my time most agreeably.

I condole with you most sincerely on the death of our friend D<sup>r</sup> Chancellor, as well as lament the loss his family sustains. No remarkable changes have happened among your friends here. Mrs. Taylor of the Coffee House has paid nature's debt. I have put a Packett directed for you from D<sup>r</sup> Morgan into Robinson's bag. . . .

SAMUEL POWEL.

LONDON 29 June, 1763.

MY DEAR ROBERTS,

. . . Morgan still in Edinburgh, presents Comp<sup>s</sup> to you. He is near graduating & will leave Scotland in about a fortnight. . . . I beg you will present my compliments to Mr. Charles Thomson & honest Steel, from both of them I have received letters, but cannot answer them now. My next to you, if you give me any encouragement to write, will be



dated from Paris. I am now in haste & only scrawl this unconnected stuff to assure you you are not, nor can be forgotten by

S. POWEL.

LONDON Sep<sup>r</sup> 1 1763.

DEAR ROBERTS,

. . . Do not accuse me of "London Tricks and St. James Customs"—I meant the invitation friendly. Come this afternoon, you shall be welcome & convinced that I am in earnest to do you honor by suffering you to wait on —, a favor few besides yourself should be admitted to. Morgan has graduated at Edinburgh with an eclat almost unknown before. The Professors give him the highest character you can imagine. Yesterday I had a line from him at Amsterdam—he is jolly & begs his compliments to you. Mr. West is arrived from Italy with a great character as a Painter. I had the pleasure of a good deal of his company and of introducing him to Mr. Penn. The papers will show you the address from our College & inform you that your humble servant had the honor of being presented to His Majesty when it was delivered. I hear Duché is turned Methodist or something very like it—is it true?

I am in a hurry packing up for France, quitting my Chambers, running about to wait on one & another, & quite jaded sit down at last to hurry over a few letters by Buden. Adieu—compliments to everybody from

Your very Affect.

S. POWEL.

PHILAD. 5 Novem. 1763.

DEAR POWEL,

. . . You say you'll devote some hours to my service in France. Keep to your word and send me every article that's Modern, for since Whitefield's visitation we are grown so queer that a foreigner would think his lot was cast among worshippers of the First Age. On his pulpit persuasion we are foresaking every amusement and in a little time, we (I say we, because I sometimes forsake my business to at-

tend his pretty tales) shall become no less than praying societies. The Godlike Peters and Duché are turned prosy-lites to his Doctrine, and I suppose as Whitefield has preached among the Church of England, presbyterian, Dutch, Baptists and Swedes congregations 'twill not be long before he begs permission to mount our Quaker Gallery, unless Benjamin, the Thunderer, and Daniel, the Enthusiast, prevent us by advising us not to admit hireling and time serving ministers. In Philad. otherwise we remain in statu quo, except now and then expunging by  $\frac{1}{2}$  dozens the giddy youth of our Religious Society and sex who are for preventing certain unruly members that are possessed with from standing too often on their heads. At the same time matrimony among the plainer tribe flourishes like a Green Bay. Kepple has returned from his tour, and last week we had the pleasure of hearing our new appointed Governor's proclamation read. The usual cavalcade attended. I walked with Joe Wood and John Allen, new fashioned Common Councilmen. His honor Penn, is a little gentleman, tho' he may govern equal to one seven foot high, but this I'm certain, unless he's stiff about the ankles, he cannot mount up to his (your) front door. Indeed your house is so finely situated that it looks like the habitation of a Turkish Bashaw (the front wall being very high from the street, occasioned by the late regulations of the pavement), and the enclosure, the parade of a Seraglio—'tis the noblest spot in the city—don't you wish to see it? I presented your compliments to Charles Tomson, who poor fellow has been sometime fighting for life with a powerful Consumption, that he appears like a skeleton in old tapestry. He now walks abroad and seems to mend apace.<sup>1</sup>

On Sunday last we were alarmed with the violent shock of an earthquake, which was attended with a loud rumbling noise, lasting about half a minute—it went off without any evil consequences, but frightening the inhabitants. . . .

<sup>1</sup> Charles Thomson, well known as the Secretary of Congress, who died in 1824, surviving the writer twenty-three years and Mr. Powel thirty-one years.—ED. PENNA. MAG.

By a late paper (before your letter arrived), I had the pleasure of seeing your name in print in the presentation of the College address—the girls will have it, you are to have some post in Government on your return. For my part I don't believe you are politically inclined, but of a more sociable contexture, and as you intend to be sometime absent, I beg you'll command me to kiss those ladies lips who say so. . . .

GEORGE ROBERTS.

LONDON 24 Nov<sup>r</sup> 1764.

With joy my dear Roberts I return to the pleasing task of writing to you once more. Surely nothing but the impulse of Friendship could have prompted you to remember me amidst the Din of Arms, when the Houses of Anthony [Benezet], Israel [Pemberton], Joseph [Galloway] &c. were in commotion against a lawless Band of Rioters. What was your post? That of a Captain surely; you would not have accepted an inferior commission. What were your Regimentals on that busy day? Who were your subalterns, who your Colonel? What number of green aprons attended the camp to comfort & solace the soldiers, as well as to wash and mend their linen? Pray call for your sergeant's Orderly Book & let me know the orders as they were issued & the respective lineages and countries of your Heroes after the manner of Homer. . . . Your two friends [Dr. Morgan and the writer] have been lolling in the lap of ease & revelling in scenes of another nature. Italia, nurse of the softer arts, has detained them from mixing with the turbulent throng. The pleasures and entertainments she affords have rendered our time most pleasing. . . . At Rome we had the honor of being presented to His Royal Highness the Duke of York & of being often at conversations & assemblies with him. His Holiness likewise received us most graciously at our presentation & condescended to converse familiarly with us. At Turin we had the honor of being presented to the King of Sardinia and the Royal Family, and obtained an order, under the King's



hand, to see the fortifications of Turin & La Brunette, at the foot of the Alps—a favor granted to Englishmen only. . . . To sum up the whole of our tour in a word: It far exceeded our most sanguine expectations & even the fatigues necessarily attendant on travelling were rendered less sensible by the intercourse of friendship & mutual endeavors to make every toil less irksome. . . . Mr. Mifflin is here & begs compl<sup>ts</sup> to you as does the good Doctor. The last will be with you in the Spring. Pray use him as his merits deserve & don't force him from you. For the honor of our country make his residence in it agreeable. It is no small sacrifice he makes in returning, as fine prospects open upon him here if he would stay; but his Amor Patriæ maintains the upper hand. In the name of goodness stop your Pamphleteers' Mouths & shut up your presses. Such a torrent of low scurrility sure never came from any country as lately from Pensyl<sup>va</sup>. Amidst all your pamphlets, nothing can equal the noble freedom & manly persuasive eloquence of Dickinson's speech—It has been reprinted here & is in high esteem. Why did Adonis expose himself by his "sputtering Prolixity"—the reply is full of keen satire & has as we think, done the Scribe's business most effectually. 'Tis said Dr. Adonis & their party have lost their election. . . .

Sincerely yours

SAMUEL POWEL.

PHILADA<sup>A</sup> May 21 1765.

Your letter of 17 Feby. Dear Powel, was handed to me by Mr. Mifflin, who by some unlucky fall on board the vessel at sea, broke several of the small bones of his right arm. He will be obliged to carry it in a sling for sometime. Morgan comes home flushed with honors, and is treated by his friends with all due respect to his merit. He appears to be the same social friendly man, not assuming the solémn badge so accustomed to a son of Esculapius. I have had but little of his good company, he being much engaged in whispering soft things to his Charmer, but more expressly



in preparing a plan for physical lectures. He has commenced Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine in the College, and intends publicly to open his scheme at next Commencement. I hope the Doctor may meet with success in his undertaking, tho' I fear the mode of giving fees on attendance to the sick will be too refined for this paper-moned country.<sup>1</sup>

As you are at a distance some domestic news may not be unwelcome, and as a matrimonial subject readily offers, I inform you that John Shee was lately married to Kitty Lawrence, to the no small chagrin of her family, they expecting nothing less than a Prince of the Blood—Geo. Clymer to Betsy Meredith; Dr. Martin to Betsy Bond. . . . I don't know whether politics will be an agreeable subject, but you know whatever is the prevailing topic, consequently becomes a kind of Hobby horse. However this much I may say, that the peace & tranquility so peculiar to Pennsylvania is much abridged, and Time, styled the Leveller of all Things, seems rather to increase the dissensions of the people. The Paxton Boys still continue to interrupt the Laws of Community, and are daily doing Acts in defiance of government. They have not only destroyed a quantity of goods going towards Pittsburg, on behalf of the Crown, but give interruption to travelers on the frontiers, and even chastise any persons who dare pass without their permission. There are numbers of people who applaud this conduct, and I doubt not would join these fellows in any wicked design. The heads of the Kirk tolerate these proceedings and from the opinion I have of their tenets, had I any number of children, I would sooner bring them up to the implicit belief of the Alcoran, than make them *Pennsylvania Presbyterians*, for I believe no group of mortals under Heaven merit the curse pronounced in Scripture against the "stiff necked and rebellious" as this people.

<sup>1</sup> The scheme here referred to was the separation of pharmacy and surgery from the practice of physicians, and also the collection of fees whenever a professional visit was made, as was the custom of the physicians of London.—ED. PENNA. MAG.

You are right in judging of our political pamphlets, for such loads have come forth within twelve months, as would make a tolerable show in Holborn. I wish the Stamp duty would take place on these scurrulous performances, and upon nothing else. The people here are much alarmed at this unconstitutional mode of Parliamentary proceeding of taxing the Colonies without their consent, and I believe no act done by authority ever was so heartily damned.

I am dear Powel,

Sincerely Yours,

GEORGE ROBERTS.

THE OHIO EXPEDITION OF 1754.

BY ADAM STEPHEN.

[This account by General Adam Stephen of the Ohio expedition of 1754 has lately come to light among the papers of Dr. Benjamin Rush, now in possession of the Library Company of Philadelphia, to the directors of which institution my thanks are due for permission to publish it. The manuscript is endorsed, in the handwriting of Dr. Rush, "Col. Stevens's life written by himself for B. Rush in 1775." Peculiarities of spelling, etc., of the original are here retained. A sketch of General Stephen may be found in the "Journal of Colonel Washington," edited by J. M. Toner, Albany, 1893, p. 27.—BUNFORD SAMUEL.]

Col. Stephen Studied four years at the University in the same Class with the Respected Doctor John Gregory; & Afterwards at Edinburgh in the different physical Classes for two years, Whilst Dr. Gregory went to Leyden Gregory, Donald Munroe, & Stephen bore away the palm, in all the Classes, of philosophy, Mathematic & phisic.

Stephen went to London, and past examination to go aboard the Navy, but discovering the Officers & Crew in general to be a parcel of Bears; he Absolutely refus'd to go aboard, and Went Surgeon to An Hospital Ship going w<sup>th</sup> the Army ag<sup>t</sup> Port L'Orient on the Coast of France. There He got a little habituated to danger, & next year by his coolness & presence of Mind Sav'd the Ship from being taken.

The Commander of the Vessel was confus'd, gave Order upon Order so Quickly that none were Executed and the Enemy w<sup>th</sup>in a hundred yards on the Lee Quarter ready to Board—When Stephen waited on the Captain in a respectful manner & requested the Command of the Guns in the Cabin, four 9 pounders, w<sup>th</sup> the Cabin Boy & a young lad brought up in the Coal Trade to Assist.

It was obtain'd; The Guns were loaded with all imple-

ments of destruction; & the Enemy crowded on the fore-castle & Boltsprit ready to Board; were greatly hurt by the fire of the first two guns brought to bear upon them. After three Cheers They gave the Ship a yaw, brought the other two guns to bear & completed the destruction of the Enemy: This made him Courted by the Merch<sup>ts</sup> in London.

The India Company made great offers to Stephen to engage him in their Service, but the Sea disagreed with him so much that he could not be prevail'd on to undertake so long a Voyage.

After Wandering for a Certain period; Natural to the Young & Curious—Stephen came into America & Settled in Virginia, made himself known by making an incision into the Liver of Mrs. Mercer of Stafford County, cleansing, & healing the Ulcers there, Contrary to the Opinion of all the faculty employ'd to cure the Lady—& by performing the Operation for the Aneurism, on Abraham Hill & restoring him the Use of his Arm & hand.

Col. Fairfax was a particular friend in those days to Mr. Washington the present Commander of the American Forces; The Col. conceiv'd a favourable Opinion of Stephen from the distinct Acc<sup>t</sup> he gave of the Port L'Orient Expedition; & in a Manner forc'd him to Enter the Service in the year 54.

One Col. Fry was appointed to Command the Expedition, Washington was Appointed Lt. Col. a Certain Mr. Meuse was made Major; and Stephen was appointed first Captain.

The various fortune so frequent on this Globe In the Course of the Campaign, Constituted Mr. Washington Commander in Chief, & Stephen Second in Command. In which Situation they Continued to the end of the Campaign of 58, when Col. Washington Resign'd.

In the meantime, as you are desirous to know more of Stephen I will give you an Opportunity to discover his Genius, by a little of his history during these Campaigns.

On the 11th of May 1754 he was detach'd by Col. Washington from the Little Meadows, an Encampment about 20 miles above Fort Cumberland, with Monsieur Pirony an



Ensign, & 25 men; to Apprehend Monsieur Jumonville, La Force & other Frenchmen detach'd from Fort du Quesne to Reconnoitre the Country.

Stephen Carried only four days provision with him; & There fell such a heavy rain, that it rais'd all the Rivers in the Mountains; he Sent out Hunters to kill provisions; employ'd the Rest in making Rafts, & with labour & difficulty cross'd all the Rivers.

He at last arriv'd with his detachm<sup>t</sup> on the Monngahela near Redstone, & was inform'd by Some Indian Traders, Whom the French had permitted to Retire; that Joumonville & his party finding the Weather unsuitable for Reconnoitering had return'd down the River to Fort du Quesne the day before. Stephen unwilling to Return to Washington without Something to Say, bethought himself of Sending a Spy to Fort du Quesne for Intelligence—It was distant about 37 miles.

He pitch'd upon a person that in five days brought him the most Satisfactory & Accurate Acc<sup>t</sup> of every thing at Fort du Quesne.

The number of French at that post—The Number employ'd daily on the Works—The Number Sick in the Hospital, & what Accidents had happen'd Since their arrival at that place—The dimensions of the Fort—the breadth, & depth of the ditch, the thickness of the Rampart; & in what places it was on only Stockaded, with the length of the Stockades.

Stephen was amaz'd at so great Accuracy, & it immediately enter'd into his head; that the fellow had got five pounds of him, for the Scout, & that probably he had Receiv'd as much of the French for informing them of his Strength & Situation—This occasion'd as Quick a Return to Meet Washington as possible—On the 23<sup>d</sup> Stephen with his party Join'd Col. Washington at the Great Crossing at Yougoughgany; & it turn'd out as he expected; on the 25<sup>th</sup> advice was receiv'd that a party of the Enemy, was within 6 miles of our Camp Col. Washington had advanc'd w<sup>th</sup> the first division of the troop & had only 150 men with him—

He detach'd a certain Capt Hog w<sup>th</sup> 75 of the best men in quest of the Enemy—This Detach<sup>t</sup> took too much to the left, & miss'd the Enemy, and on the 27th at night, intelligence was Receiv'd from Monocotootha & the Half King, by Means of Silverheels, well known afterwards in the British Armies, He was Achates to Quintin Kennedy; particular advice was rec'v'd of the Enemy, & where they were posted. Forty men was all that Col. Washington could take with him: & Seven of them return'd, pretending that they lost the party in the Night. It rain'd, was very dark, & there was no Road. Washington had Stephen with him, came to an Indian Camp within two miles of the Enemy by day light; put the Wet Arms in order and March'd on; Washington Commanding the Right & Stephen the left.<sup>1</sup> It is uncertain whether the English or French fir'd first—Stephen w<sup>th</sup> the platoon he Commanded rush'd in among them, and took Monsieur Druillon the Commanding Officer prisoner with his own hand<sup>2</sup>—Jumonville who had Commanded was

<sup>1</sup> In a letter appearing in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of September 19, 1754, and there attributed to Stephen, the following more positive assertion is made as to this action: "A smart action ensu'd: their [the French] arms and ammunition were dry being shelter'd by the bark huts they slept in, we could not depend on ours, and therefore, keeping up [*i.e.*, withholding] our fire, advanc'd as near as we could with fixt bayonets, and received their fire." The rest of the letter tallies with the present account.

<sup>2</sup> "The Half-King boasted that he had killed Jumonville with his tomahawk."—Parkman, "Montcalm and Wolfe," Chapter V. p. 151, note.

"We have certain account from the Westward of an engagement . . . some of the particulars are as follows. . . . The French gave the first fire. The English returned the fire and killed 7 or 8 of the French, on which the rest took to their heels, but the Half-King and his Indians, who lay in ambush to cut them off in their retreat, fell upon them and killed five of them . . . one of those five which were killed by the Indians was Monsieur Jumonville . . . whom the Half-King himself dispatched with his tomahawk."—*Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 24, 1754. Letter of June 13, from Annapolis.

"Half-King . . . was with the party that attacked de Jumonville and was credited in certain quarters with having slain that officer with his hatchet; but this was without any foundation in fact."—"Journal of Colonel Washington," edited by J. M. Toner, p. 37, editor's note.

kill'd the first fire. The number of the Enemy was forty, & they were all kill'd or taken to One—— This happen'd on the 28th of May, in the Morning.

After this Affair, having Sent the prisoners to Winchester, Where the Governour & Several of the Council were treating with Some Indians the troops advanc'd twelve Miles, took post at Guest's plantation, the only Settln'<sup>t</sup> at that time over the Mountains.

Artificers were Sent to build boats on Monongahela & men employ'd in Opening Roads to that River When Intelligence Was brought us that 700 men had arriv'd at Fort du Quesne from Canada, Under Command of Joumonville's brother, who was kill'd in the late Skirmish; and that in two days 1200 French & Indians were to March to Atta'k us.<sup>1</sup> Being only about 300 men it was resolv'd to Retreat 12 miles to the great Meadows & there erect a Stockade fort & wait the Enemy. Having no horses our Men haul'd Nine Swivel guns 12 miles over as rough Road as any in the Mountains, Officers & men living at time on parch'd Corn.

On the 1st of July our Scouts inform'd us that the Enemy had advanc'd as far as Redstone; on the 3d one of the Out Sentries, was Shot in the heel by the dawn of day: About 11 O'Clock the Enemy—Approach'd us in three Columns.

Stephen was Major—The men fit for duty under Command of Col. Washington amounted to 284.

They were drawn up in the open Ground to receive the Enemy, but on observing their Superior Numbers; orders were given to march into the Skirts of the Woods: Stephen observing by this Manœuvre, the Enemy might take possession of the fort & Baggage &c. as no guard, but the Sick had been left in it—Runs to the left of the Line & calls out

<sup>1</sup> Washington states that he had not intended to make a stand at Great Meadows, but was forced to do so by the inability of the troops to drag the baggage and artillery farther.

Marshall says, "In this hazardous situation a council of war unanimously advised a retreat to the fort at Great Meadows."



—Two platoons on the left,<sup>1</sup> Have a care. Halt To the Right about (with an Intention to send to guard the Fort) When happily for us the Whole went to the Right about & took possession of the Fort & lines—Had not this lucky Mistake happen'd not a man of us could have liv'd above an hour.

There were 1200 of the Enemy, fine, men well Arm'd & provided.

The fight Continued 'till Dark—the Stockade not being finish'd, we had Eighty men kill'd & wounded in it—The Enemy call'd Voules Vous parlez—It was at first imagin'd they intended to Amuse us Untill they storm'd us, but on their calling again, We put ourselves in the best order for a defence, & Sent two Officers to receive their proposals, & a Capitulation was agreed On—

Stephen would not Sign the Capitulation<sup>2</sup> because they

<sup>1</sup> Three words are here somewhat conjectural, the manuscript being difficult to decipher.

“Washington after a time drew his men back into the trenches,” etc.—“Journal of Colonel Washington,” edited by J. M. Toner. Appendix, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> This curious assertion seems difficult to explain by forgetfulness, even after twenty years' lapse between event and writing. Was Stephen called upon by his position to sign? It seems also to be contradicted in another place by Stephen himself. W. C. Ford, in his edition of “Washington,” Vol. I. p. 120, says, “The entire blame was laid on Van Braam . . . one of his fellow-officers. Adam Stephen also intimates evil intentions on [his] part; but his description of the conditions under which the articles were read, ‘We were oblig'd to take the sense of them from his mouth, it rain'd so hard, that he could not give us a written translation; we could scarcely keep the candle light to read them by’ (and any officer there is ready to declare that there was no such word as ‘assassination’ mentioned), certainly affords some excuse for a misapprehension on the part of the hearers.”

The words quoted by Mr. Ford, with those in parenthesis, occur in a letter in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 22, 1754. The letter is there unsigned, and is stated to be “an extract from an officer in the Virginia regiment.” It says, “I will give you an account of the engagement wherein Jumonville was killed in my next.” And accordingly on September 19, no other communication on the subject appearing in the interval, there is a letter giving an account of the Jumonville skirmish, which letter is stated to be by Stephen. The inference, therefore, is that the first letter was also by Stephen.



charged us w<sup>th</sup> Assassination in it—but Col. Washington & Capt. MacKay, who commanded a detach'n<sup>t</sup> of Regulars, Signed it, & I believe it was best as they might have Starv'd us out; & we had no hopes of Relief. The Adjutant, & Sargeant Major were wounded early in the Engagement, which made the Duty of Major very hard on Stephen—He had the Stockades Cut & Several Swivels fixt, during the Action to fire from the fort, examining the mens Arms, & Supplying them with Ammunitions, made his hands as black as a Negroe's, & guarding his face against the Thrusts (?) made his face as Black as his hands.

It is to be observed, that whilst the troops were Under Arms Upon the Alarm of the Centinel being Shot, at the dawn of the Morning—there fell so heavy a shower of Rain, that it set every thing afloat in the Encampm<sup>t</sup> which was in a natural meadow or dry marsh—This occasion'd Stephen to put on Shoes without Stockings in which trim he continued all the day of the Engag'n<sup>t</sup>.

The Weather was Showery, the ditches half full of Water, & fort half Leg deep of Mud, so that Stephen's duty as Major leading him every where: He was Wet; Muddy half thigh up; without Stockings, face & hands besmear'd with

I do not know if Mr. Ford quotes from the paper. Possibly he may have extrinsic evidence of Stephen's authorship of the letter.

An analysis of the text of the capitulation does not render it more easy to be understood how such a blunder could have been undesignedly made. The first article runs as follows: "Comme notre intention n'a jamais été de troubler la paix et la bonne harmonie qui régnoit entre les deux Princes, mais seulement de venger l'assassinat qui a été fait sur un de nos officiers, porteur d'un sommation," etc.

Two points at once occur on reading this. First. The word "assassinat" is so much like its English equivalent that it would probably suggest that rather than any other word to one unfamiliar with the language. Second. The context of the word points out its force; for one does not go out with an army in time of peace only to avenge the bearer of a summons, if that one is fairly and justly slain, nor can such a one be justly slain. If such words were even approximately translated, how could they have been heard without suspicion of their meaning by persons who, as Washington's Journal shows, were prepared for some such accusation?

powder, & in this pickle form'd the Men to march out of the Fort early in the Morning of the 4th according to Capitulation—The Enemy allow'd us to Carry off the Baggage, & to march out with the honours of War—Whilst Stephen was forming the men, His Servant cry'd out Major a Frenchman has Carried off your Cloaths—Stephen looking Round, observ'd the Corner of his port Mantua on a Frenchman Shoulder, he running into the Crowd—Stephen pursued & overtook him Seiz'd the portmantua, kicked the fellows back side & Return'd. Upon Seeing this two french Officers, observ'd to Stephen that [if] he Struck the Men & behaved So, they could not be answerable for the Capitulation Stephen damned the Capitulation, & Swore they had Broke it already. The Officers Observing such pertness in a dirty, half naked fellow, ask'd Stephen, if he was an Officer—Upon Which Stephen, made his Servant Open his portmantua, & put on a flaming suit of laced Regimentals Which in those cheap days cost thirty pistols—

The French Officers gazed at the flaming Regimentals, on Such a dirty fellow without Stockings, were extremely Complaisant, told us, as we had given hostages, we ought to get hostages of them; that they were very desirous of going to Virginia, as they understood there were a great many Belles Madammoiselle there—

Col. Washington resign'd a few months after this affair; the Command of the Virg. troops devolv'd on Stephen, & the Officers were employ'd in Recruiting (?) Untill March 1775 [1755] when Gen<sup>l</sup> Braddock Arriv'd.

To be Short, Braddock left the greatest part of his Army at the Little Meadows under Command of Col. Dunbar, & precipitately hurri'd on with about Eleven hundred men without provisions to supply him twelve days.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF ANN WARDER.

CONTRIBUTED BY SARAH CADBURY.

(Concluded from Vol. XVII. p. 461.)

*9th mo. 21st.*—At meeting a friend named Offley stood some time extraordinary;—they here think him equal to William Savery, but I do not or any one I ever heard. After dinner, at home, we prepared for tea at Sally Rawle's; called on Sister Hannah to accompany us, but she being not ready I called on two of her neighbors, which returns their visits at least for the present. We had a comfortable afternoon, Billy's sister Peggy Rawle met us, she has passed one meeting—the person full double her age though esteemed one of the first girls here. So thou see what a pitch they are got to for husbands in this country;—I scarce ever saw such strange matches as some.

*9th mo. 22d.*—After dinner prepared for a general ramble among my friends. First called on Hussy Fisher, who was rather unwell; then to Abijah Dawes, where I saw Sally; then to my much valued friend Sally Waln who was sitting very comfortably with Nicholas, who has not long returned from New England. After calling on Tommy Fisher went to James Pemberton's, whose wife has lately met with so severe loss in the death of Robert Morton. On the way home stopped at Uncle Head's, where was much company, and was given four bunches of grapes, with some of his best plums and peaches. I darned a place in my light calico gown torn some weeks ago, have had no time before to darn it, in which situation I have now a great heap of work that decreases very slowly through gossiping about, which is unavoidable without giving my kind friends offense, for the great number before I have got once around renders it necessary to begin again. It is a life I would not continue on any account, though here rather desirable, the



time, which without variety must appear much longer. It is a custom to visit here more than with us, and they destroy the social freedom of it by too much dressing.

*9th mo. 23d.*—Just as we dined brother and sister Vaux came in, but the afternoon being wet prevented us going to cousin Richard's. Johnny treated me today with a very friendly satin, the general wear in this country for young women.

*9th mo. 24th.*—Yearly Meeting begins to-day. Owing to the abundance of preaching it did not leave out until near one o'clock, uncle Storer as usual standing up late. We dined at Nicholas Walm's in company with their sister and two public Friends, one I understood was a physician from the country. How would he look along side of one of ours—instead of a great bushy wig and other appendages, his dress was mean and humble. We attended the half past two meeting, and at six o'clock Market street, where it was estimated 3000 were present.

*9th mo. 26th.*—At 10 o'clock went to the business meeting again. We dined at home—several of the Parkers from Darby, George and Rachel Valentine, Friend Baldwin, Ruth Rutter, Debby Williams, and several others. At 3 o'clock went to meeting again. Sammy Emlen came in and began in public testimony—that he met some girls walking the streets and asked after their families and was told “they are pretty well, thank *you*.” This introduced some close doctrine respecting not keeping to the plain language, which indeed it seems as if the young folks have almost forgotten here. In the afternoon with Lydia Parker walked to George Emlen's where I met sister Suky and Peggy Howell, and after tea Hannah Fisher, Caleb and Polly Emlen came in, and we spent a very pleasant evening. On the way home looked at Bingham's new house which causes much talk here being upon a new plan, but very ungenteel I think, as it much resembles some of our heavy public buildings—bow windows back and front, with figures of stucco work.

*9th mo. 27th.*—Sister Vaux and myself dined with friend



Pleasants. At three went to meeting of business in which very little was done—the men rather keeping what they have back, lest the women should finish and take some of their husbands out of town.

*9th mo. 29th.*—At meeting friend Nicholas Wain stood up and reprobated with much solemnity the practice of young people being suffered to intermix with improper company, which indeed is carried to an abominable extent in some parts of the country. Sister Vaux, Sally Parker, and myself went to Richard Vaux's to tea, where we met Sally Morris and my dear husband. Nancy is exceedingly free and sociable and has got the sweetest child I almost ever saw. Richard is an altered man, a very good husband, and does not assume the consequence he used to and does not spend so much unnecessary time decorating his person; they call him here a sloven, but I think this undeserved.

*10th mo. 8th.*—Went to Market street meeting which was very thin. Johnny and myself drank tea with Margaret Haines, Nancy Emlen and two friends, and went from there to evening meeting, which was very large. The women to-day commenced to wear winter clothing, though to me it is far from being cold. I however, put on a cloak not to appear singular, for some had long ones down to their toes, but no hoods, a lay down collar instead which would look very disagreeable to me but for the cape to their bonnet hiding the neck. Blacks are more worn here than with us—no browns except cloth.

*10th mo. 9th.*—After dinner Lydia, Sally and Becky and myself were conducted by my husband, Jerry Parker and Dr. Parke to the public library, which is an humble imitation of our British Museum. However, there were some things I was much pleased with, remarkable snakeskins and a medal of William Penn; we also viewed the books of paintings and other curiosities. From there we proceeded to the Hospital, which is chiefly inhabited by lunatics in cells on the lower floor of the house. The door-keeper is rather a curious character; he was a Friend and it is thought religion turned his brain. We next went to the Workhouse

which is an elegant building. It reminded me of Shore-ditch, but far superior, though the war prevented its being half completed. Sally Emlen and her sister, and Tommy Fisher and wife called this evening.

*10th mo. 18th.*—Prepared for a visit to Friend Norris, Sally and Lydia to accompany me. Isaac her oldest son recently returned from France, where he commenced Roman Catholic, which makes much talk here. His mother much of the gentlewoman but very deaf. They have a noble house and beautiful garden, which are rare in this city, and I know of no other except Chew's. After leaving there we called on George Emlen who has gout in the throat.

[From Tenth month 20 to 26 the diarist was attending Shrewsbury Meeting.]

*11th mo. 4th.*—Early in the forenoon Cousin Nelly Parker and self went shopping and visiting—called at Tommy Fisher's, Nicholas Waln's and Hessy Fisher's, which nearly finished the morning and we had only time before dinner to go to Richard Vaux's for some purple gloves. He has a very neat store much like our wholesale warehouses, only it contains a greater variety of goods.

*11th mo. 5th.*—Went to Market street meeting where Job Scott appeared with several others. Dined with brother Vaux at Billy Morris's on venison, the first I have eaten here, which I think preferable to ours, as the flavor is milder. At two attended meeting again where Daniel Offley held forth, and afterwards attended home Polly Wister, who is a daughter of our friend Waln's, lately married to Casper Wister's brother.

*11th mo. 6th.*—Cousin Lydia and myself drank tea with Sally Emlen's sister Hannah and Polly Fishbourne, and Betsy Wharton who with a cousin of theirs all live together in a pretty house which communicates with George's. Polly is soon to be united with Dr Griffith. Jonathan Mifflin, a young widower and Sally Emlen made up our company. Had a good supper of oysters, in that freedom which we only feel when at home.

*11th mo. 8th.*—We dined with Anne Giles, daughter to friend Clifford, her father and mother, with Tommy, John and wife, and brother and sister Warder. First rock fish, next mock turtle, ducks, ham and boiled turkey, with plenty of vegetables, and after these were removed, we had floating island, several kinds of pies with oranges and preserves. When we were well satisfied, left the men to their pipes and went up stairs to our chat, which related to apparitions, visions, and such strange things as I was hardly qualified to give my sentiments upon when asked. What the eye has never seen its hard sometimes to believe.

*11th mo. 9th.*—It being week day meeting we both attended. A marriage took place—the man a singular character, very plain and yet a great beau. It is said that he inquired for something finer than cambric for his wedding shirt and actually bought some of about 15s. a yard for collar and wristbands. Dined at James Pemberton's with uncle Storer and a young man lately from the West Indies named Thornton, who is eminent for his great understanding, being an author, and travelling now for information to publish a new book.

*11th mo. 10th.*—This morning most of the family busy preparing for a great dinner, two green turtles having been sent by Forbes & Stevens, of New Providence, to Johnny and to the firm. We concluded to dress them both together here and invited the whole family in. Aunt and uncle Hootton, uncle and aunt Baker, Uncle Head, Aunt Emlen, brother Jerry and wife, Caleb and wife, Billy Morris and wife, Jimmy Vaux and friend Sykes. We had a black woman to cook and an elegant entertainment it was—having three tureens of soup, the two shells baked besides several dishes of stew, with boned turkey, roast ducks, veal and beef. After these were removed the table was filled with two kinds of jellies, and various kinds of puddings, pies and preserves; and then almonds, raisins, nuts, apples and oranges. Twenty-four sat down at the table. I admired the activity of the lusty cook, who prepared everything herself, and charged for a day and a half but three dollars.



*11th mo. 27th.*—My husband passed a restless night [with gout]; I had waited on him closely all day. While I was down stairs a sweet looking young woman called to see the girls, who in a few days is to be married out of the Society to the great D<sup>r</sup> Hutchinson, many years older than herself and a widower with one son. Evident it is here that girls feel the scarcity of men or they would not sacrifice themselves. Johnny Head and Elliston Perot drank tea with us, in the evening George and Sally Emlen, Sammy Fisher and others called.

*11th mo. 28th.*—The bells early this morning sounding a solemn warning, which for deaths or burials they do by ringing them muffled. Conversing with William Backhouse I was much surprised to learn that the greatly talked of and much admired Dr. Thornton is a relative of my husband's,—little did I think so when I was in his company recently. Uncle Head and Billy and Sally Morris spent the evening with us. Sally had sent me for supper six of such oysters thou cans't form no idea of, two of them were sufficient for me.

*11th mo. 29th.*—We had several callers, among them Phineas Bond, who had just arrived from England. Capt. Huxley who arrived a few days since from Liverpool, took tea with us.

*11th mo. 30th.*—My dear husband had a better night, but is still unable to help himself. Uncle Head and D<sup>r</sup> Parke drank tea in Johnny's room, after which Polly Beveridge called and sat with us.

*12th mo. 2d.*—Our family reduced by Billy Parker going to Vaux Hill with brother James. D<sup>r</sup> Parke called. Jerry, Lydia and Sally invited to dine with D<sup>r</sup> Hutchinson and wife, which as they had been married by a priest would be hardly orthodox with us, but here much too many make no distinction, paying them just the same respect—calling the first three mornings to drink punch with the groom and the next week drinking tea with the bride. I think the evil consequences of mixed marriages are reduced in the view of some young minds, who perhaps become entangled in



this improper way at some of these places. They had a large company and superb entertainment. In the evening sister M—— came in when we had a long conversation on this subject, to which dress was introduced, when I warmly reprobated the too general practice of people here making such figures in the morning and when out such a show you scarcely know them. This being exactly *her* case; she pretended as an excuse, that it was very extravagant wearing long gowns to go about the house. I told her if my husband's circumstances would not afford me a good long gown, I had rather wear a common worsted one always, than like her sit at home not fit to be seen by man sometimes, and when out a Duchess could not be finer. She finding the whole company against her, the subject closed—my husband never goes to the house without giving her a rub. She wanted to retort upon Sally Morris, who she said dressed more than anybody.

*12th mo. 3rd.*—First day morning, weather cold, and myself scarcely stout enough to venture out; my dear husband more comfortable. After meeting Sally Fisher, Sally Walsh and Nancy Emlen called to see us—the latter remained and supped on mush with Johnny. Her innocent simplicity with good understanding makes her company very pleasing.

*12th mo. 4th.*—Johnny has had a good deal of pain. Elliston Perot, Dr Parke, Friend Pleasants and Molly Warder were all our company today. The weather bad, a great fall of snow.

*12th mo. 5th.*—My dear husband somewhat mended. The weather continues bad—some sleighs drove past the house which looked curious to me.

*12th mo. 6th.*—My best beloved able to walk with a little assistance to the window. Little Billy Morris last night had convulsions and continued in them for several hours, but today he is recovering fast. The cause proved to be from eating too many raw cranberries, many of which he swallowed whole. People here are not half attentive to children's food, they eat too many high seasoned and rich

things themselves and the dear babes partake with them. After dinner Jerry Parker took Sally, Lydia, with myself and son, out sleighing, which I found much more agreeable than expected. We met several parties starting out as we returned. This pastime is abused; large parties collect and riotly go together to taverns where they sup and return at all hours of the night.

*12th mo. 21st.*—On coming home to dinner found sister Morris had desired my company to dinner, therefore went there and dined on nice partridge pie, soon after which Lydia and I went out shopping. I had better success than on a former occasion—wanting a piece of purple ribbon to let out a mitt, went to fifteen shops before obtaining it. Bought silk for a new light bonnet, gloves and Barcelona handkerchiefs, having an intimation that we were to be invited to Elliston Perot's wedding, and I may also want them to pay visits to several brides.

*12th mo. 25th.*—Our Christmas dinner consisted of a fine saddle of venison, with other things.

1787.

*1 mo. 5th.*—Went to sister Morris's with mother and Lydia and remained to tea and supper. We had terrapin, a small kind of turtle, so much resembling toads, that I could not eat it, though Billy and Sally enjoyed it as the greatest dainty. I learned that D<sup>r</sup> Wister had arrived at New York, by whom I expect to receive letters.

*1 mo. 6th.*—Heard that D<sup>r</sup> Wister lodged last night at Bristol. During the night our kitchen was robbed of various things ironed and left to dry—how provoking. After tea we were surprised by a visit from D<sup>r</sup> Wister, whose joy in seeing me was as great as my gratitude for his early call, knowing his many friends and especially his fair one, were anxious for his company. He met my husband in New York and handed to him the letters he brought for me, as he expected he would reach home before he did.

*1 mo. 9th.*—A dull wet morning and bad prospect for Elliston Perot's wedding guests, however, having the use of

George Emlen's carriage, it was not of consequence to us. At the meeting house door met Richard and Nancy Vaux,—the former returned from Virginia last night after an absence of seven weeks. On entering found most of the wedding company present, among whom I sat. Cousin Betsy Roberts first said a few words, then honest Robert Willis, soon after which Betsy appeared in supplication and William Savery followed with a long and fine testimony. The bride and groom performed, the latter exceedingly well, and the former very bad. Meeting closed early when the couple signed the certificate, the woman taking upon her her husband's name. We then proceeded to Elliston's house but a short distance from the meeting, where about forty-eight friends were assembled. We were ushered up stairs, where cake and wine were served, and Joey Sansom in helping with two decanters of Bitters, and glasses on a waiter, spilt the wine over his sister's wedding garments, much to his embarrassment. The next disaster was, that some of the fresh paint ruined a number of gowns. At two o'clock we were summoned to dinner and all were seated at a horse-shoe shaped table except Cousin John Head, Jacob Downing and Billy Sansom, who were grooms-men and waited on us. The bridesmaids were Sally Drinker, her cousin Polly Drinker, and a young woman named Sykes. Jacob Downing has long courted Sally Drinker and it is now likely to be a match in the Spring report says—She is a cheerful, clever girl and he an agreeable young man. We had an abundant entertainment—almost every thing that the season produced. After dinner we adjourned up stairs, and chatted away the afternoon, the young folks innocently cheerful and the old ones not less so. Tea was made in another room and sent to us. At nine o'clock we were called to supper, after which the guests prepared to return to their homes.

*1 mo. 10th.*—After breakfast I examined my clothes and spent near the whole forenoon in removing the paint of last night. Drank tea with the bride Polly Griffiths, where I met Polly Beveridge, Sally Fisher, Sally Emlen, Dr Rush's



wife, D<sup>r</sup> Hall, George Fox, Polly Emlen, Sally Wister, and Hannah Fisher.

*1 mo. 13th.*—Before dinner I went to my husband's room and found him preparing to accompany his brother Jerry to his country place about fourteen miles from here, which distressed me not a little. Nothing that I could say would prevail, he was determined and resolute, for with such a cold and exposing himself to the cutting cold wind, besides going into a damp house and bed, caused fear which I cannot express. After dinner visited friend Armat, who is rather an ancient widow, where I met Benedict Dorsey's wife, who related to me what Friends' situation was in the first settlement of this country; when the men and women toiled together to clear the land, without being able to procure what we esteem the common necessaries of life. One day a worthy woman returning from her labor to provide something for her own and companions' dinner, and remembering that she had not nor could obtain nothing but very ordinary bread sat down and wept. A favorite cat came to her repeatedly which induced her to follow her into the woods, where she found that the animal had killed a fine fat rabbit, on which all dined.

*1 mo. 16th.*—Friend Waln, from the Jerseys and Friend Morton called to see me, the latter to engage us to dine with them on fifth day. Near tea time three young women named Wister called to see the girls, two of whom are counted remarkably sensible, but one I think knows it. One of them who was bridesmaid for Polly Griffiths is rather plain, but of fine understanding with easy manners, which her sisters want. They remained until eight o'clock when I returned to my letters.

*1 mo. 18th.*—Sally Gilpin called and accompanied me to Friend Morton's, where were her sister Lewis, Hetty Eddy, Phebe Lewis, and George Eddy; D<sup>r</sup> Wister and my husband and son soon joined us. D<sup>r</sup> Wister was exceedingly cheerful and full of gossip, keeping most of the company in a constant laugh. We enjoyed a free, sociable and pleasant visit.



2 mo. 19th.—Called on Debby Morris, who though an old maid has had her portion of care and trouble, being seldom without some one at her house who requires much of her, among them that much to be lamented woman Betsy Gallo-way's mother, who in all probability fell a victim to disappointment and distress. When her husband was driven from this city, she was prevailed upon by her friends not to stir, with the hope this would prove the means of securing her property. But alas! this was a mistaken idea, for the opposite party came and drove her out of her house by main force, she resolutely objecting to walk. A Friend having a carriage ready at the door took her to his house where she continued about three months and then came here.

2 mo. 28th. [At Burlington, New Jersey.]—On our return to our quarters D<sup>r</sup> Wister called from his visit to Richard Waln's, whose poor wife is dangerously ill. He soon got into one of his talkative, merry moods, delighted in teasing me about the few beautiful women England has produced—he is blinded of course with love for Betty Marshall, so how could he think that a country that did not contain her agreeable. We sat together until eleven o'clock when he went to his lodgings.

3 mo. 30th.—The convicts here have recently been condemned to hard labor instead of execution, and now clean the streets. They have an iron collar around their neck and waist to which a long chain is fastened and at the end a heavy ball. As they proceed with their work this is taken up and thrown before them. Their clothing is a mixture of dark blue and brown stuff; their heads shaved; they wear parti colored woolen caps, so that an attempt to escape would early be discovered. A guard accompanies each gang. At first the prisoners were much averse to this shameful exposure, and preferred death to it. Two things I think need regulating, suffering people to talk to them, and to prevent their receiving money.

[Seventh month 26, 1787, the diarist left Philadelphia for New York to embark for England, and returned Tenth month 3, 1788.]

1788.

*10th mo. 5th.*—Anxious to see my destined habitation, we arose and went before breakfast—It is just about half a mile from mother's; too great a distance in some respects. The house pleased me, being exceedingly convenient, though larger than I wished, it having four rooms on a floor—Kitchen, counting house and two parlors on the first floor, eight bed rooms and two garrets. Many handy closets. A small yard and beyond it another with grass plot, good stable and chaise house, so that I see every prospect of our being comfortable. Came home to dinner; after tea Alithea and her husband called, and later William Savery to smoke a pipe with my beloved.

*10th mo. 9th.*—Meeting morning. The marriage of Nancy Emlen is to be accomplished to Warner Mifflin, an eminent Friend, but yet apparently an unsuitable husband for her having five children, the oldest eighteen, and living eighty miles from here in an unhealthy part of the country. After signing our names we returned home and found George Eddy, Dr Bush, the famous young man for cancers, who has performed wonderful cures, and George Hopkins, a son of Alderman Hopkins of London.

*10th mo. 11th.*—Went to market at six o'clock to procure provisions towards housekeeping, which diverted my friends very much. The difference in the prices of things here and London is striking: the best pieces of beef  $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb.; Mutton, 18d. for a hindquarter. After breakfast purchased hand irons, to use for burning wood, all the chimneys being too low for stoves; some glass ware &c.

*10th mo. 14th.*—Arose early and sent off the balance of our things at mother's, and after breakfast went to our house. We had for dinner a rump of beef, apple pie and vegetables. My husband seemed to think he had not for a long time eat a sweeter morsel, and I also felt comfortable, but not so much so as hope to be when things are more settled. Only one bed up so the children had to sleep on the floor in the same room with us. Lydia and Sally Parker, John Skiron,

Patty Dearman, Uncle Baker and son Richard, and cousin John Head, called to see us.

*10th mo. 22d.*—Went to market with my servant James. At supper we had George Russell, William Poyntell and wife, and at eleven we parted, quite an unseasonable hour for Philadelphia, ten o'clock being the time for all sober folks to be housed.

*10th mo. 24th.*—Sally and Becky Parker to breakfast. After dinner Abijah and Sally Daws with Friend Gilpin in their light wagon called to take my little ones a ride. • When they returned Uncle Head and Phineas Bond called, the latter now considered a great man here. I apologised for being such a figure at that time of day, when he politely replied that he always thought a fine English woman a good figure. Susan and Friend Logan to supper.

*10th mo. 27th.*—Today at dinner I entertained my fellow passengers. We had roast turkey, a tongue laid in mashed potatoes, whip'd sallybubs, oyster pie, boiled leg of pork, bread pudding and tarts. We had an early dish of tea for the old folks who left escorted by my husband.

## PARTIAL ROSTER OF OFFICERS UNDER WASHINGTON, JULY, 1778.

[In the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is a folio manuscript volume, "Abstracts of Muster-Rolls," prepared by direction of Deputy Muster-Master-General William Bradford, Jr., which contains the names of the field-officers and officers commanding companies, with the strength of each company and regiment. This valuable book, the cover of which is largely composed of muster-rolls dated at Valley Forge, gives the musters for the months of June, July, August, September, and October of 1778 and January of 1779. We have copied the muster for July of 1778, as it is in a more perfect condition than any of the others, and we have also retained the original spelling of the names of the officers, preferring to make a *verbatim* copy.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

## NORTH CAROLINA.

*First Regiment.*—Colonel, Thomas Clark; Lieutenant-Colonel, — Mabane; Major, Ashe; Captains, Tatum, Dixon, Bowman, Read, McRees, Moore; Commissioned officers, 26; staff, 4; non-commissioned and privates, 658.

*Second Regiment.*—Colonel, John Patten; Lieutenant-Colonel, Harney; Major, Murpee; Captains, Englis, Tenner, Coleman, Hall, Armstrong, Williams; Commissioned officers, 27; staff, 5; non-commissioned and privates, 647.

## DELAWARE.

*Delaware Battalion.*—Colonel, David Hall; Captains, Patten, Anderson, Leavmonth, Kirkwood, Jaquett; Lieutenants, Wilson, Powell, Rhodes; Commissioned officers, 29; staff, 5; non-commissioned and privates, 351.

## AT LARGE.

*Lieutenant-Colonel, Aaron Burr*; Captains, Tom, Sandford, Hallet; Lieutenants, Dove, Neely; Commissioned officers, 11; staff, 5; non-commissioned and privates, 88.

*Major, William Harrison*; Captains, Wikoff, Burrows,



Forman, Combs; Commissioned officers, 6; staff, 2; non-commissioned and privates, 73.

*Colonel, Oliver Spencer*; Captains, Brodrick, Weatherby, Striker, Edsell, Pierson, Bommel; Lieutenants, Meiker, Ogden; Commissioned officers, 14; staff, 4; non-commissioned and privates, 157.

#### NEW HAMPSHIRE.

*First Regiment.*—Colonel, Joseph Cilley; Captains, Taswell, Scott, Fry, Hutcheson, Wail, House, Emmerson, Morrell; Commissioned officers, 26; staff, 4; non-commissioned and privates, 476.

*Second Regiment.*—Major, Benjamin Titcomb; Captains, Drew, Carr, Norris, Rowell, Clay, Blodgett, Robinson; Lieutenant, Hardy; Commissioned officers, 27; staff, 3; non-commissioned and privates, 368.

*Third Regiment.*—Colonel, Alexander Scammell; Captains, Livermore, Gray, Weiser, Fry, Stone, McClary, Bealls, Ellis; Commissioned officers, 26; staff, 3; non-commissioned and privates, 333.

*Independent Corps.*—Captain, Selir; Commissioned officers, 5; non-commissioned and privates, 44.

#### CONNECTICUT.

*First Regiment.*—Colonel, Heman Swift; Captains, Woodbridge, Watson, Hill, Converse, Beardsly, Chapman, Hale, Steven; Commissioned officers, 25; staff, 4; non-commissioned and privates, 398.

*Second Regiment.*—Lieutenant-Colonel, Isaac Sherman; Captains, Parsons, Beebe, Manning, Hinkly, Betts, Walbridge, Mills, Parker; Commissioned officers, 16; staff, 5; non-commissioned and privates, 289.

*Third Regiment.*—Major, David Sill; Captains, Haney, Troop, Shumway, Ely, Perkins, Richards, Darrow, Home; Commissioned officers, 23; staff, 5; non-commissioned and privates, 434.

*Fourth Regiment.*—Colonel, Philip Bradley; Captains, Strong, Lacey, Wright, Sandford, Prior, Catlin, Childs,

Harts; Commissioned officers, 23; staff, 4; non-commissioned and privates, 386.

*Fifth Regiment.*—Major, Joseph Hait; Captains, Monson, Brown, Rice, Brigham, Sandford, Smith, Comstock, Mattocks; Commissioned officers, 21; staff, 4; non-commissioned and privates, 336.

*Sixth Regiment.*—Colonel, John Durkee (2 companies detached); Captains, Bacon, Fitch, McGuire, Lee, Webb, Bile, Hallam, Harmar; Commissioned officers, 26; staff, 5; non-commissioned and privates, 348.

#### NEW YORK.

*First Regiment.*—Colonel, Goose Van Schaick; Captains, Finch, Hicks, Sherwood, Hogkish, Copp, McCracky, Graham, Wendall; Commissioned officers, 28; staff, 5; non-commissioned and privates, 454.

*Second Regiment.*—Colonel, Philip Cortlandt; Captains, Wright, TenEyck, (late) Graham, Riker, (late) Hallet, Pell, Lounsbury; Lieutenant, French; Commissioned officers, 23; staff, 4; non-commissioned and privates, 413.

*Fourth Regiment.*—Colonel, Henry Livingston; Captains, Titus, Sackett, Gray, Strong, Smith, Walker, Davis; Lieutenant, Ellsworth; Commissioned officers, 20; staff, 4; non-commissioned and privates, 383.

#### RHODE ISLAND.

*Second Regiment.*—Colonel, Israel Angell; Captains, C. Olney, S. Olney, Dexter, Potter, Humphreys, Tew, Hughes, Allen (Detach. of Col. Green); Commissioned officers, 27; staff, 4; non-commissioned and privates, 469.

#### PENNSYLVANIA.

*First Regiment.*—Colonel, James Chambers; Captains, Grier, Buchanan, Wilson, Hamilton, Simpson, Doyle, Craig, Wilson, Parr; Lieutenant, Hughes; Commissioned officers, 25; staff, 2; non-commissioned and privates, 331.

*Second Regiment.*—Colonel, Walter Stewart; Lieutenant-Colonel, Henry Miller; Major, Murray; Captains, Marshall,

Ashmead, Howell, Bankson, Tolbert, Patterson; Commissioned officers, 24; staff, 3; non-commissioned and privates, 437.

*Third Regiment.*—Colonel, Thomas Craig; Captains, Craig, Moore, S. Moore, Butler, Rees, Christie, Holling, Epple; Commissioned officers, 12; staff, 4; non-commissioned and privates, 204.

*Fourth Regiment.*—Lieutenant-Colonel, William Butler; Captains, Connelly, Means, Burd, Williams, McGowan, Fishburn, Scull, Gray; Commissioned officers, 19; staff, 3; non-commissioned and privates, 217.

*Fifth Regiment.*—Colonel, Francis Johnston; Captains, Oldham, Christy, Smith, McHenry, Gregg, Seely, Potts, Bond, Bartholomew; Commissioned officers, 24; staff, 2; non-commissioned and privates, 300.

*Sixth Regiment.*—Colonel, Josiah Harmar; Captains, Mouser, Cruise, McCowan, Waugh, Humph, Bower, —; Commissioned officers, 15; staff, 5; non-commissioned and privates, 194.

*Seventh Regiment.*—Colonel, William Irvine; Captains, Bratton, Wilson, Alexander, J. Alexander, Parker, Montgomery, Irwin, Miller; Commissioned officers, 26; staff, 1; non-commissioned and privates, 201.

*Ninth Regiment.*—Colonel, Richard Butler; Captains, Bowen, Irwin, Davis, Henderson, Grant, McClellan; Lieutenant, Bickham; Commissioned officers, 21; staff, 5; non-commissioned and privates, 210.

*Tenth Regiment.*—Colonel, Richard Hampton; Lieutenant-Colonel, Hubley; Major, Grier; Captains, Stake, Lang, Sample, Weaver, Stout, Colhoon; Commissioned officers, 22; staff, 3; non-commissioned and privates, 342.

*Twelfth Regiment.*—(Late William Cook); Captains, McElhatton, Lincoln, Patterson, Bohn, Miller, Ruby; Commissioned officers, 9; staff, 4; non-commissioned and privates, 146.

#### NEW JERSEY.

*First Regiment.*—Colonel, Mathias Ogden; Captains, Mead, Piatt, Polhemus, Longstreet, Morrison, Baldwin, Angell;

Lieutenant, D. Hart; Commissioned officers, 22; staff, 5; non-commissioned and privates, 532.

*Second Regiment.*—Colonel, Israel —; Captains, Redding, Hollingshead, Sparks, Holmes, Cummings, Lucy, one company wanting; Commissioned officers, 20; staff, 5; non-commissioned and privates, 365.

*Third Regiment.*—Colonel, Elias Dayton; Captains, Ballard, Ross, Anderson, Patterson, Grifford (vacant), Cox, Mott; Commissioned officers, 23; staff, 4; non-commissioned and privates, 473.

*Fourth Regiment.*—Colonel, Ephraim Martin; Captains, Anderson, Mitchell, Lyon, Forman; Lieutenants, Johnston, Lloyd, Barton; Commissioned officers, 19; staff, 5; non-commissioned and privates, 321.

#### MARYLAND.

*First Regiment.*—Colonel, John H. Stone; Captains, Gaither, Roxburgh, Ewing, Winder; Lieutenants, Smith, Bruce, Farnadis, Peal; Commissioned officers, 19; staff, 5; non-commissioned and privates, 374.

*Second Regiment.*—Colonel, Thomas Price; Captains, Anderson, Long, Davidson, Eccleston, Williams, Dent, Dorsey; Lieutenant, Hardman; Commissioned officers, 16; staff, 4; non-commissioned and privates, 526.

*Third Regiment.*—Colonel, Mordecai Gist; Captains, Smith, Gist, Brice, Griffiths, Marbury, Brooks; Lieutenants, Armstrong, Deaver, Clagett, Smith; Commissioned officers, 31; staff, 6; non-commissioned and privates, 461.

*Fourth Regiment.*—Colonel, Josiah C. Hall; Captains, Oldham, Selman, Lansdale, Goodman, Burgess, Smith, Norwood; Lieutenants, Reilly, Smith; Commissioned officers, 23; staff, 5; non-commissioned and privates, 517.

*Fifth Regiment.*—Colonel, William Richardson; Captains, Hawkins, Hardey, Lynch, Johnston; Lieutenants, Hamilton, Emory, Hand; Ensign, Jones; Commissioned officers, 19; staff, 5; non-commissioned and privates, 457.

*Sixth Regiment.*—Colonel, Otho Williams; Captains, Harris, Hyres, Dobson, D. Beal, Lawrence, Freeman, Myle,



Ghislin ; Commissioned officers, 20 ; staff, 5 ; non-commissioned and privates, 391.

*Seventh Regiment.*—Colonel, John Gumby ; Captains, Jones, Stull, Spyker, Grost, Morris, Bayley, Anderson ; Lieutenant, Beatty ; Commissioned officers, 23 ; staff, 4 ; non-commissioned and privates, 369.

*German Battalion.*—Lieutenant-Colonel, Ludwig Weltner ; Captains, Hubley, Bunner, Boyer, Baltzell ; Lieutenants, Cramer, Rice, Shugart, Boyer, Meyer ; Commissioned officers, 20 ; staff, 4 ; non-commissioned and privates, 385.

#### VIRGINIA.

*First Regiment.*—Colonel, Richard Parker ; Captains, Minnes, Conyngham, Lawson, Lewis ; Commissioned officers, 22 ; staff, 5 ; non-commissioned and privates, 243.

*Second Regiment.*—Colonel, Christian Febiger ; Captains, Harrison, McCalmis, Taylor, W. Taylor, Willis, Upshaw, Holmes, Parker ; Commissioned officers, 23 ; staff, 5 ; non-commissioned and privates, 253.

*Third and Seventh Regiments.*—Lieutenant-Colonel, William Heath ; Captains, Young, Hill, Blackwell, Peyton, Lipscomb, Powell, Brisco ; Captain-Lieutenant, Baylor ; Lieutenant, Sayres ; Commissioned officers, 27 ; staff, 9 ; non-commissioned and privates, 556.

*Fourth and Twelfth Regiments.*—Colonel, James Wood ; Lieutenant-Colonel, Nevil ; Major, Clark ; Captains, Lapsley, Still, Wall, Kirkpatrick, Waggoner, Croghan, Bowyer ; Commissioned officers, 30 ; staff, 13 ; non-commissioned and privates, 752.

*Fifth Regiment.*—Colonel, Joseph Parkes ; Captains, Fowler, Anderson, Colston, Fauntleroy ; Commissioned officers, 23 ; staff, 4 ; non-commissioned and privates, 182.

*Sixth Regiment.*—Colonel, John Gibson ; Commissioned officers, 17 ; staff, 5 ; non-commissioned and privates, 85.

*Ninth Regiment.*—Lieutenant-Colonel, Burgess Ball ; Commissioned officers, 10 ; staff, 1 ; non-commissioned and privates, 53.

*Tenth Regiment.*—Colonel, John Greene ; Captains, Shel-

ton, West, Stephens, Mountjoy, Spotswood, Blackwell, Gil-  
lison ; Lieutenant, Lamne ; Commissioned officers, 23 ; staff,  
4 ; non-commissioned and privates, 380.

*Eleventh and Fifteenth Regiments.*—Colonel, David Meson ;  
Captains, Porterfield, Gregory, Ree, Gray ; Colonel, Crop-  
per ; Major, Wallace ; Captains, Will, Johnston ; Commis-  
sioned officers, 26 ; staff, 10 ; non-commissioned and  
privates, 584.

*Fourteenth Regiment.*—Colonel, William Davis ; Captains,  
Conway, Reid, Robert, Winston, Overton, Marks, Jones,  
Thweat ; Commissioned officers, 26 ; staff, 4 ; non-commis-  
sioned and privates, 390.

*First State Regiment.*—Colonel, George Gibson ; Captains,  
Brown, Hamilton, Ewell, T. Ewell, Shields, Valentine,  
Armistead, Crump, Hoffler, Nicholas ; Commissioned offi-  
cers, 29 ; staff, 4 ; non-commissioned and privates, 329.

*Second State Regiment.*—Colonel, Gregory Smith ; Captains,  
Spiller, Dudley, Talifero, Quarles, Busse, Garnet, Barnard,  
Lewis ; Commissioned officers, 26 ; staff, 4 ; non-commis-  
sioned and privates, 418.

*At Large.*—Colonel, John Parke ; Captains, Bicker,  
Prowel, Keen, Dennis, Grubb, Redman ; Commissioned  
officers, 16 ; staff, 2 ; non-commissioned and privates, 89.  
[Captain McLean's company not mustered.]

*At Large.*—Colonel, William Grayson ; Captains, Mitchell,  
Smith, Triplett, Jones, Moore, McGuire, Smallwood, Willis,  
(late) Grant ; Commissioned officers, 17 ; staff, 3 ; non-com-  
missioned and privates, 189.

#### MASSACHUSETTS.

*First Regiment.*—Colonel, Thomas Marshall ; Captains,  
Wolcut, Soper, Warner, Marshall, Smith, Thomas, King,  
Wales ; Commissioned officers, 25 ; staff, 5 ; non-commis-  
sioned and privates, 277.

*Second Regiment.*—Colonel, G. Bradford ; Captains, Wads-  
worth, Cooper, Warner, Marshall, Smith, Thomas, King,  
Wales ; Commissioned officers, 22 ; staff, 5 ; non-commis-  
sioned and privates, 311.

*Third Regiment.*—Colonel, Benjamin Tupper; Captains, Thorne, Maybury, Farnum, White, Wheelright, Page, Porter, Greenleaf; Commissioned officers, 30; staff, 5; non-commissioned and privates, 342.

*Fourth Regiment.*—Colonel, Samuel Brewer; Captains, Watkins, Burbank, Jenkins, Merrel, Stones, Chadwick, Donnel, Brewer; Commissioned officers, 29; staff, 5; non-commissioned and privates, 313.

*Fifth Regiment.*—Colonel, James Wesson; Captains, Pettingill, Child, Bartlet, Blanchard, Cogswell, Ward, Dix; Commissioned officers, 22; staff, 5; non-commissioned and privates, 336.

*Sixth Regiment.*—Colonel, John Bailey; Captains, Darby, Maxwell, Drew, Alden, Dunham, Burr, Allen, Warren; Commissioned officers, 24; staff, 5; non-commissioned and privates, 384.

*Seventh Regiment.*—Colonel, Michael Jackson; Captains, Keith, Burnam, Brown, Varnum, Wiley, Cleveland, Eb. Cleveland, Bancroft; Commissioned officers, 25; staff, 4; non-commissioned and privates, 315.

*His Excellency's Body-Guard.*—Captain, Gibbs; Commissioned officers, 4; staff, 1; non-commissioned and privates, 148.

#### LIGHT DRAGOONS.

*Colonel, Stephen Moylan;* Captains, Moore, Plunket, Hopkins, Heard, Pike, Gray; Commissioned officers, 15; staff, 5; non-commissioned and privates, 187.

*Colonel, Theo. Bland;* Captains, Jones, Belfield, Call, Harrison, Dandridge; Commissioned officers, 15; staff, 5; non-commissioned and privates, 165.

*Colonel, George Blaylor;* Captains, Lewis, Jones, Smith, Cad. Jones; Commissioned officers, 15; staff, 6; non-commissioned and privates, 129.

#### ARTILLERY.

*Colonel, Ch. Harrison;* Captains, Brown, —, —, Dandridge, Singleton, Carter, Pendleton, Henry, Baylop, Eddens;

Commissioned officers, 42; staff, 5; non-commissioned and privates, 342.

*Colonel, John Crane*; Captains, Burbeck, Eustice, Wills, Trothengha, Sergeant, Treadwell, Seward; Commissioned officers, 36; staff, 2; non-commissioned and privates, 295.

*Colonel, John Lamb*; Captains, Lee, Jnoa. Gibb, Clark, Randall, Porter, Doughty, Bauman, Mansfield; Commissioned officers, 34; staff, —; non-commissioned and privates, 203.



LIEUTENANT-COLONEL PERSIFOR FRAZER, OF PENNSYLVANIA, DID NOT BREAK HIS PAROLE.

“September 21, 1893.

“TO THE EDITOR OF THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE :

“DEAR SIR,—In turning over the just-issued number of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE for October, 1893, I find the second instalment of an article by Mr. W. C. Ford, called ‘British and American Prisoners of War.’ On page 320 occurs a list of officers ‘taken from the return of these who deserted their parole.’ I do not know the origin of the documents which Mr. Ford is printing, but of the falsity of the statement, so far as it concerns my great-grandfather, I have the most abundant proofs.

“I send with this copies of three documents (the originals are in my possession) which, in connection with papers heretofore published and bearing on this old and short-lived controversy, will set every doubt at rest. The evidence of the following facts is conclusive. First, that no paroles were signed by Colonel Frazer and Major Williams. Second, that in the cases where paroles were actually signed by officers on condition that they would be released from confinement, they were not so released, but, on the contrary, held more strictly than ever; while at the same time, in spite of their demands and protests, their paroles were not returned to them. Third, this latter violation of the agreement by the captors vitiated the contract and released the prisoners from the promise contained in their paroles. Fourth, on the escape of Colonel Frazer and Major Hannum from Philadelphia, they made their way to the head-quarters of General Washington, where, ‘upon a just and particular account of the circumstances’ of their confinement and escape before his Excellency, Lord Stirling, and a number of other gentlemen of the army, the escape was unanimously pronounced in every respect justifiable.

“I would suggest that where papers involving charges of

this kind are printed, a foot-note be added explaining the circumstance; or if the author of the paper be ignorant of the facts, that he proceed on the assumption, in the absence of proof to the contrary, that the Continental officers were men of honor and gentlemen, and that he explain to the readers the unfriendly origin of the statement.

“Very truly,

“PERSIFOR FRAZER.”

Found among General Frazer's papers.

“I the subscriber assistant Commissary of Prisoners do declare upon oath, that on or about the 25th of Feby. last. I received Orders from Mr. Gordon, Surgeon attending the prisoners to take several officers on their parole at Sick Quarters into confinement, among which number was Lt. Col. Frazer and Major Williams whom I accordingly informed, that by the Doctors orders they were ordered into confinement, but at the same time told them, that the officers having now the privilege of their parole to remain in the Swan tavern they might either go there on giving their parole for that purpose or return into confinement that they agreed willingly to go to the Swan on the terms prescribed to the others, that I did in consequence of this fill up paroles for Lt. Col. Frazer and Major Williams in their presence but whether those paroles were signed by one or both of those Officers or what afterwards became of those paroles I cannot fully recollect, duty calling me away at that time, but must nevertheless think they were signed and left on the table by mistake or through hurry and that the aforesaid Lt. Col. Frazer and Major Williams remained in the said Golden Swan three weeks before they Broke their Paroles, as did Col. Hannum who broke his Parole at the same time and whose parole is present

“WM. SERRETT

“*Ass. Comy.*

“Sworn this 26th day of March, 1778 before me

“DANIEL COXE

[Copy.]

“*Mg. Police*”

“I the subscriber do declare upon Oath that Lieut. Col. Frazer and Major Williams prisoners of War to the Kings Army did remain three weeks or thereabouts in a house call'd the Golden Swan in this City with a number of prisoners on Parole—That the said Frazer and Williams were understood by me to all intents and purposes as upon parole, my assistant having assured me that their paroles were duly taken, that they were well informed of every circumstance relating to the Nature of the parole granted to the other Officers in said House, which I had fully explained in the presence and hearing of the said Frazer and Williams neither of whom expressed any objections nor dissatisfaction with the Conditions thereof, though a few others did and were consequently depriv'd of the advantage of the parole but notwithstanding this the above named Frazer and Williams have furtively absented themselves from said house, in breach of those ties of Honor ever held sacred by Gentlemen.

“ W. HUGH FERGUSON.

“Sworn this 26th day of March 1778 before me

“ DANL. COXE.

“ *Mg. Police*”

[Copy.]

Rough draft in the handwriting of Colonel Frazer, and probably addressed to the Military Board which he requested to make inquiry into the circumstances.

“SIRS

“I have just been inform'd that the British Commissioners have made a demand that I shall be delivered up, alleging that I have made my escape from Philada. being on *Parole*. I will in as concise a manner as possible mention the transactions and leave it to you, them, & the World to Judge whether I have in the least punctilio deviated from the Character of a Gentleman & American Officer.

“I had been in close confinement in the State House and New Gaol near four Months; for want of my Usual Exercise and the extreme badness of the air in the latter place,



I was afflicted with an obstruction in my Lungs, on my frequent application to the physician who attended the prisoners, he, (after I had taken Medicine near 2 Weeks) recommended me to Sick Quarters in the City. I signed my Parole for that purpose about the 20th January, & though the parole specified my being restricted to the limits of the City I had notwithstanding private instructions from a Deputy of Mr. Ferguson that I was not to leave my lodgings, though moderate exercise was absolutely necessary for my recovery——

“I remain'd in this situation until the 28th February when I received notice from the afores'd deputy that he had orders to put me again into confinement, he indulg'd me till 3 o'Clock that afternoon when with another Gentleman in the same circumstances, I went to the Golden Swan in third Street, and was received by Mr. Deputy & ordered to our Room up Stairs. Into this House abt 10 days before a Number of Officers had been removed from the New Gaol, upon their signing their Parole not to leave the House without leave; many favours and indulgences being promised them by Mr. Ferguson as I was informed by them but the restrictions were here much greater than they had been either at the State house or Gaol. The Moment I became acquainted with their situation I determined not to sign a parole under such disgracefull circumstances; but fortunately for myself & some others, a parole was not demanded of us, yet it must have been intirely through neglect, for every other Officer who was ordered in from their quarters in the City, their Paroles were imediately demanded— In this situation I remained 17 days & would have made my escape much sooner but that I understood an Exchange of Prisoners was likely to take place, but when we were informed by Mr. Ferguson that this illusion had vanished I proposed to make use of the first opportunity to escape which I thank God I have effected—without any kind of dishonour to myself or my Country. The parole which I signed on being admitted to Lodgings in the City for the benefit of my Health is now made use of most basely & un-



generously, to stigmatize my character and serve as a pretext to justify the Cruel treatment of many worthy Officers now confined in Philada. Mr. Ferguson is not ignorant that he or his deputy's has or had two, three & four paroles in their possession at one time, for separate Officers, who had been admitted for the benefit of their health at divers times into the City, & which I have frequently heard them demand of him and his deputy without effect, when they have afterwards been brought into confinement, and should any of them escape from the New Gaol he might with as much propriety charge them with a breach of Honor as me.—The Golden Swan was to every intent a prison, Centrys were fixed in the front and Rear of the House with orders to suffer no person to speak to the prisoners, neither to speak with them themselves, they had their Bayonets fix'd & constantly loaded their pieces at sun set. Our nearest connexions & acquaintances were refused the satisfaction of speaking with us.—And it was often with much difficulty our Victuals & Cloathing could be brought to the end of the alley, that led to the Passage to our apartments, & then both examined in the strictest manner for fear of intelligence being convey'd, Many of the Officers have been treated with the grossest insult by the guard. A stinking stable yard to walk in a few at a time, & looking out of the door and windows were all the Liberty, we were suffer'd to take & the Town Major was heard the day I left them to reprimand the Sergeant for suffering “those Fellows” (as he called Us) “to have *so much* Liberty,”—A few days after my confinement in the House, my Wife came to Philada. I wrote to Mr. Ferguson for Liberty to see her, which he informed me was not in his power to grant though I had been indulged in a similar request by the Officer of the guard when in the New Gaol. Mr. Ferguson cannot forget this, and yet he would insinuate I was under parole, Neither parole nor any Conditions whatever were demanded of me and out of upwards of Sixty there were but three or four of Us in that situation, who all happend to be ordered into confinement the same day—Surely He cannot be serious if

he means that I was bound by Parole dated about the 20th January. I apprehend any Gentleman of Candor either Friend or Foe will be of the opinion that the moment I was confined it was no longer in the least obligatory.—The facts here stated are most scrupulously true & am sorry to add that this charge should be made use of among many others equally groundless, to justify at different times the severe treatment of many worthy Gentlemen now in confinement in Philada. And I do with pleasure mention that during Six Months that I was a prisoner I never knew an Officer make a bad use of any indulgence and I was well acquainted with their transactions—”

Copy of affidavit of Colonel Frazer (probably read before the Board of Inquiry).

“I Persifor Frazer late Lieutenant Colonel of the fifth Pennsylvania Regimt. do declare that being a prisoner in the New Gaol when the Enemy were in possession of Philada. in company with Colonel John Hannum & several other American Officers that abt. the 20th day of January 1778 I obtain'd a parole to go to Sick Quarters in the City my health being impaired—that I remained in that situation untill about the last of Feby. followg. that during this time the other Gentlemen who were in confinement with me obtain'd Liberty as I was inform'd to go to the Swan Tavern in third Street. At the time last mention'd myself and Colonel Marbury who log'd together and the next day Major Williams were ordered into confinement in the afores'd. place—that when I convers'd with the Officers who had been there before me I understood from them they had been persuaded to sign paroles having been promis'd great Libertys which I found had in every respect been Violated—As they—as well as myself in every respect as much prisoners there as ever we had been before—that no paroles were demanded from me nor, as I understood, from Major Williams and Colonel Marbury. That during my confinement at this place Mr. Ferguson the British Commiss'y of Prisoners came into the Room

where Colonel Hannum and myself and other prisoners were when Col. Hannum complained that the priveleges promised by Mr. Ferguson to him & the other officers at the time of their removal to that place had not been comply'd with & mentioned many hardships we at that time suffered, upon the relating of which Mr. Ferguson seem'd very much surpris'd and said the Guards had misunderstood their orders but that he would explain the matter to them & that for the future We should have more Liberty, that the Guards were only plac'd to prevent us from insult. For a few hours after this conversation we were suffered to speak to some friends who came to visit us—but the same evening the Sergeant or Corporal of the Guard informed some of us that they had received fresh orders not to suffer us to speak to any person or that any person should speak to us, which was strictly comply'd with on their part, who frequently threatened to Bayonet any persons who offer'd to hold any discourse with us, two centries were also placed at the back part of the House & one at the Chamber door upstairs where our quarters were, upon relieving their guards we were constantly counted over & given in charge to the succeeding guard and in the evening we were also counted by Mr. Ferguson's deputy and the Sergeant or Corporal of the guard—I remained in this situation till the 17th of March when I made my escape & understood afterwards Col. Hannum & Major Williams follow'd the same evening—When we got clear of Philada. we made all possible haste to camp & I went to headquarters and upon a just and particular account given to his Excell'y Gen'l Washington by Col. Hannum of the circumstances of his confinement and escape, His Excellency and Lord Sterling and a number of other Gentlemen of the army then present thought him in every respect justifiable.”

“It is hardly necessary to point out that the deputy Serrett confesses that he had no paroles signed by Williams and Frazer, and that what weight could be given to his assertion that he “must nevertheless think,” etc., is much



more than balanced by the positive denial of Colonel Frazer that he signed any such parole. The statement of Mr. Ferguson, that these officers were acting as if they had signed paroles (or like all those who did so) until they found an opportunity to escape, and his implication that this course of conduct in some way bound them, exhibits a *naïveté* on his part which it would be hard to equal in the grim annals of our Revolutionary War.

“Perhaps he would have expected these officers to call attention of their captors to the neglect in not getting their paroles, and to announce their intention (afterwards carried out) of making the guards drunk on St. Patrick’s Day, March 17, in order the more easily to escape.

“But General Washington evidently justified the escape of Major Hannum (whose signed parole was said to be in Ferguson’s possession) on the ground that the parole was part of a bargain, and that the British part not having been carried out, the parole-giver was released from his part.

“The practical answer in Colonel Frazer’s case was his prompt appointment to command and promotion. I believe the claim was afterwards abandoned by Mr. Ferguson himself, that Colonel Frazer “deserted his parole,” and that makes it all the more surprising to find it in the paper of Mr. Ford.

“PERSIFOR FRAZER.”



GEORGE WASHINGTON PARKE CUSTIS'S OPINION  
OF PORTRAITS OF WASHINGTON.

At a stated meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, held in November of 1893, the Hon. M. Russell Thayer presented the following letters of the late George Washington Parke Custis, in which he expresses his opinion as to the relative value of the various portraits of Washington.

PHILADELPHIA, April 10, 1893.

HAMPTON L. CARSON, ESQ., RECORDING SECRETARY HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

MY DEAR SIR,—I desire to present to the Historical Society, through you, the letters which I enclose herein, thinking, as I do, that all such letters which are of historic value should be placed in some permanent and safe depository, where they will not be subject to the changes and vicissitudes to which they are exposed so long as they remain in the hands of individuals.

These letters, dated respectively June 6, 1857, and July 21, 1857, were written by George Washington Parke Custis to Mr. Thomas William Channing Moore, who resided in the city of New York, and upon his death they came into the hands of his niece, Mrs. Elizabeth E. Coleman, widow of the Rev. Reuben Lindsay Coleman, of Albemarle County, Virginia. Mrs. Coleman was the daughter of Lydia Hubbard Moore, who was sister of Thomas William Channing Moore, and who married the Rev. William H. Hart, of New York City. The letters were given to me by Mrs. Coleman.

George Washington Parke Custis died at Arlington, October 10, 1857, a few months after these letters were written.

The chief value of the letters consists in the fact that they express the opinion of Mr. Custis upon the subject of the relative value of the various portraits of Washington,—a subject upon which he was qualified to speak with authority.

I am not aware of their having been published heretofore, and they appear to me to present considerable interest.

I remain,

My dear Mr. Carson,

Very truly and faithfully yours,

M. RUSSELL THAYER.

ARLINGTON HOUSE, 6th June, 1857.

MY DR. SIR :

I indeed owe you an apology for the long time in non answering of your kind & very interesting letter of the 14th ulto.

I have been much engaged, & my correspondence (on one subject only) so great, as to be often in arrear.

There are so many likenesses of the Pater Patria some of very old date that it is hard to estimate their genuineness. It should be remembered that we had very few *artists* of merit in our olden times, & hence many of the portraits that have descended to modern days, should be received with caution. Robertson was the only miniature painter of eminence, say of sixty to sixty five years ago, & resided I think in New York, his portraits of the Chief & Mrs. (*called Lady Washington in the Army*) was taken in 1790 or 91. The engraving you saw from the *National Gallery* was engraved from a superb miniature in my possession by *Field*.

As to the Wertmuller Picture, it is in my opinion an imposition in toto, and so I told the Swedish Ambassador who waited on me to get information respecting it. It is said to have been painted in 1795. Now I was not a day absent from the family of the Chief during 1795, & am sure that no such artist as Wertmuller had sittings of the great man at that period. The finest and *purest* likeness of the Chief, is the original picture in crayon by Sharpless done in 1796, and with the original by Peale in 1772, of the *Provincial Colonel*,<sup>1</sup> forms the First and last of the originals of Wash-

<sup>1</sup> The study for this picture is in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. See PENNA. MAG., Vol. XVI. p. 257.—ED. PENNA. MAG.

ington most to be relied upon in the world. Stuart is the great original of the *First President of the U. S.*, Peale of the *Colonial Officer*, Sharpless of the man.

The Photograph copies you are pleased to say that you will present to me, will be gratefully received, & placed among the *Washington Treasures* at the Arlington House.

It will give me pleasure to furnish you with any other information you may desire, & should you journey Southwardly I shall be most happy to make you welcome to my house.

With high respect, believe me, Dr. Sir.

Faithfully yours,

GEORGE W. P. CUSTIS.

T. W. C. MOORE, ESQ.

P. S.—I have no recollection of the work presented by the great Baron Steuben.

Endorsed as follows :

Recd June 11.

Ansd. “ 23—& sent Photograph of Washington & wife, from the original miniatures, from life, by Archd. Robertson.

ARLINGTON HOUSE, 21st July, 1857.

MY DR. SIR :

Your very kind and interesting letter of the 23rd ulto has been very much too long unanswered. I have been in the habit of receiving *notices* from Adams & Co.'s express of the arrival of articles to my address at the Depot in Washington. In regard to the Photographs you have been so kind as to send me, no notice arriving, I waited for some time, and then sent to the Depot & obtained the articles.

I thank you for them, they are antique, remarkable for their age, as well as for their portrayal of features that have so long passed away & then there is scarcely any one now living to identify them. Compared with modern works, the photographs shew the vast improvements of the arts.

The miniature by Field of Lady Washington is magnificent, one of the finest specimens of the art of miniature painting in the world. The engraving by Longacre is but so-so—I have a request from Rembrandt Peale, for the loan of the *Provincial Colonel* by C. W. Peale in 1772, to make a copy of it. I have declined to allow it to go out of my house where the *Washington Treasures* must remain during my lifetime. We are sadly in want of prime *engravers* in our country. Painters excellent, & abundant. My Peale & Sharpless should be well engraved for posterity, I assured Lord Napier, who made me an especial visit to inspect the Treasures, that the Sharpless (*original from life*) was the best *likeness of the man* extant. Trumbull for the figure, Stuart for the head, & Sharpless the expression and you have all you can have of the portraiture of Washington. We must have a *National Portrait* by & by, the American people, & the Good, the Wise & the Brave of all humanity demand it. The fame & memory of the Pater Patria grow with time, and now when a few gray heads like my own are only left to tell what Washington looked like, now is the time for the *National Portrait*.

It will always give me pleasure to hear from you, & in yr journey Southwardly, to make you welcome to Arlington House. Hoping that you enjoy yr health, I remain Dr Sir  
Faithfully yours,

GEORGE W. P. CUSTIS.

T. W. C. MOORE, ESQ.



JOHN FREDERICK HILLEGAS, 1685-1765.

BY MICHAEL REED MINNICH.

The Hillegas family is undoubtedly of French extraction (the name originally was *Hill de Gasz*), and we learn from tradition, which must be accepted, having been so sacredly kept and surrounded with convincing evidences of truth, that the family fled into the Palatinate of Germany during the time of the persecution of the Huguenots.

John Frederick Hillegas was born in Alsace, November 24, 1685, and with his wife, Elizabeth Barbara, and his sister, sailed for America in the ship "William and Sarah," from Rotterdam, with the company led by the Rev. George Michael Weiss, a Reformed minister, who was a native of Stebbeck in Necherthal, Germany, and a graduate of the University of Heidelberg. They arrived at Philadelphia September 18, and took the oath of allegiance September 21, 1727, subscribing for themselves and families.

Soon thereafter they settled in the region known as "Goshenhoppen," now Montgomery County. Here the subject of this sketch, prior to 1734, took up a tract of one hundred and fifty acres of land, and by right of purchase, within the years closely following, became the possessor of a large landed estate. Among these early purchases was a tract of one hundred and sixty-five acres, containing thereon a grist-mill, from George Gowen, February 6, 1738, and which is still in possession of one of his descendants, and a tract of three hundred and sixty-three acres, bought of William Parsons, 1749.

His youngest son, Conrad, was born at sea, and was amply provided for in after-years by a deed of gift, bearing date 1758, conveying to him two hundred and sixteen acres of land.

His two eldest sons came to this country a few years later

than their father: Leopold, September 5, 1730, and John Adam, August 11, 1732.

At the time of his death, January 6, 1765, he left a valuable estate, bequeathed to the following children:

1, LEOPOLD; 2, JOHN ADAM; 3, FREDERICK; 4, GEORGE PETER; 5, CONRAD; 6, EVA ELIZABETH; 7, ANN MARGARET; 8, ANN REGINA; 9, ELIZABETH BARBARA.

The executors were Matthew Reichard, a son-in-law, and his son George Peter Hillegas. The will bears date June 25, 1759, and was translated and probated July 31, 1765. Among the items bequeathed to the two youngest sons, George Peter and Conrad, were, each "one folio Bible of the edition of Basel, and one Zollikoffer prayer book." One of these Bibles is in the possession of Thomas Hillegas, who is also the present owner of the old mill property before mentioned.

1. LEOPOLD, after having served three years in the War for Independence, taking part in the battle of Brandywine, settled in Esopus, Dutchess County, New York, where one of his brothers, Frederick or Conrad, followed him.

2. JOHN ADAM (1717-1779) married Anna Catharine—— (1728-1810).

He left a large estate to the following children: Michael; John; George; Adam; Frederick, who was the grandfather of the aforementioned Thomas; Peter, who was one of the seven months' men of Colonel Daniel Heister, Jr.'s, battalion of Philadelphia County militia that returned from service in 1782 (he was killed by a falling tree in the presence of two of his sons); Jacob; Eva, wife of George Hadacker; Catharine, wife of John Greisemer, a member of the Committee of Safety of Northampton County; Margaret, wife of Carl Schellenberger; Elizabeth; and Ann Mary. We learn from his will that one of his negro slaves, by the name of Hannah, attempted to poison her mistress in order to obtain some fine clothes which were in prospect for her on the demise of the good lady. The attempt failed, fortunately.

4. GEORGE PETER, through whom the writer takes his descent, was born February 2, 1735, and died September

24, 1810. He married Anna Barbara Hornecker, who was born 1737, and died March 14, 1812. Their remains repose in the burial-ground of the German Reformed Church, New Goshenhoppen. They had issue: Eve, who married Abram Levy; John; Jacob; Frederick; Catharine, who married John Maurer; Elizabeth, who married John Schell, who emigrated to Bedford County, Pennsylvania, in 1797, and located and laid out Schellsburg, donating land for church and school purposes; Maria, who married George Hillegas; Magdalena, who married George Ewault.

At a very early age George Peter united with the German Reformed congregation at New Goshenhoppen. He died intestate, leaving real estate valued at £4502.14.10.

Still in the possession of the family there are fifty French crowns that were buried, during the Revolution, under the hearth of the old homestead, which stood near the present East Greenville, Pennsylvania. These have been sacredly preserved and handed down as a memento of the origin of the family and of the persecution which drove them from their home.

Of the daughters of John Frederick we have learned but little, except that one married Matthew Reichard, and two married men by the name of Yeager.

In our research we have learned that the sister who came to America with John Frederick married one Kuhl, to whom she was betrothed in Germany, and who came to this country later. They were relatives. Several inter-marriages have occurred since between these families, as will appear further on.

During the yellow fever epidemic in 1793, members of the Kuhl and Hillegas families in Philadelphia found refuge with their relatives in Upper Hanover Township. Mrs. Kuhl, who remained in the city, restrained by convictions of duty, fell a victim to the dreaded scourge. Two of her sons became bank officials,—one in Philadelphia, the other in Camden, New Jersey; and two were sea-captains.

Michael Hillegas, a brother of John Frederick, born in 1696 in the Palatinate, Germany, was naturalized April 11,

1749, and died October 30 of the same year. His wife Margaret was born in 1705 and died July 21, 1770. Their remains repose in Christ Church burial-ground, Philadelphia. Their children were:

Michael<sup>1</sup> (1729-1804), who obtained distinction as the first Treasurer of the United States; married Henrietta Boude (1732-1792).

Susanna married Samuel Kuhl, August 18, 1752.

Mary —.

His daughter Deborah married Henry Kuhl, son of Frederick Kuhl and Susannah Hillegas, December 3, 1795.

We also find a Susannah Hillegas who married William Pitts, January 28, 1767. One of these was probably the daughter of a George Peter Hillegas, who died in 1745. We believe he was a relative—most likely a brother—of John Frederick and Michael (1st).

We have nothing positive to confirm this statement, yet certain it is that they had business intercourse that seems to indicate more than a mere friendly relation, as will appear from the following extract from the Orphans' Court Record of Philadelphia:

“The petition of George Passager and Margaret his wife, Philip Tull and Catharine his wife, and Peter Hillegas, son and heir at law of George Peter Hillegas lately died intestate, being seized at the time of his decease of a plantation in the township of the Northern Liberties in the said county of Phil'a, and that the said intestate left behind him five children, to wit; the petitioner Peter Hillegas, and the wives of the said George Passager and Philip Tull and two other daughters viz: Elizabeth and Susannah a minor.” . . . “That the said Elizabeth is gone somewhere out of this Province unknown to the petitioners. . . .”

“At an Orphans' Court held at Phil'a 1745 . . . expenses accrued on account of the administration of said

<sup>1</sup> For the descendants of Michael (2d), refer to Mrs. Emma St. Clair Whitney's “Michael Hillegas and his Descendants.”



estate, the Auditors have found to be paid and accrued, viz''  
(*inter alia*):

	£	s.	d.
Funeral expenses paid . . . . .	12	7	7½
A debt to loan office . . . . .	120	0	0
Cash paid Frederick Hillegas . . . . .	9	10	0
Cash paid Michael Hillegas . . . . .	2	2	0
Cash paid Hans Adam Hillegas . . . . .		10	0
Cash paid Michael Hillegas . . . . .	22	14	0
Cash paid Peter Hillegas, Jr. . . . .	1	5	0

## THE WISTAR MUSEUM OF ANATOMY.

The recent enlargement of the Wistar and Horner Museum by the munificence of General Isaac J. Wistar suggests the necessity of a correct history of that institution and its connection with that distinguished physician of the first quarter of the present century, Dr. Caspar Wistar.

In colonial times Pennsylvania excelled all the other colonies in the cultivation of the natural sciences, and especially the science of medicine. The first American medical school was established in Philadelphia in 1755 by the efforts of Dr. Shippen and Dr. Morgan, and from that time our city became the centre of medical education for the whole country. This condition of things, so favorable to the development of science, soon produced the famous Dr. Rush, who has usually been called the father of American medicine, and was our first physician to achieve a European as well as a national reputation. His successor in this respect was Dr. Caspar Wistar, who was born in 1761 and died in 1818.

Dr. Wistar studied in Philadelphia and finished his preparatory education in Edinburgh, where he went in 1784, after having spent a year in England. Though only a student, he achieved remarkable distinction, and for two successive years was elected one of the Presidents of the Royal Medical Society, and also President of the Society for the Further Investigation of Natural History. He had considerable intimacy with Boswell, the biographer of Dr. Johnson, and also with Dr. Beattie and Sir James McIntosh. He also enjoyed at this time the esteem of the famous Dr. Cullen, as the following very interesting letter testifies :

EDINBURGH, 6th Jan., 1786.

MY DEAR SIR :

As you choose to write, so shall I, though I have not as much leisure for it as I could wish.

The first thing I must tell you is, that your apologies are entirely su-

perfluous. I might want time for a long conversation, but I have always time to read a letter soon after I receive it, though I cannot always soon after have time to answer it.

I make all my pupils welcome to put questions to me, though I am pleased that many of them do not, because many of their questions might be too frivolous and foolish, but I assure you that your questions have never been such, and they are particularly agreeable, as they always give me some information and often new facts that lead to speculation, that I can never have enough of whilst I have any time to spare.

To what you write in your last without a date I say that I have often observed and spoken of the separate, and almost unconnected state of the Animal and Vital functions, and sleep is a remarkable instance of it. There are certainly many instances of medicines which act more upon the one system than upon the other, and sometimes upon one of them only at the same time. Of all this Opium is an example, it sometimes indeed operates on both Animal and Vital systems at the same time, but I maintain that the former is its proper object, and that accordingly it often operates on this alone.

This doctrine gives you my opinion upon your first question, and when this doctrine explains several of the facts you mention, these facts are in full conformation of it.

The various conditions of the human system diversifies so much the operation of all externals upon it, that it is impossible to establish universal and very difficult to establish general rules with regard to these, and in these externals also, there is often such complication of powers as embarrasses still more; but upon the present subject I will give you a speculation that has sometimes pleased my own fancy.

I am disposed to think that opium is properly and almost only a sedative power, and that it has along with this nothing, or very little of a stimulant quality and if it however shows the latter, it is only when given in a small dose, and that par reprise when it thereby gives an opportunity to the operation of the *Vis Medicatrix* which I allege is exerted by an increased action of the heart and arteries whenever debilitating powers are applied, and are not at the same time so strong as at once to overcome the energy of the brain. All this however may turn out differently in different men, but I think it explains why commonly wine and Spirituous liquors show their stimulant powers more certainly than opium does.

But I must conclude with observing that the supposition of the separate state of the Vital and Animal Systems, which you seem disposed to enter into, will with a few other considerations explain the variety that appears in the operations of opium and of the different employment that is made of it in the practice of Physic. I hope in my treatise on the *Materia Medica* to give all this more fully and more clearly.

I cannot however conclude without adding further, that what you ob-

serve of paralytics is a confirmation of the separate and almost unconnected state of the Animal and Vital Systems, and I have had a very curious instance of their separate state appearing in different circumstances on the two different sides of the same body. In one arm the motion was lost, while the pulse and heat continued in their natural state, and in the other arm whilst the power of motion remained, the pulse was not to be found and the limb was extremely cold.

With respect to blistering, I must say shortly that I consider blistering as an Antiphlegistic measure, and as frequently intermittents are accompanied with a phlegistic diathesis and upon that account resist the power of the bark, so I have known bleeding and that repeated necessary to the cure of such intermittents, and in the like cases, though I have not had instances of it, blistering may be equally useful.

I have exhausted my paper, and every moment in my time to persuade you that I am

Most sincerely yours &c.

WILLIAM CULLEN.

Dr. Wistar took his degree at Edinburgh in June, 1786, and his inaugural dissertation, "De Animo Demisso," was dedicated to Dr. Franklin and Dr. Cullen. Returning to Philadelphia, January, 1787, he not only soon enjoyed a large practice, but was appointed Physician to the Philadelphia Dispensary, and also to the Pennsylvania Hospital, Professor of Chemistry at the University, and was elected in 1792 Adjunct Professor of Anatomy with Dr. Shippen, whom he succeeded, in 1808, as full professor. It was in this latter professorship of anatomy, which he held until his death, that his greatest fame was made.

He was a man of unusual attraction, cultivated in language, letters, and science, and interested in all benevolent, literary, and social undertakings, which, united to his wonderful skill as a physician, gave him a position in the community and the country which is now hard to realize. Numerous institutions were anxious to make him one of their honorary members. He was elected a member of the College of Physicians in 1787, and in July, 1794, became one of its censors, an office he retained until his death. He succeeded Thomas Jefferson as President of the American Philosophical Society, the greatest scientific society of those days, and his house was the resort of all the lovers of litera-



ture and science in Philadelphia, and also of distinguished foreigners.

While a student in Edinburgh, he had been in the habit of having conversational parties among his friends to discuss medical and scientific subjects. Afterwards, when settled in Philadelphia, he again adopted this plan of giving pleasure and instruction to others as well as to himself, and the gatherings at his house on Saturday evenings became famous. Such an impression did they leave on the minds of all who went to them, that after Dr. Wistar's death his warm friends, Chief-Justice Tilghman, Duponceau, and all the other members of the Philosophical Society, who had always been special guests at these scientific gatherings, desired to perpetuate his memory by continuing to meet on Saturday evenings at each other's houses. These meetings were called *Wistar Parties*, and the membership was confined to those who were enrolled as belonging to the Philosophical Society, of which Dr. Wistar had been President at the time of his death. The meetings were kept up until the time of the Civil War. Since then they have been revived by some gentlemen as social parties without any literary or scientific object and without any connection with the Philosophical Society.

He was very much interested in botany, and made several expeditions in search of plants with the Abbé Correa da Serra, the Portuguese minister to the United States, who was a botanist of some distinction. The abbé was a wit as well as a man of great learning, and a very popular character for many years in Philadelphia. He was the devoted friend of Dr. Wistar, took tea at his house regularly once a week, and named the well-known vine *Wistaria* to commemorate this friendship.

The Philosophical Society was at that time very much interested in the bones of extinct animals which were being discovered in Ohio and Kentucky. The Abbé Correa made them the subject of his study and investigation when he visited the West, and Dr. Wistar was also interested in them, as appears in the following report of a committee of the Philosophical Society :

The undersigned members of the committee to which the memoirs of Dr. Wistar on some fossil horns and bones of quadrupeds found in the United States were referred, are of opinion that both by the importance of the subject, and by the masterly manner in which it is treated, these papers will be an ornament to the transactions of the Society, where they claim a place.

PHILADELPHIA, March, 1816.

J. CORREA DA SERRA.  
ZACCHEUS COLLINS.  
THOS. T. HEWSON.

Chief-Justice Tilghman was another very intimate friend, who, after the doctor's death, delivered before the Philosophical Society an eulogium on his character, full of feeling and appreciation and giving many interesting details of his life.

Dr. Wistar wrote a book on anatomy for the use of his students, which was the first American work on the subject, and passed through several editions; but beyond that he left no enduring monument of himself which gives us an idea of what he was, except perhaps his voluminous correspondence with nearly all the distinguished men of Europe. He was one of those men who charmed by his personality and his acts from day to day. More than anything else he excelled as a teacher, and students flocked to him from every part of the Union. On the announcement of his death in New York, the College of Physicians and Surgeons closed its exercises for the day; and a few days afterwards Dr. Hosack, in delivering an address to the students, said, "There are comparatively few of the physicians of our country, at this time in the practice of their profession, who have not been indebted to him for their instruction in that department of medical education in which he so eminently excelled." Philadelphia being at that time the unquestioned centre of medical education, her greatest physician attracted unusual attention, and his death, at the comparatively early age of fifty-seven, was generally regarded as a national calamity.

Dr. Wistar was the first physician who observed and described the posterior portion of the ethmoid bone, which is

still called the cones or pyramids of Wistar. In regard to this discovery, Soemmering, the famous anatomist of Bavaria, wrote him a letter, which is now carefully preserved in the Wistar Museum, and of which the following is an extract :

The neat specimens of the sphenoid and ethmoid bones are an invaluable addition to my anatomical collection, having never seen them myself in such a perfect state. I shall now be very attentive to examine these processes of the ethmoid bone in children of two years of age, being fully persuaded Mr. Bertin had never met with them of such considerable size, nor of such peculiar structure.

Beyond this he made no great or striking discovery in medicine; but he greatly developed the science by his skill in expounding it and the large number of young men whom he encouraged and inspired with sound principles of the art. He gave a great impetus to his profession by the introduction of models and specimens in teaching anatomy. He spared no expense and pains in inventing and preparing all kinds of apparatus and specimens for his lectures. After his death the whole of this then very valuable collection, enriched by preparations collected in Europe, was given by his widow, Mrs. Elizabeth Wistar, to the University, and was the basis on which has grown the Wistar Museum.

Mrs. Wistar was the niece of Governor Mifflin. The letter by which she gave her husband's collection to the University, as it was the first document in the history of the Wistar Museum, is here given in full.

TO THE TRUSTEES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA :

The family of Dr. Wistar wish to present the Anatomical Museum to the Trustees of the University for the use of the Medical School with which Dr. Wistar was so intimately connected and in the prosperity of which he took such great interest; at the same time expressing the sincere desire that it may still continue as heretofore to increase and flourish.

Dr. William E. Horner was for a long time Dr. Wistar's assistant in anatomy, and in 1831 was himself appointed to the chair. Following the example of his distinguished preceptor, he devoted himself to the development of the

museum, and added to it everything which the growth of the times and expanding knowledge suggested, and his name was rightfully added to that of Wistar in the title of the institution, which has long been known as the Wistar and Horner Museum. The name now given it, however, will simply commemorate its founder, Professor Caspar Wistar, and it will be known in its enlarged state as the Wistar Institute of Anatomy. The dates on the new building, which is now completed, are 1808-1892. The date 1808 was the beginning of Dr. Caspar Wistar's professorship, and may in truth be said to be the real beginning of the institution.

Dr. Wistar left several children, but they are all many years dead, leaving no direct lineal descendant. His son, Dr. Mifflin Wistar, a man much esteemed and respected by every one who knew him, died in 1872. He inherited many of his father's qualities, and though quiet and unassuming, was a man of much cultivation, devoted to acts of benevolence, and deeply interested to the last in the study of his profession. His widow, Mrs. Mifflin Wistar, who has kindly furnished the letters used in this article, is now the only living representative of the founder of the institution.

The founder had a brother, Thomas Wistar, whose son, a physician, called also Caspar Wistar, was the father of General Isaac J. Wistar, who, as the great-nephew of the distinguished Professor Caspar Wistar, has greatly enlarged the usefulness of the museum and given it a new home. A large and handsome building has been erected, complete in all the details which will make it the most efficient place for original research in the country, and will include not only the original Wistar Museum, with its many additions, but a library, lecture-rooms, and laboratories.



A CONTRIBUTION TO A CATALOGUE OF THE  
ENGRAVED WORKS OF DAVID EDWIN.

BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

[David Edwin was born in Bath, England, in December, 1776. He was a son of John Edwin, an English actor "high on the rolls of comic fame," and a Mrs. Walmsley, a milliner, of Bath, England. John Edwin's desertion of her after a connection of over twenty years caused him to be occasionally hissed from the stage. David Edwin was apprenticed to a Dutch engraver named Jossi, who was residing in England, but who finally returned to Holland, taking Edwin with him. After a short time Edwin disagreed with his master, and, disliking the country, shipped as a sailor on board a vessel bound from Amsterdam to Philadelphia, where he arrived in December, 1797. He speedily found a friend and employer in T. B. Freeman, for whom he engraved the title-page for a selection of Scotch airs, made by Benjamin Carr, of which Freeman was the publisher. For some years subsequently he was engaged as an assistant to Edward Savage. He is said to have encountered great obstacles from lack of tools, from the poor quality of obtainable plates, and from rude printing, and in overcoming them he totally changed his style and mode of working. His talent as an engraver of portraits soon brought him constant employment, and for upwards of thirty years he was the most prolific workman in America. Failing health and overwork impaired his sight, and about 1830 he was compelled to cease work. For a time he found employment in the auction rooms of his old friend, Mr. Freeman, then as assistant treasurer of the Chestnut Street Theatre, and later as proprietor of a grocery store. In 1835 he became treasurer of the newly-formed "Artists' Fund Society of Philadelphia," and about the same time received a bequest from a friend which rendered his last years comfortable. He died on February 22, 1841. These details are all drawn from a biographical sketch published in "Lives of Eminent Philadelphians now Deceased."

The prints in the following catalogue, with one exception, are described after a personal examination. It is probable that many plates done by him in the early part of his career were issued without his name, and that many others bearing his name have not come under the notice of the compiler. The lettering on the plates is printed in italics, and is not included in the measurements given. The compiler's thanks are due to the Hon. James T. Mitchell, Mr. Charles Roberts, and Mr. Clarence S. Bement, of Philadelphia, and Mr. D. McN. Stauffer, of New York City, for valuable assistance.]

## REV. JAMES ABERCROMBIE.

Full bust, in robes, to left. Under: *Trott del. Edwin sc. James Abercrombie D.D.* H. 3 5-16 inches: W. 2 11-16 inches. Oval.

I. As described.

II. The name in larger script and *Senior assistant Minister of Christ Church St. Peter's & St. James'. Philadelphia.*

## SIR RALPH ABERCROMBIE.

Full bust, in uniform, head slightly to left. Under: *D. Edwin Fecit. Sir Ralph Abercrombie.* H. 4 6-16 inches: W. 2 11-16 inches. Oval.

## JOSEPH ADDISON.

Full bust, head to right. Under: *D. Edwin sc. Joseph Addison Esq<sup>r</sup>.* H. 3 6-16 inches: W. 2 11-16 inches. Oval.

## ALDUS MANUTIUS.

Half length, to left. Under: *D. Edwin sc. Aldo Manuzio.* H. 5 4-16 inches: W. 3 13-16 inches. Rectangle.

## ALEXANDER I. OF RUSSIA.

Bust, in uniform, to right. Under: *F. Svinin Esq. pinx. D. Edwin sc. Alexander I.* [Four lines.] H. 4 2-16 inches: W. 3 9-16 inches. Oval.

## REV. BENJAMIN ALLEN.

Half length, in robes, to left. Under: *Brewster Pinxt. Edwin sc. Rev. Benjamin Allen late Rector of St. Paul's Church Philadelphia.* H. 4 7-16 inches: W. 3 9-16 inches. Rectangle.

## WILLIAM HENRY ALLEN.

Bust, in uniform, in profile, to right. Under: *Edwin sc. W<sup>m</sup> Henry Allen Esq. late of the United States Navy.* H. 3 14-16 inches: W. 3 5-16 inches. Vignette.

## AMERICAN GENERALS.

Four ovals suspended from or resting on a tree in vignette. Under: *Portraits by Peale. D. Edwin sc. American Generals. 1 Warren. 3 Wayne. 2 Montgomery. 4 Greene.* H. 6 14-16 inches: W. 4 9-16 inches.

## FISHER AMES.

Bust, to left. Under: *Edwin sc. Fisher Ames.* H. 3 12-16 inches: W. 3 2-16 inches. Oval.

Id.

Half length, seated, to left, holding a book. Under: *Stuart Pinx. Edwin sc. Fisher Ames* H. 4 12-16 inches: W. 3 14-16 inches. Rectangle.

## ANACREON.

Head, in profile, to left. Under: *D. Edwin sc. ANAKPEΩN* H. 2 3-16 inches: W. 1 13-16 inches. Oval.

## REV. JOHN ANDREWS.

Full bust, in robes. Under: *Sully pinx. Edwin sc. John Andrews D.D. Provost of the University of Pennsylvania.* H. 3 14-16 inches: W. 3 3-16 inches. Oval.

## SIR SAMUEL AUCHMUTY.

Full bust, in uniform, head to right. Under: *Edwin sc. Sir Samuel Auchmuty Kt.* H. 3 14-16 inches: W. 3 1-16 inches. Vignette.

## WILLIAM BAINBRIDGE.

Full bust, in uniform, head slightly to right, with vignette of the action between the Constitution and the Java, Kearney del<sup>t</sup>. et sculp<sup>t</sup>. Under: *Stuart Pinx<sup>t</sup>. Edwin Sculp<sup>t</sup>. W. Bainbridge Esq<sup>r</sup>. U. S. N. Published by M. Thomas Phil<sup>a</sup>.* H. 4 14-16 inches: W. 3 15-16 inches. Rectangle.

Id.

Full bust, in uniform, head slightly to right. Under: *Stuart Pinx. Edwin sc. William Bainbridge Esq. of the United Navy. Engraved for Analectic Magazine. Entered according to act of Congress.* H. 3 14-16 inches: W. 3 1-16 inches. Rectangle.

I. As described.

II. With the addition of a border. Relettered: *Stuart Edwin sc. William Bainbridge Esq. of the United States navy. Engraved for Port Folio.*

III. As above: name of magazine erased.

IV. A modern restrike.

#### JOEL BARLOW.

Full bust, to right. Under: *Edwin sc. Joel Barlow Esq. Engraved for the Analectic Magazine Published by M. Thomas.* H. 3 13-16 inches: W. 3 4-16 inches. Rectangle.

#### JOHN BARRY.

Full bust, in uniform, to right. Under: *Stuart Pinx. Edwin sc. Commodore John Barry* H. 3 15-16 inches: W. 3 5-16 inches. Oval.

#### JAMES BEATTIE.

Bust, in robes, to left. Under: *D. Edwin sc. James Beattie, LL.D. Philad<sup>a</sup>. Published by Hopkins & Earle.* H. 2 14-16 inches: W. 2 10-16 inches. Vignette.

#### JOHN BERNARD?

Full bust, head slightly to left. Under: *T. B. Freeman excudit. D. Edwin Sc.* H. 6 inches: W. 4 12-16 inches. Oval.

[NOTE.—The only copy of this print which I have met with is in the Phillips collection at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. It is cut close to the oval, and the name under which it is here entered is written in lead-pencil at the top of the print.]



**NICHOLAS BIDDLE.**

Bust, in uniform, to left. Under: *D. Edwin sc. Capt. Nicholas Biddle.* H. 4 2-16 inches: W. 3 5-16 inches. Rectangle.

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**SIR WILLIAM BLACKSTONE.**

Bust, in robes, to left. Under: *Edwin sc. Judge Blackstone.* H. 3 7-16 inches. W. 2 10-16 inches. Oval.

**BLISSETT.**

See Joseph Jefferson, *infra*.

**CHARLES BONNET.**

Bust, in profile, to right. Under: *D. Edwin sc. Charles Bonnet, F.R.S. Published by W. Woodward, Philad<sup>a</sup>.* H. 3 8-16 inches: W. 2 14-16 inches. Oval.

**WILLIAM BRADFORD.**

Full bust. Under: *Edwin sc. William Bradford Esq.* H. 4 4-16 inches: W. 3 6-16 inches. Rectangle.

I. As described.

II. A modern restrike.

**REV. JOSEPH STEVENS BUCKMINSTER.**

Nearly half length, in robes, seated slightly to left. Under: *G. Stewart pinx, D. Edwin sculp: Joseph S. Buckminster.* H. 4 15-16 inches: W. 4 1-16 inches. Rectangle.

**EDMUND BURKE.**

Full bust, to left. Under: *D. Edwin sc. R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup> Edmund Burke. Printed by C. P. Harrison* H. 3 3-16 inches: W. 2 11-16 inches. Oval.

I. As described.

II. With the addition of a rectangular frame engraved in line.

**GEORGE GORDON BYRON, LORD BYRON.**

Full bust, head in profile, to left. Under: *Edwin Sc. Lord Byron Engraved for the Analectic Magazine—Published*

by *M. Thomas*. H. 4 8-16 inches: W. 4 inches. Vignette.

I. As described.

II. Name of magazine erased, and above the title: *Pub. by P. Price Jr Philad<sup>a</sup> for the Casket.*

#### GEORGE CALVERT, LORD BALTIMORE.

Bust, head slightly to left. Under: *Edwin sc. George Calvert the first Lord Baltimore From an Original Painting in the great gallery of Sir Francis Bacon Lord Verulam.* H. 4 6-16 inches: W. 3 9-16 inches. Vignette.

#### CATHARINE II.

Bust, in profile, to left. Under: *D. Edwin Sculpt. Catharine II. Empress of Russia.* H. 3 14-16 inches: W. 3 1-16 inches. Oval in a rectangle.

#### CHARLES II.

Bust, to left. Under: *Edwin sc. Charles II.* H. 3 9-16 inches: W. 3 3-16 inches. Rectangle.

#### ISAAC CHAUNCEY.

Full bust, in uniform, to right. Under: *J. Wood pinxt. D. Edwin sc. Isaac Chauncey Esq<sup>r</sup> of the United States Navy. Engraved for the Analectic Magazine Published by M. Thomas Entered according to act of Congress 21 Feb. 1814.* H. 3 13-16 inches: W. 3 3-16 inches. Rectangle.

I. As described.

II. The names of the magazine and publisher and the copyright erased.

III. A modern restrike.

#### WILLIAM CLIFFTON.

Bust, head to right. Under: *Field pinxt. Edwin sc.* H. 3 12-16 inches: W. 3 2-16 inches. Oval.

I. As described.

II. With a rectangular frame added. Under: *Field pinxt. Edwin sc. William Clifton. Engraved for the Analectic Magazine—Published by M. Thomas*

## DAVID COBB.

Bust, to right. Under: *Edwin sc. Hon<sup>ble</sup> David Cobb.* H. 3 15-16 inches: W. 3 4-16 inches. Oval.

## CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

Full length, slightly to left, right hand resting on a drawn sword, left hand holding a plumed hat; full-length figure of a priest holding a cross, and heads of two other persons to left; figures, boats, ships at anchor, etc., to right. Under: *Painted by E. Savage. Engraved by D. Edwin. The Landing of Christopher Columbus. On the morning of October 12<sup>th</sup> 1492, (Columbus Richly Dress'd) with a Drawn Sword in his hand, First set his foot on the New World, which He has Discovered. The Portrait of Columbus is Copied from The Original Picture in the Collection of The Grand Duke of Tuscany at Florence. Philad<sup>a</sup>. Publish'd by E. Savage Jan<sup>y</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> 1800.* H. 22 14-16 inches: W. 14 12-16 inches. Rectangle.

## GEORGE FREDERICK COOKE.

Bust, to left. Under: *Sully pinx. Edwin sc. Mr. Cooke* H. 3 14-16 inches: W. 3 2-16 inches. Oval.

I. As described.

II. A modern restrike.

Id.

Full length, head to left. Under: *C. R. Leslie del. Edwin sc. Cooke as King Lear.* [Two lines.] *Engraved for Mirror of Taste.* H. 5 8-16 inches: W. 3 8-16 inches. Vignette.

I. As described.

II. A modern restrike.

Id.

Full length, head to right. Under: *C. R. Leslie del. D. Edwin sc. Cooke as Richard III.* *Engraved for the Mirror of Taste.* H. 6 5-16 inches: W. 3 15-16 inches. Vignette.

I. As described.

II. A modern restrike.

Id.

Full length, to right. Under: *C. R. Leslie del. D. Edwin sc. Cooke as Sir Pertinax Macsychophant.* [One line.] *Engraved for Mirror of Taste.* H. 4 4-16 inches: W. 2 9-16 inches. Vignette.

I. As described.

II. A modern restrike.

**THOMAS APTHORPE COOPER.**

Full bust, in costume, head to right. In a panel: *Thomas Cooper Esq.* Under: *Wood Pinx<sup>t</sup>. D. Edwin sc.<sup>t</sup>.* H. 6 inches: W. 4 6-16 inches. Oval in a rectangle.

I. As described.

II. The rectangle erased. Under: *Tho<sup>s</sup> Cooper. Edwin sc.* Oval.

III. A modern restrike.

Id.

Full length. Under: *C. R. Leslie del. Edwin sc. Cooper as Leon.* [Three lines.] *Engraved for Mirror of Taste.* H. 6 2-16 inches: W. 2 3-16 inches. Vignette.

I. As described.

II. A modern restrike.

**CHARLES CORNWALLIS, MARQUIS CORNWALLIS.**

Full bust, in uniform, head to left. Under: *Edwin sc. Marquis Cornwallis* H. 3 13-16 inches: W. 3 2-16 inches. Oval.

**RICHARD CUMBERLAND.**

Bust, to left. Under: *Edwin sc. Richard Cumberland Esq.* H. 3 inches: W. 3 3-16 inches. Vignette.

**JOHN PHILPOT CURRAN.**

Full bust. Under: *Edwin sc. John Philpot Curran Esq.* H. 3 5-16 inches: W. 2 11-16 inches. Oval.



## RICHARD DALE.

Bust, to right. Under: *Wood pinx! Edwin sc. Richard Dale Esq. late of the United States Navy.* H. 3 14-16 inches: W. 3 3-16 inches. Oval.

Id.

Bust, to right. Under: *Richard Dale Esq. President of the Washington Benevolent Society Philadelphia Engraved & Published by D. Edwin 1817.* H. 5 1-16 inches: W. 4 3-16 inches. Rectangle.

## ELLEN WESTRAY DARLEY.

Full bust, in low-necked dress, slightly to left. Under: *Doyle Pinx. Edwin sc. M<sup>rs</sup> Darley.* H. 3. 7-16 inches: W. 3 inches. Oval.

## HENRY DEARBORN.

Bust, to left. Under: *C. W. Peale pinx. Edwin sc. Gen<sup>l</sup> H. Dearborn.* H. 3 6-16 inches: W. 2 12-16 inches. Vignette.

## STEPHEN DECATUR.

Bust, in uniform, in profile, to left. Under: *W<sup>m</sup> Birch pinxit. Freeman Excudit. D. Edwin sculp.* [Vignette of the action between the United States and the Macedonian engraved in line.] *Commodore Stephen Decatur. Entered according to Act of Congress, April 1<sup>st</sup> 1813, and published at Philadelphia by Freeman and Pierie, of the state of Pennsylvania.* H. 4 8-16 inches: W. 4 inches. Rectangle.

Id.

Bust, in uniform, to left. Under: *G. Stuart. D. Edwin. Stephen Decatur Esq<sup>r</sup> of the United States Navy. Engrav'd for the Analectic Magazine.* H. 3 13-16 inches: W. 3 2-16 inches. Rectangle.

Id.

Bust, in uniform, to left. Under: *Stuart pinx. Edwin sc. Commodore Stephen Decatur of the United States Navy.* H. 3

13-16 inches: W. 3 2-16 inches. Rectangle. A close copy of the preceding.

I. As described.

II. A modern restrike.

N. G. DUFIEF.

Head, in profile, to left. Under: *Meance del<sup>t</sup>. Edwin sc<sup>t</sup>. N. G. Dufief.* [Six lines.] H. 3 3-16 inches: W. 2 12-16 inches. Oval medallion.

BRYAN EDWARDS.

Full bust. Under: *D. Edwin sc. Bryan Edwards Esq<sup>r</sup>.* H. 4 14-16 inches: W. 4 2-16 inches. Rectangle.

REV. JONATHAN EDWARDS.

Nearly full bust, to right. Over: *The Evangelical Intelligencer.* Under: *D Edwin Sculp. I. Edwards. Pres. Engraved for W. P. Farrand & C<sup>o</sup>. N<sup>o</sup> 185 Market Street Philadelphia.* H. 3 5-16 inches: W. 2 13-16 inches. Oval.

Id.

Full bust, head to right. Under: *Edwin sc. Edwards.* H. 2 6-16 inches: W. 1 13-16 inches. Vignette.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Bust, to left. Under: *L Oliver del. Edwin sc. Elizabeth.* H. 2 8-16 inches: W. 3 2-16 inches. Oval.

JESSE DUNCAN ELLIOTT.

Bust, in uniform, to left. Under: *Edwin sc. Capt<sup>o</sup>. J. O. [sic] Elliott. U. S. Navy.* H. 3 2-16 inches: W. 2 8-16 inches. Oval.

OLIVER ELLSWORTH.

Full bust, to right. Under: *Trumbull pinxt. Edwin sc. Oliver Ellsworth Esq<sup>e</sup> late Chief Justice of the United States. Engraved for the Analectic Magazine — Published by M. Thomas.* H. 3 13-16 inches: W. 3 3-16 inches. Rectangle.

## MARIE LOUIS FERRAND.

Bust, in uniform, slightly to left. Under: *Edwin sc. Général Ferrand Il mourut victime de l'ingratitude.* H. 1 13-16 inches: W. 1 9-16 inches. Oval.

## REV. SAMUEL FINLEY.

Full bust, in gown, to right. Over: *The Evangelical Intelligencer.* Under: *D. Edwin sc. Doct. S. Finley. Engraved for W. P. Farrand & Co. N<sup>o</sup>. 185. Market Street Philadelphia.* H. 3 3-16 inches: W. 3 3-16 inches. Vignette.

## REV. JOHN WILLIAM DE LA FLECHÈRE.

Bust, in robes, in profile, to left. Under: *Edwin sc. The Rev<sup>d</sup>. John William de la Flechere. Published by J. Kingston Baltimore.* H. 3 6-16 inches: W. 2 11-16 inches. Oval.

[NOTE.—Copied from a medallion of John Wesley.]

## CHARLES JAMES FOX.

Full bust, head to left. Under: *D. Edwin sc. The Rt. Hon<sup>ble</sup>. C. J. Fox.* H. 3 6-16 inches: W. 2 12-16 inches. Oval.

I. As described.

II. With the addition of a rectangular frame engraved in line. *Edwin Sc.* H. 3 12-16 inches: W. 3 2-16 inches. Oval in a rectangle.

## BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Bust, in profile, to left. Under: *Edwin sc. Benjamin Franklin Born Jan<sup>y</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> 1706 Died April 17<sup>th</sup> 1790.* H. 2 11-16 inches: W. 1 11-16 inches. Vignette.

## DAVID GARRICK.

Full bust. Under: *Edwin sc. Garrick.* H. 3 13-16 inches: W. 3 1-16 inches. Oval.

I. As described.

II. A modern restrike.

**HORATIO GATES.**

[Copy of the medal presented by order of Congress to Horatio Gates.] Under: *Edwin sc.* Diameter 2 3-16 inches. Obverse and reverse. Circular.

• **GEORGE I.**

Full bust, head slightly to left. Under: *Edwin sc. George I.* H. 3 11-16 inches: W. 3 3-16 inches. Rectangle.

**SOLOMON GESSNER.**

Bust, in profile, to left. Under: *Edwin sc. Gessner. Published by R. Johnson.* H. 3 2-16 inches: W. 2 7-16 inches. Oval.

**WILLIAM GIFFORD.**

Nearly half length, seated, to left. Under: *D. Edwin sc! William Gifford.* H. 5 2-16 inches: W. 4 inches. Rectangle.

**OLIVER GOLDSMITH.**

Bust, in profile, to left. Under: *Edwin sc. Oliver Goldsmith, M. B. Pub: by Coale & Thomas Baltimore 1809. Printed by C. P. Harrison.* H. 3 8-16 inches: W. 3 inches. Oval.

**NATHANIEL GREENE.**

Bust, in uniform, to right. Under: *Edwin sc. Gen. N. Greene. From the original Painting by C. W. Peale in the Philadelphia Museum.* H. 3 14-16 inches: W. 3 3-16 inches. Oval.

Id.

See American Generals, supra.

**ALEXANDER CONTEE HANSON.**

Full bust, slightly to left. Under: *Jarvis Pinx: Edwin Sc: Alexander C. Hanson.* H. 5 3-16 inches: W. 4 6-16 inches. Oval.

**JOHN EDMUND HARWOOD.**

Full bust, head to right? Under: *Robert Field pinx!*



*David Edwin Sc<sup>t</sup>. Mr J. E. Harwood, Comedian.* H. 5  
14-16 inches: W. 4 14-16 inches. Oval.

I. As described.

II. A modern restrike.

#### REV. HENRY HOLCOMBE.

Nearly half length, in gown, seated, to right. Under: *D. Edwin sculp. Rev<sup>d</sup> Henry Holcomb. A.M.* H. 12 10-16 inches: W. 8 15-16 inches. Rectangle.

#### ISAAC HULL.

Full bust, in uniform, slightly to left. Under: *G. Stuart Pinx<sup>t</sup>. D. Edwin sc. Isaac Hull Esq<sup>r</sup> of the United States Navy Engraved for the Analectic Magazine* H. 3 12-16 inches: W. 3 1-16 inches. Rectangle.

Id.

Full bust, in uniform, slightly to left. Under: *Stuart pinx. Edwin sc. Capt<sup>r</sup> Isaac Hull. of the United States Navy.* H. 3 12-16 inches: W. 3 inches. Rectangle. A close copy of the preceding.

I. As described.

II. A modern restrike.

#### JAMES HENRY LEIGH HUNT.

Bust, to right, nearly full face. Under: *D. Edwin Sc. J. H. L. Hunt.* H. 3 13-16 inches: W. 3 inches. Oval.

#### ANDREW JACKSON.

Bust, in uniform, to right. Under: *Wheeler Pinx<sup>t</sup>. Edwin sc. General Jackson.* H. 5 inches: W. 4 1-16 inches. Rectangle.

#### JOSEPH JEFFERSON.

Full bust, head to right. Under: *Mr. Jefferson as Solus. Engraved by D. Edwin from a painting by J. Neagle. Lopez & Wemyss' Edition. Copy Right secured according to Law.* H. 3 10-16 inches: W. 3 4-16 inches. Rectangle.

**JOSEPH JEFFERSON AND FRANCIS BLISSETT.**

Full-length figures. Under: *C. R. Leslie del. Edwin sc. Mr. Jefferson Mr. Blissett in the Characters of Dr. Smugface & Dr. Dablancour in the Budget of Blunders.* [One line] *Engraved for Mirror of Taste.* H. 3 14-16 inches: W. 5 14-16 inches. Vignette.

I. As described.

II. A modern restrike.

**THOMAS JEFFERSON.**

Full bust. Under: *R. Peale pinx. D. Edwin Sc. Thomas Jefferson Esq<sup>r</sup> Vice President of the United States. Published by J. Savage 1800.* H. 11 5-16 inches: W. 9 1-16 inches. Rectangle.

Id.

Full length, standing, head slightly to right, right hand resting on a globe which stands upon a table, with "The Declaration," books, etc. In right corner of the plate: *D. Edwin Fecit.* Under: *Jefferson.* H. 19 12-16 inches: W. 13 1-16 inches. Rectangle.

I. As described.

II. A modern restrike.

Id.

Head, in profile, to left. Under: *Jefferson. G. Stuart Pinx. W. Birch delin. D. Edwin sc. 1809. Copy Right secured according to Law.* H. 2 12-16 inches: W. 1 14-16 inches. Vignette.

Id.

See the Presidents, *infra.*

**SAMUEL JOHNSON.**

Full bust. Under: *Edwin sc. Dr Johnson. Published by B. J. & R. Johnson.* H. 3 5-16 inches: W. 2 10-16 inches. Oval.

Id.

Full three-quarters length, seated at a table, head slightly to left. Under: *D. Edwin. Samuel Johnson. From the*

*Original Picture in the Possession of James Boswell Esq. Boston. Published by William Andrews & Lemuel Blake 1807. H. 4 9-16 inches : W. 3 9-16 inches. Rectangle.*

I. As described.

II. Entirely relettered and engraver's name erased.  
*Samuel Johnson. Bowen Pr<sup>t</sup>.*

**JACOB JONES.**

Bust, in uniform, to right. Under: *Remb<sup>t</sup> Peale P<sup>t</sup>. D. Edwin sc. Jacob Jones Esq<sup>r</sup> of the United States Navy. Engraved for the Analectic Magazine. Entered according to Act of Congress. H. 3 15-16 inches : W. 3 4-16 inches. Rectangle.*

**JOSEPHINE DE LA PAGERIE BONAPARTE.**

Bust, to right. Under: *Edwin. Josephine, late Empress Queen of France & Italy. H. 3 9-16 inches : W. 2 14-16 inches. Oval.*

I. As described.

II. With the addition of a rectangular frame engraved in line. *Edwin Sc. H. 3 13-16 inches : W. 3 2-16 inches. Oval in a rectangle.*

**JOHN PHILIP KEMBLE.**

Full bust. Under: *Edwin. Kemble. H. 3 14-16 inches : W. 3 2-16 inches. Oval.*

I. As described.

II. A modern restrike.

**HENRY KNOX.**

Head, to right. Under: *D. Edwin sc. General Knox. H. 2 14-16 inches : W. 2 6-16 inches. Vignette.*

Id.

Full bust. Under: *C. W. Peale pinx. Edwin sc. General Knox. H. 3 7-16 inches : W. 2 15-16 inches. Oval.*

**MICHAEL LAURIONOVITCH GOLENITCHEF KOOTOOZOF.**

Full bust, in uniform, head to left. Under: *D. Edwin sc. Prince Koutousoff. H. 5 inches : W. 5 1-16 inches. Vignette.*

## REV. JOHN LATHROP.

Bust, in gown, to right. Under: *Edwin. Rev. John Lathrop D.D. Pastor of the Second Church in Boston. H. 3 5-16 inches: W. 2 12-16 inches. Oval.*

## HENRY LAURENS.

Bust, in profile, to left. Under: *Edwin sc. Henry Laurens Esq H. 3 12-16 inches: W. 2 15-16 inches. Oval.*

## ANTOINE LAURENT LAVOISIER.

Head, slightly to left. Under: *Edwin sc. Pub<sup>d</sup> by Joseph Delaplaine south-west corner of 7<sup>th</sup> & Chestnut St<sup>e</sup> Philad<sup>a</sup>. 1813. Anthony Laurence Lavoisier. Born August 26<sup>th</sup> 1743—Guillotined May 8<sup>th</sup> 1794. H. 2 9-16 inches: W. 2 13-16 inches. Vignette.*

## JAMES LAWRENCE.

Bust, in uniform, to left. Under: *Stuart pinx<sup>t</sup>. Edwin sc<sup>t</sup>. [with a vignette of the action between the Hornet and Peacock, engraved in line by Kearny]. James Lawrence Esq<sup>r</sup> Late of the United States Navy. Published by Moses Thomas Philad<sup>a</sup>. Entered according to Act of Congress December 1813. H. 4 15-16 inches: W. 3 15-16 inches. Rectangle.*

Id.

Bust, in uniform, to left. Under: *Edwin sc. Lawrence. H. 2 13-16 inches: W. 2 4-16 inches. Vignette.*

Id.

Bust, in uniform, in profile, to right. Under: *Edwin sc. James Lawrence Esq<sup>r</sup> late of the United States Navy. Diameter 2 5-16 inches. Circular.*

## HENRI LOUIS LEKAIN.

Full bust, head to left. Under: *Edwin sc. Le Kain. H. 4 inches: W. 3 4-12 inches. Oval.*

I. As described.

II. A modern restrike.



LEO X.

Bust, to left. Under: *D. Edwin sc. Leo X. P.M.* H. 5 4-16 inches: W. 4 inches. Rectangle.

JOHN LOCKE.

Full bust, head to left. Under: *Edwin sc. John Locke.* H. 4 inches: W. 3 inches. Vignette.

LOUIS XVI.

Bust, to left. Under: *D. Edwin sc. Louis 16<sup>th</sup> late King of France.* H. 3 5-16 inches: W. 3 inches. Vignette.

LOUIS XVIII.

Head, to right. Under: *D. Edwin sc. Louis XVIII King of France and Navarre, Born November 17<sup>th</sup> 1755. This Prince whom the conservative Senate and the unanimous voice of the French people called to the throne, April 6<sup>th</sup> 1814, is the rightful successor to Louis 17<sup>th</sup> the son of the amiable but unfortunate Louis 16<sup>th</sup>. The solemn declaration of his "paternal intentions" on presenting to the Nation the constitutional Charter, June 4<sup>th</sup> 1814, is a sure pledge that he will tread in the footsteps of his virtuous and august brother. His reign thus commenced under the happiest auspices, promises to heal the multiplied wounds inflicted on France by the most eventful and sanguinary revolution recorded in history. Engraved from the London Copy of the Original presented by His Majesty to Madame Victoire Gouin Dufief, decorated with the ribband of the Order of S<sup>t</sup> Louis, in consideration of the signal services rendered by that Lady in La Vendée to the sacred "cause of the altar and the throne."* H. 4 10-16 inches: W. 4 1-16 inches. Oval.

REV. ROBERT LOWTH.

Full bust, in robes, to left. Under: *Edwin. Rt. Rev. Robert Lowth D.D. Lord Bishop of London.* H. 4 7-16 inches: W. 3 11-16 inches. Oval.

**MARTIN LUTHER.**

Full bust, slightly to left. Under: *D. Edwin sc. Martin Luther.* H. 5 4-16 inches: W. 4 inches. Rectangle.

**FRANCIS McFARLAND.**

Full bust. Under: *Edwin sc. Mr. McFarland. Printed by Reynolds, Philad<sup>a</sup>* H. 4 inches: W. 3 6-16 inches.

**THOMAS McKEAN.**

Bust, to left. On lower part of the print, with McKean's arms in the centre: *Thomas McKean, Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Vice President of the State Society of Cincinnati &c.* Under: *Engraved by David Edwin from the Original Picture by Gilbert Stuart in the Possession of J. B. McKean Esq. Entered According to Act of Congress, the 14 day of Jan<sup>y</sup> 1803, by Gilbert Stuart, and David Edwin, of the State of Pennsylvania.* H. 12 3-16 inches: W. 8 8-16 inches. Rectangle.

I. As described.

II. A restrike, sometimes printed in tint; the copyright erased.

**REV. WILLIAM McKENDREE.**

Half length, seated, to right. In the lower part of the print: *King Pinx<sup>t</sup> Edwin sc. The Rev<sup>d</sup> William McKendree, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in the United States. Philadelphia Published 24<sup>th</sup> May, 1814 by S. Kennedy N<sup>o</sup> 70 Chesnut Str.* Under: *Entered according to Act of Congress, the 20<sup>th</sup> May, 1814, by Samuel Kennedy, of the State of Pennsylvania.* H. 13 6-16 inches: W. 10 3-16 inches. Rectangle.

I. As described.

II. A modern restrike.

**CHARLES MACKLIN.**

Bust, in profile, to right. Under: *Edwin sc. Macklin. Engraved for Mirror of Taste* H. 3 10-16 inches: W. 3 1-16 inches. Oval.

I. As described.

II. A modern restrike.

## JAMES MADISON.

Half length, seated, to right. Under: *Stewart Pinx<sup>t</sup>. Printed by C. P. Harrison Edwin Sculp<sup>t</sup>. James Madison President of the United States of America Baltimore Published Jan<sup>y</sup> 1809 by C. Boyle—N<sup>o</sup> 1. Copy Right Secured according to Law.* H. 9 14–16 inches: W. 8 6–16 inches. Rectangle.

Id.

Full length, head slightly to left, right hand resting on the arm of a chair, left hand upon the Constitution of the United States, partly unrolled upon a table, etc. Under: *T. Sully del. Published by W. H. Morgan Philad<sup>a</sup>. D. Edwin Fecit. James Madison, President of the United States.* H. 20 2–16 inches: W. 12 14–16 inches. Rectangle.

I. As described.

II. Sully and Morgan's names erased.

Id.

See the Presidents, *infra*.

## DOROTHY TODD PAYNE MADISON.

Half length, seated, to left. Under: *G. Stuart Pinx<sup>t</sup>. D. Edwin sculp<sup>t</sup>. Mrs Madison.* H. 9 10–16 inches: W. 7 3–16 inches. Rectangle.

## MARIA LOUISA.

Full bust. Under: *Guerard pinx<sup>t</sup> Vienna. Edwin sc. Philad<sup>a</sup>. Maria Louisa Empress of France Born 12<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1791, Married to Bonaparte April 1<sup>st</sup> 1810.* H. 3 4–16 inches: W. 2 13–16 inches. Oval.

I. As described.

II. With a rectangular frame engraved in line. Under: *Guerard Pinx<sup>t</sup>. Edwin Sc. Maria Louisa [etc., as above].* H. 3 12–16 inches: W. 3 2–16 inches. Oval in a rectangle.

## JOHN MARSHALL.

Bust, to right. Under: *J. Paul Pinx. D. Edwin sc. John Marshall. Chief Justice of U. S.* H. 3 14–16 inches: W. 3 3–16 inches. Oval.

## LORENZO DE MEDICI.

Bust, to right. Under: *D. Edwin Sc. Laurentius Medices, cognomine Magnificus.* H. 5 6-16 inches: W. 4 inches. Rectangle.

## MIRZA ABOO AL HASSAN.

Full bust. Under: *Edwin sc. His Excellency Mirza Aboo al Hassan Envoy Extraordinary from the King of Persia Engraved for the Select Reviews.* H. 4 inches: W. 2 14-16 inches. Vignette.

## JAMES MONROE.

See the Presidents, *infra*.

## RICHARD MONTGOMERY.

See American Generals, *supra*.

## REV. BENJAMIN MOORE.

Full bust, in robes, slightly to left. Under: *Edwin sc. The Right Reverend Benjamin Moore D.D. Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York.* H. 4 3-16 inches: W. 3 10-16 inches. Oval.

## THOMAS MOORE.

Bust, to left. Under: *Edwin sc. Thomas Moore.* H. 3 2-16 inches: W. 2 9-16 inches. Oval.

I. Before the name.

II. As described.

## DANIEL MORGAN.

Full bust, in uniform, head to right. Under: *C. W. Peale pinx. Edwin sc. Genl D. Morgan.* H. 3 8-16 inches: W. 2 15-16 inches. Vignette.

## ALEXANDER MURRAY.

Full bust, in uniform, slightly to right. Under: *Wood pinx. Edwin sc. Alexander Murray Esq. of the United States Navy Engraved for Port Folio.* H. 4 1-16 inches. W. 3 10-16 inches. Rectangle.

I. As described.

II. The name of magazine having been erased.



## NAPOLEON.

Full bust, in uniform, head to left. Under: *D. Edwin sc. N. Bonaparte, First Consul of the French Republic. Published by J. Savage, Jan. 1802.* H. 11 2-16 inches: W. 8 14-16 inches. Rectangle.

I. As described.

II. Plate cut down. Under: *D. Edwin sc. Bonaparte.* H. 10 15-16 inches: W. 8 14-16 inches.

Id.

Full bust, in uniform, head to left. Under: *D. Edwin sc. Napoleon Buonaparte.* H. 3 6-16 inches: W. 2 13-16 inches. Rectangle.

Id.

Full bust, in uniform, head to right. Under: *D. Edwin sc. Napoleon Emperor of the French King of Italy. Far- rand, Mallory, & Co. Boston.* H. 4 8-16 inches: W. 3 9-16 inches. Vignette within a rectangular line in stipple.

Id.

Full bust, in uniform, head to left. Under: *Edwin sc. Napoleon. [sic].* H. 2 10-16 inches: W. 2 10-16 inches. Vignette.

## SIR ISAAC NEWTON.

Full bust. Under: *D. Edwin sc. Sir Isaac Newton Born Decr 25<sup>th</sup> 1642.—Died March 20<sup>th</sup> 1727. Emporium of Arts & Sciences.* H. 3 8-16 inches: W. 3 3-16 inches. Vignette.

I. As described.

II. *Pub<sup>d</sup> by Joseph Delaplaine south west corner of 7<sup>th</sup> & Chestnut Sts. Philad<sup>a</sup> 1813.*

## MISS P—.

Full bust, head to left. Under: *D. Edwin sc. Miss P—* H. 3 6-16 inches: W. 2 10-16 inches. Oval.

## WILLIAM PENN.

Bust, to right. Under: *Edwin sc. William Penn.* H. 2 10-16 inches: W. 2 2-16 inches. Oval.

Id.

Bust, to right. Under: *D. Edwin sc. Wm. Penn.* [facsimile of signature]. H. 2 10-16 inches: W. 2 3-16 inches. Oval.

## OLIVER HAZARD PERRY.

Bust, in uniform, to right. Under: *Waldo pinx. Edwin sc. O. H. Perry Esq. of the United States Navy.* H. 3 11-16 inches: W. 3 1-16 inches. Oval.

I. As described.

II. With the addition of a rectangular frame engraved in line. Under: *Waldo pinxt. Edwin Sc. O. H. Perry Esq. of the United States Navy.* H. 3 13-16 inches: W. 3 2-16 inches. Oval in a rectangle.

Id.

Bust, in uniform, to right. Under: *Waldo pinxit. Edwin scu. Oliver H. Perry Esq. of the United States Navy. Engraved for Analectic Magazine—Entered according to act of Congress 1813.* H. 3 14-16 inches: W. 3 2-16 inches. Rectangular.

I. As described.

II. The name of the magazine and copyright erased.

## ZEBULON MONTGOMERY PIKE.

Bust, in uniform, head to right. Under: *Edwin sc. Lieut. Z. M. Pike.* H. 3 13-16 inches: W. 3 1-16 inches. Oval.

(To be continued.)

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

*Notes.*

THE GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—The second annual meeting of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania was held at the hall of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, on the evening of March 5, 1894, Vice-President L. Taylor Dickson in the chair, and a large number of members present. Edward S. Sayres, Esq., Recording Secretary, read the annual report of the Board of Directors, from which the following extracts are taken:

“The Board feel that the members can be congratulated that the year last past has been one in which the Society has added greatly to its collections and extended its field of labor, while at the same time your Board have, by practical experience of a year’s work, been enabled to discover what is most judicious to collect and preserve. There are many church records all over the country, of various denominations, of untold worth to historical and genealogical research, which should be copied and preserved for future reference, and which are now most carelessly kept and in danger of being mislaid or perhaps entirely lost or destroyed. Besides these records, there are various county, court, and private family records of like value. The preservation of all such valuable papers being a part of the duty of this Society, your Board are only limited in their ability to cover this vast field by the amount of funds in your treasury.

“In this connection it might be well to say that the wills of the original counties of West Jersey—Burlington, Gloucester, and Salem—are filed at Trenton, and it was found that a large part of them, down to 1700, were unrecorded and liable to be mislaid or lost. As so much of the blood of these counties is commingled with that of Pennsylvania, and really becomes part of its history, it was deemed wise to have abstracts made of all these early unrecorded valuable papers. This work is now under way and having the personal supervision of one of your directors, Francis B. Lee, Esq., of Trenton, at a nominal cost to the Society. Besides this, the following work has been accomplished during the year:

“I. The Records of Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church, Oxford, Philadelphia, 1709–1856, comprising 1300 entries, indexed and bound.

“II. The Records of St. Thomas’s Protestant Episcopal Church, Whitemarsh, 1789–1856, comprising 1093 entries, indexed and bound.

“III. The Records of Pennypack Baptist Church, 1697–1745, comprising 1334 entries, indexed and bound.

“IV. The Records of the Third Reformed Dutch Church, Philadelphia, comprising 920 entries, indexed and bound.

“V. The Records of Baptisms in Christ Church and St. Peter’s Church, Philadelphia, about 20,000 entries, of which over 10,000 are now copied.

“VI. The Records of St. Michael’s Evangelical Lutheran Church, Germantown, about 12,000 entries, of which over 2500 are now copied.

“VII. Abstracts of wills recorded in Philadelphia, 1683–1800, say 20,000, of which about 18,000 have been done. From 1683 to 1740 are indexed and bound.

"VIII. The Records of the Swedish Lutheran Churches at Swedesboro' and Penn's Neck, comprising 4800 entries, nearly completed.

"In addition to these valuable records, a large number of manuscript pedigrees are now being arranged, and are to be indexed and bound. Much more work could be done by the Society if its membership was doubled or trebled."

The Treasurer reported balance from last year, \$158.36. Receipts \$1224.63 during the year, and expenditures \$1203.73, leaving a balance in treasury of \$179.26.

Interesting addresses were made by Rev. S. D. McConnell, rector of St. Stephen's Protestant Episcopal Church, Charles P. Keith, Esq., and Gilbert Cope. At the conclusion of the meeting a collation was served.

The officers for the year are: Edward Shippen, M.D., U.S.N., President; J. Granville Leach and L. Taylor Dickson, Vice-Presidents; Edward S. Sayres, Recording Secretary; Howard W. Lloyd, Corresponding Secretary; John Houston Merrill, Treasurer. Board of Directors: Franklin Platt, William Fisher Lewis, James Mifflin, William H. Jenks, John Houston Merrill, Gilbert Cope, Thomas A. Glenn, Howard W. Lloyd, L. Taylor Dickson, Dr. Edward Shippen, J. Granville Leach, Charles P. Keith, Edward S. Sayres, and Francis B. Lee, Trenton, New Jersey. Annual dues of membership, \$5.00.

LETTER OF JUDGE RICHARD PETERS TO REUBEN HAINES, OF GERMANTOWN.—

BELMONT, Thursday, August 14, 1823.

Tomorrow is my weekly Court day, & I have an opinion to prepare for the morning. This will occupy part of the afternoon, and forbids my enjoying the pleasure of your table, tho' the day seems now (1 o'clock) inviting.

Nothing gratifies me more than to witness the dawns of education in the rising generation. I am "young enough" to enjoy them, as the only means of ensuring the safety and permanence of the only free government in this wayward and indescribable world; in which the uneducated herds of Bipeds are Beasts of Burthen to the lordly Flock-Masters, the *soi disant* Legitimates, and their Bailiffs and Cattle drivers, called Ministers.

Altho' you *calmly* witnessed my being charged as an enemy to *Cattle Shows*, I am nevertheless one of their warmest friends; including always the Alderneys, most prominently. Yet the first wishes of my heart are the Shows of educating and educated Bipeds. Without this training & breaking of our boast—human reason—it is more subject to error and abuse than is the instinct of Brutes.

More than half a century ago, your Germantown Academy was one of my *Pets*. I have still an ardent wish for its prosperity. D. J. *Dove*, the first principal, was my Tutor in the Philadelphia Academy. He was a sarcastical & illtempered *Doggrelizer*. He was in the habit of shewing me his productions in Hudibrastic. One day he was told, that honest Melchior Ming, one of the Trustees, with whom he was on bad terms, had cried bitterly at Church, under the excitement of an eloquent dutch funeral sermon, *Dove* took out his pencil, and stained the back of a Letter with the following couplet.

"Be not surprised that Melchior cries on Sunday;  
He that cheats six, has cause to cry on one day."

He was called *Dove*, ironically, for his temper was that of a Hawk, and his pen was the Beak of a Falcon, pouncing on innocent prey.



I am cutting some of the finest Millet I ever had. By way of Experiment, I ploughed a tough soil, 8 & 9 inches deep—rolled it—and harrowed in the Millet. I expected a poor crop, but am wonderfully pleased at my disappointment. Your Quaker habits are *unmilletary*, but your agricultural zest will be gratified.

Believe me academically, gastronomically, and every thing but pharisaically, yours,

RICHARD PETERS.

LETTER OF FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS TO HIS SON.—

GERMANTOWN the 27<sup>th</sup> of November 1714.

LO: SON HENRY, Our Cousin Marieke having been here of late, we sent thee word by her, that both I and thy Mother would not have thee to launch out far into Maryland, which has been the Ruin of John Smith and others; But advice thee for thy own best to live for some time with Matthis Keurlin, and there to perfect thyself in the Shoemakers Trade. We perceive that at present thou art at work at the Mill-race upon Duck Crick, and thereby mayst earn good Wages, in Case the man who employs thee does honestly pay; For we hear that he is much Indebted, and so perhaps after thy work is done, will let thee go without Pay—they say, that if John Swift had hired thee himself, thou mightest be more sure of it than now. Therefore endeavour to get thy Pay for what thou labourest in that place, or else do not spend thy time and work in vain, but rather betake thyself to Matthis Keurlin, and if before thy going thither thou think'st it convenient to see us, we shall make thee as Wel-Come as we can. Thy brother does his Duty very bravely at home, and so we desire thee to mind thy business as long as thou art abroad, that no Just blame may be made against thee. We are all in health as we use to be, and our kind love and Salutation (as also that of Chr. Witt) is unto thee, and so I remain thy affectionate and loving father

F. D. PASTORIUS.

P. S.—Caspar Hood was the day before yesterday at our house, and told us, that a fortnight agoe he has been at friends Meeting on Duck-Crick, and there did see our abovesd Cousin, but not thee. Pray! do not neglect to meet with God's people, and there to wait upon the Lord, of whose hands all our Blessings, both Temporal & Spiritual, must come.

Von seinem Segen ist alles gelegen,

Und wer den erlangen will, muss auf Ihn warten in der Still.

(Addressed)

These ffor Henry Pastorius, now either at Duck-Crick-Mill or Bumbyhook.

Durch ein Freund, den Gott begleitet,  
Biss er koimt bej seine Leut.

CENTENNIAL OF JOURNALISM IN NORTHAMPTON COUNTY.—Easton, one hundred years ago, had lately been transformed from the sleepy village of forty years to the more dignified condition of a borough. It had a population of about twelve hundred, and the inhabitants were mostly Germans,—the first settlers and descendants of that sturdy race from the Palatinate who, for the most part, populated the counties north of Philadelphia, and their native language prevailed.

The city newspapers, a copy of which occasionally reached the town by the hands of a tourist or a stage-coach passenger, were printed in English. As the demand for the news of the outside world increased, a German newspaper was projected and the first number issued September

18, 1793. The paper—*Eastoner Bothe und Northamptoner Kundschafter* (*Easton Messenger and Northampton Intelligencer*)—was a folio sheet, each page 17 by 11 inches, three columns to a page, printed on heavy hand-made paper, issued at one dollar per annum, and had a circulation the first year of about three hundred. The first page was devoted to foreign news (a month old); the second page to communications and extracts from other newspapers, usually of a political nature; and the third and fourth pages to advertisements, chiefly those of county officials, with a sprinkling of vendue notices and of merchants and patent medicine dealers.

The founder and editor was Jacob Weygandt, Sen., a man eminently fitted by education for the position. He had been an officer in the Revolutionary War, one of the first burgesses of the town, and for many years was prominent in the community. He was assisted in his editorial and probably composing and presswork by his eldest son. It is not known positively how long this paper existed, but certainly to about the close of the century.

It is interesting to note, in connection with the founder of the first newspaper in Easton, that his only other son (the late Squire Weygandt) was the founder of the *Argus* (February 15, 1827), a great-grandson was one of the founders of the *Express*, the first daily published in the town (November 3, 1855), and another at this time is co-proprietor of the *Free Press*, whilst other descendants have pursued journalism as a profession.

A review of the forty newspapers born in Easton since 1793 would be interesting.

E. A. WEAVER.

LETTER OF ROBERT OWEN TO HUGH ROBERTS, 1697.—

DEAR BRO H. R.

In yt Antient Love whereinwith we have Loved eath other, am I drawn forth at this time, to write unto thee, and in y<sup>e</sup> same is my soul exercised at this moment of time, I deeply affected in a sense of ye same, not forgetting ye many blessed seasons & opportunitys we have had together for mutual comffort & consolation, and certainly I cannot tell where to begin or where or when to end, if I should call to mind ye many Mercy and Loving kindness of ye Lord unto our word, to be sure time would faile me to Rehearse or make mention of it, therefore shall I forbear for scarcely will this opportunity admitt of time, for to give thee a short hint of what I have in my heart for to impart unto thee in Relation to thy own family and other Frds.

Thy daughter in Law K. has been ill all along since thee went and so doe continue as far as I see by her, though it may be supposed by some yt she is something better, yet have I but small hopes of her Recovery, for in my judgment & observation she is in a consuming condition. She bears it with patience & is given up to y<sup>e</sup> will of god, her husband & mother much afflicted & cast down, upon her account. Thy son Owen is Married & as far as I see Like to doe well. Neddie is much concerned because of thy going away and takes as it were naturally a good share of thy concerns upon him, he is like to prove witty, & to observe well wt thee gave him in charge in all Respects.

My wife is brought to bed, we have a young Rebekah added to our family since the went. Robert Barrow Arrived here, through abundants of hardships & difficultys far beyond w<sup>t</sup> I may Relate, but . . . he was aboard of Jos: Curle coming from Jameaca . . . they were cast

away at y<sup>e</sup> gulfes of florida and fell among barbarous and savage Indians, but they were Meraculously preserved by the special hand & providence of God. There was with him one Dickinson and wife & family coming from thence here to live who lost as I am Informed 1500.£ by their shipwreck. I suppose thee will have it more at large by some other hand.

Will Howell has bought y<sup>e</sup> plantation where the students lived.

Wm. Jenkins bought Jo. Barns plantation, they go yt side to live, Evan Harry is to Marry K. Davies; young Rich. Hays in election of Marrage with B. Lewis, H. Lewi's sister W<sup>m</sup>. Robt & Rich Walter's wive's sister.

I am at present at Philadelphia where I had ye first opportunity to Speak to Sam Carpenter, this week he returned from Marry Land, he acquainted me with this opportunity to send to thee and with some straitness have I gott time to write these lines.

Although I am forced to conclude yt my unfeigned Love doth and shall Remaine to thee, who am thy true & constant fd & Brother

R. O.

24<sup>th</sup>—2<sup>d</sup> mo. 1697

My kind Love to James Dickinson & Jacob Hallowfield.

PHILADELPHIA IN 1825.—The following letter is from the papers of General James Watson Webb, now preparing for publication under the direction of his son, W. Seward Webb, of New York:

WASHINGTON CITY, Dec. 4<sup>th</sup>, 1825  
Sunday: 4 o'clock

DEAR SIR:

A week ago yesterday evening, I promised that I would see you on the following night—illness prevented the fulfilment of that promise; and on Monday I was also ill and in doubt. On Tuesday I was engaged in writing letters, etc., until late in the afternoon, and then was too lazy or sick to run about. Last Wednesday I left New York for this place. Thursday and Friday I passed pleasantly in Philadelphia. I found the Major [Biddle] at his brother William's, by whom, as well as by his brother Charles I was received and treated with the most unaffected cordiality. With the former I visited the Atheneum, a place which every stranger should visit, and will visit, if he is aware of the value of the institution, and the gratification to be derived from the passing of a few hours or even minutes in it. N. York has no institution of the kind to compare with it. A comparison of the Libraries of the two cities, and especially the *situation* of each as to pecuniary matters, would place N. York far behind her rival in matters of correct taste and liberality. I would also place Phil<sup>a</sup> before N. Y. in the magnificent yet simple and solid appearance of their public buildings. Nothing that I have seen can compare with the new U. S. Bank. The City Hall, to be sure, is a much more expensive edifice, yet with all its fine carving and fret and frieze work it cannot be compared with the new U. S. Bank. But I am writing you old stuff—for you must know more about these matters than I can pretend to. I will give you something new.

Yesterday at 12 o'clock Maj. Biddle and myself started for this place—All went well until this morning, when, a little after day-light, the new axle-tree gave way and the carriage was overturned. There were eight passengers within, and the Major sat on the left of the Driver—the inside passengers were not much injured, but on crawling out I found the Major groaning, and in much pain. He said he had dislocated his shoulder, and I found by feeling that his apprehensions were but too



well founded. I immediately attended him to the nearest house ( $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of a mile) and then went about  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile after a physician; who immediately mounted, and in about half an hour after the accident the bone was replaced—and from suffering the most excruciating pain, the Major was soon so easy as to place himself in a waggon. He is now pretty comfortable, yet his arm is very sore when it is stirred.

I will now revert to Philadelphia, in order to tell you that I was *agreeably* disappointed in its appearance, as well as in the enterprise and liberality of its citizens in regard to public improvements. The Major and myself took a stroll to the water-works on the Schuylkill by which the whole city is abundantly supplied with excellent water. I will not attempt to tell you how much I was delighted with the beauty, magnificence, and strength of the works. The scenery in their immediate vicinity is of the most delightful kind. The superb dam—the beautiful though small expanse of water above it, and the fine lively stream below, with its handsome bridges, combined with the delightful gardens, shaded seats, wooded hills rising here and there from the brink of the water by the side of smooth lawns—present in the *tout ensemble*, a paradise, where the lover of nature could almost delight to dwell, even as a stranger. . . .

JNO. P. SHELDON.

FROM A PUPIL AT WESTTOWN BOARDING-SCHOOL, FIFTH MO. 19, 1799.—“Mother mentioned that she was getting me jean clothes. I wish she would get me something stronger than jean, and if she would please have my trowsers made very long with drawing strings at the bottom like uncle A——’s so that I can go without stockings.”

*Postscript, in an older hand.*

“ . . . some twilled nankeen, or some strong thing, is best for trowsers, but, my dear, let it be plain . . . we have had some unpleasant tryals in regard to the dress of some. I mention this and wish that P. Roberson’s son may not bring too large a crowned hat, or other things out of the way. Some children whose parents are not members have sent their sons much more consistent with what is the real intention of their coming here, than some who profess much themselves.” Dr. Say and Moses Bartram’s sons are the lads above alluded to.

GODFREY GENEALOGICAL NOTES.—The Rev. J. H. Dubbs, D.D., of Franklin and Marshall College, has in his library a Welsh Bible and Book of Common Prayer, bound together, printed at London in 1717, which belonged to one of his ancestors, Thomas Godfrey, containing a number of family records. On the title-page of the book is written, “Thomas Godfrey, his book, recorded by his own hand, 1735.” On the inside of the cover appears the verse:

“Thomas Godfrey, his Book,  
The Lord of Heaven upon him look,  
And when his passing bell doth toll,  
The Lord of Heaven receive his soul.  
“February ye 20, 1722.”

Thomas Godfrey was born June 15, 1676, it is supposed near the boundary between England and Wales, his wife on one side and he on the other side of the line. Both were equally familiar with the English and Welsh languages. Thomas Godfrey married Jane —, who, with two other couples, were “to go to the new world.” A few months subsequent they sailed for Pennsylvania, and during the long and tem-



pestuous voyage a daughter was born to them and was named "Seaborn." She lived, however, but a few days.

The Godfreys settled in Tredyffrin Township, Chester County, where nine children were born to them:

"Elizabeth Godfrey was born 12 of Dec'ber 1708.

"Eleanor Godfrey was born Sunday 2 of November 1712.

"Sarah Godfrey was born March the 8 anno domini 1714.

"John Godfrey was born May the 22 anno domini 1716.

"Rebecca Godfrey was born April the 4th anno domini 1719.

"Lucy Godfrey was born March the 11 anno domini 1722.

"Hanna Godfrey was born June 3 anno domini 1724.

"William Godfrey was born January the 12 annod 1726.

"Ann Godfrey was born February the 17 anno domini 1728," (added in another hand) "and deceased August the 18th, 1755."

Thomas Godfrey died in 1756, aged eighty years, and his wife Jane in 1771. Their daughter Elizabeth married — Thomas, and removed to North Carolina; Eleanor's and Lucy's husbands' name was Jones; Rebecca married one Hulen or Huelings; and Sarah, John, Hanna, and Ann remained unmarried. William inherited the homestead.

A WASHINGTON ORDER (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XVII. p. 513).—Dr. H. Genet Taylor, of Camden, New Jersey, informs us that the original of this order is in his possession, and that it was found by his wife in the house of her grandfather, Judge Richard M. Cooper, and not, as stated, in the "Cooper mansion at Cooper's Point."

REINTERMENT OF THE REMAINS OF "JOHN RANDOLPH OF ROANOKE."—This morning, in looking over a newspaper called *The Amherst Enterprise*, published at Amherst Court-House, Virginia, under date of December 25, 1879, of which Josiah R. Ellis, now a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church, was local editor and business manager, I noticed, in the local column, an article headed "John Randolph of Roanoke." Recollecting an erroneous statement lately published in one of the leading magazines (which one I do not recall) with reference to the "neglected grave" of Mr. Randolph at his former seat, "Roanoke," in Charlotte County, Virginia, I thought I would transcribe the article and send it to you for publication in your department of "Notes and Queries."  
T. H. E.

"The remains of John Randolph of Roanoke, after lying buried forty-six years at his old home, in Charlotte County, were brought to Richmond on Saturday and interred in the Hollywood Cemetery. Mr. Randolph died in Philadelphia in 1833, just as he was about to embark for Europe. The ceremonies at Hollywood were of the most private character. The spot where the remains now lie is situated on a commanding eminence overlooking the river, not far from President Monroe's tomb. He was buried as previously, with his head looking towards the west, so that he could watch 'Harry of the West' in Kentucky.

"After the coffin was exhumed and opened there was exposed to view a perfect skeleton of Mr. Randolph. The flesh had entirely left the bones.

"The pall-bearers were Governor Frederick W. M. Holliday, John Stewart, Esq., Judge Beverley, R. Wellford, Jr., Charles Ellis, Esq., Colonel A. S. Buford, Hon. William Wirt Henry, Judge Hunter H. Marshall, J. Horace Lacy, Esq., and Hon. B. Johnson Barbour.

"One of these pall-bearers—Judge H. H. Marshall—was a survivor,

and is perhaps the only survivor, of those who witnessed the burial of the great Virginian under the pine tree at Roanoke in the year 1833. Judge Marshall was then a child, and on that occasion accompanied his father, who in life had been a near neighbor and personal friend of Mr. Randolph's."

DAWSON.—The following record is copied from a "Purver Bible," on the title-page of which is written "Daniel Dawson, His Book 11<sup>mo</sup> 1784:"

"Daniel Dawson Son of Daniel & Elizebeth Dawson was born March 7<sup>th</sup> 1743, the 4<sup>th</sup> day of the week at  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an our after one in the Morning.

"Daniel Dawson was marryed to Hannah Hirst the 20<sup>th</sup> day of January 1791 before a priest Georgeson at the Sweeds house."

### Queries.

STOCKTON.—What was the name of — Stockton, who married Sarah Brearley, and was a loyalist during the Revolution, removed to New York, and died there in 178—? After the war his wife and son John removed to Bucks County, Pennsylvania, where John married Mary, daughter of Gabriel Vansant. He is said to have been the son of Samuel Stockton (son of Richard, and grandson of Richard, the emigrant). William F. Cregar, in the "White Ancestry," gives this Samuel's sons as Samuel, who was by his first wife, Amy Doughty, and Joseph, Richard, and Jacob, by his second wife, Rachel —. Davis, in his "History of Bucks County," says his name was John; another account gives his name as Joseph; while the "Genealogy of Early Settlers of Trenton and Ewing, New Jersey," says that Sarah Brearley's husband was Major Thomas Stockton, of Princeton, who died in 1799, aged sixty-nine years.  
H.

JOHN BOWNE.—At a Monthly Meeting held at Newtown, 1st mo., 1768: "This Meeting is informed from the Preparative Meeting of Flushing, that John Bowne, son of John Bowne, who hath for a considerable time past lived in Lancaster County, Pensilvania, claims a Right in the Society by Birth and desires a few lines to the Meeting where he now resides signifying such Right."

At a Monthly Meeting held in Flushing 2d mo., 1768: The friends appointed to the service "informed this Meeting that they find John Bowne has a birth Right, but inasmuch as he has had his Residence, for a considerable number of Years, in Lancaster County, Pensilvania, this Meeting concludes to appoint — to write to the Monthly Meeting within the verge of which he hath had his Residence, in order to know how he hath conducted, before he have a certificate from this Meeting."

This John Bowne owned land in Pennsylvania, and was the son of John and grandson of John Bowne, who settled at Flushing, Long Island. His father married Elizabeth, daughter of Joseph and Mary (Townley) Lawrence.

If this statement be correct, he was born in 1716. Information about his marriage is desired.  
S.

BIDDLE—COLE.—Information wanted of the descendants of Captain — Biddle, naval officer during the Revolution. Also of John Cole, husband of Barbara Biddle.

Centreville, Iowa.

ALICE COLE.

OWEN FAMILY.—Information is requested relating to the families of Thomas, John, and William Owen, who came from Wales to Pennsylvania about 1698, and settled in Chester County. Some of their descendants settled in Virginia and North Carolina, and farther south.

Bessemer, Alabama.

THOMAS M. OWEN.

TALLMAN.—Information is requested as to the parentage of Mary Tallman, who married William Fishbourne, and from whence they came.

HART.—George Hart, a private soldier in the Revolution, died in Tioga County, Pennsylvania, February 28, 1833, aged seventy-six years. Information is desired of his ancestry and descendants.

Ithaca, New York.

F. C.

COX — MCCALL — SNOWDEN.—Information is wanted regarding the parents of Mary Cox, who was married in 1763 to Samuel McCall, Jr., of Philadelphia, and after his death married Isaac Snowden in 1763. She was the second wife of Samuel McCall, Jr., by whom she had no children, and was also the second wife of Isaac Snowden, and had five sons by him. She died at Cranbury, New Jersey, and is buried there. In our family records it is written that she was in her twenty-eighth year at the time of her marriage with Isaac Snowden in January, 1763, which would make her age to be seventy-one years at the time of her death in 1806, but *The True American*, published in Philadelphia, in an obituary notice a few days after her death, gives her age as sixty-eight years. I think the record in our family Bible more apt to be correct. This would make the date of her birth to be 1735. Both of her marriages are recorded in Christ Church Register, although Isaac Snowden was a Presbyterian elder in the Second Presbyterian Church.

SARA PATTERSON SNOWDEN MITCHELL.

2205 Walnut Street, Philadelphia.

CUNDIT'S CREEK.—What is the location and present name of Cundit's Creek, mentioned in early deeds to land in Dublin Township, Philadelphia County?

JAMES—HOLCOMB—HOLME.—Information wanted concerning Susanna James, niece of Thomas Holme, Penn's surveyor-general. Also of the children and descendants of Richard Holcomb, who married Thomas Holme's daughter Sarah.

RADCLIFFE.—James and Mary Radcliffe, who came to Pennsylvania in 1685, from county Lancaster, England, had two sons: Richard, married, First month 31, 1709, at Bristol, Bucks County, Martha, daughter of Stephen Stapler, of Philadelphia; and Edward, married, Sixth month 18, 1703, at Falls Meeting, Bucks County, Phebe Baker. What was the issue of these two marriages?

DIEHL.—Information wanted of the birth, parentage, and life of William Diehl, of Norristown, Pennsylvania, who married Hannah McClenachan, mentioned on page 46 of Keith's "Provincial Councilors." Also, the maiden name of Mary Ann, wife of Captain Nicholas Diehl, of the Chester County militia in the Revolution. From what part of Germany did the latter come, and when?

O. H.



SHALLCROSS—FLETCHER.—Wanted the place of birth and names of parents of Leonard Shallcross, who married, between 1720 and 1730, Sarah Atkinson (*née* Hough). His will, registered in Doylestown, dated 1729/30, mentions his children, Leonard, William, Joseph, John, Rebecca, and Rachel; they were probably by a former wife; if so, who was she? The will of his brother John, registered in Philadelphia, dated 1754, mentions his nephews and nieces, as above; he married, Third month 29, 1710 ("Abington Friends' Records"), Hannah Fletcher. Was Hannah Fletcher any relation to Mary Fletcher (daughter of Robert, of Philadelphia), who married Enoch Yardley, or to Sarah Fletcher, who married Joseph Kirkbride (parents of Colonel Joseph Kirkbride), or to John Fletcher, who came to Pennsylvania in 1682 with his relative, Thomas Holme, the surveyor-general? John Shallcross's will mentions his brother-in-law, Edward Brooks, and his sister-in-law, Catharine Wilmarton, widow of Paul. Hannah (Fletcher) Shallcross, by her will (Philadelphia, 1758), leaves nearly all her property to Hannah Robison, daughter of Edward Brooks, and to John Wilmarton. What is known of these people? Was this the Edward Brooks who was a member of the Free Society of Traders? H.

### Replies.

S.—Mulberry Street was formerly called Holmes Street.

"THE SPIRIT OF DESPOTISM," by the Rev. Vicesimus Knox (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XII., pp. 128, 497).—Here is the title of another New Jersey edition of this work: "The | Spirit | of | Despotism. | [Two mottoes, nine lines.] | London:—Printed in the year 1795. | Morris-Town: | Printed by Jacob Mann. | M, DCC, XCIX. | 12° Pp. 10 (unnumbered), 1-319. Sheep."

Paterson, New Jersey.

WILLIAM NELSON.

### Book Notices.

NOTES ON THE SURNAMAMES OF FRANCUS, FRANCEIS, FRENCH, ETC., IN SCOTLAND, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE FRENCHES OF THORNYDYKES. By A. D. Weld French. Boston, 1893. 109 pp. Three hundred copies privately printed.

Mr. French's first work to attract our attention was his "Index Armorial," issued in 1892, which has been followed by the work before us. It is divided into two parts, the first comprising notices of the surnames of Francus, Franceis, French, etc., in Scotland; the second by the Frenches who were lairds of Thornydykes, in Berwickshire, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century,—a family that played a not unimportant part in their own district, and whose ramifications spread far and wide. Although not strictly a genealogical account of the family of French, it contains much data as to the characters and documents wherein the name is to be found, and in elucidating this, the compiler has ransacked abbey records, antiquarian institutions, and published and unpublished documents. Mr. French's method may be taken as an excellent model for similar works, and its get-up is well worthy the thanks gracefully paid to the printer in the preface.







*Gustavus Adolphus Rosenthal*

THE  
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE  
OF  
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

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VOL. XVIII.

1894.

No. 2.

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JOURNAL OF A VOLUNTEER EXPEDITION TO SANDUSKY, FROM MAY 24 TO JUNE 13, 1782.

CONTRIBUTED BY BARON GEORGE PILAR VON PILCHAU, ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA.

[In the latter part of October, 1893, towards the close of The World's Columbian Exposition, two gentlemen visited The Historical Society of Pennsylvania and asked permission to examine its collections. After looking around our rooms for a short time, one of them asked me if I could give him any information regarding the family of General William Irvine, whose portrait he saw upon our walls, and explained that the reason for his making such an inquiry was that his great-grandfather had been General Irvine's adjutant during the Revolution. I replied in the affirmative, and recognizing that the gentleman was a foreigner, the story of John Rose was suggested to my mind, and, in turn, I asked, "Did not your ancestor serve under an assumed name? Was he not a man of rank, and was there not some romance connected with his coming to this country?" "Yes," he replied; "he was known in the army as John Rose, but he was a Russian nobleman, the Baron Rosenthal, who had killed a man in a duel and was compelled to leave his country." I told him we had a number of his ancestor's letters, and taking him into our fire-proof, I showed him the "Irvine Papers," presented to the Society by the late Dr. William Armstrong Irvine, a grandson of General

Irvine, which contained letters addressed to the general by Baron Rosenthal, before and after his return to Russia. He appeared very much pleased to find that the services of his ancestor were remembered in America, and greatly surprised me by taking from his pocket a package containing the original drafts of some of the letters I was showing him, and a small silhouette of Irvine set in a locket containing his hair, which I understood had been sent to Baron Rosenthal by General Irvine. He also handed me his card, bearing the name of "Baron George Pilar von Pilchau, Delegate of the Ministry of the Imperial Court and Appanages of Russia to the World's Exhibition at Chicago." He told me that he had examined the city directory and had taken the addresses of all persons bearing the name of Irvine that he thought might be descended from the general, and had intended calling on as many as possible that evening (he was to sail for Europe the next day), in hopes of finding some representative of General Irvine's family. He expressed great regret when he learned that none of General Irvine's descendants were living in the city. He requested me, however, to write to Dr. Irvine's family and say how glad he would have been, as the first representative of his family who had visited America since the Revolution, if he could have had the opportunity of paying his respects to the family of his great-grandfather's old commander. He expressed a desire to obtain a copy of the engraved portrait of General Irvine which appeared in the "Washington-Irvine Correspondence," which I promised to send him, and told me he had some very interesting papers written by the Baron Rosenthal, giving partial accounts of his services in America. He said he would send me copies of them, and, at my request, gave me permission to publish them if I desired to do so.

The first of these papers we now present to our readers. It is a journal kept during the unfortunate expedition against Sandusky under Colonel Crawford, the particulars of whose horrible death by torture, after being captured by the Indians, are familiar to our readers. The first part of the journal, giving a minute account of the march of the army towards Sandusky, is a valuable contribution to the history of Ohio; while few will fail to be interested in the narrow escape the writer made from being captured and suffering the same sad fate as Crawford and his companions.

The second part of the journal, containing a criticism of the campaign and an estimate of the value of the officers in the expedition, will appear in a future number of the Magazine.

Before printing the journal, however, we will give a sketch of the Baron Rosenthal, written by William L. Stone, which appeared in the *Galaxy Magazine*, Vol. III. We are indebted to Baron von Pilchau for the photograph of his ancestor and the silhouette of Irvine, which have been copied to accompany this article.

F. D. STONE.]



JOHN ROSE.

Garden, in his "Anecdotes of the American Revolution," alludes briefly to a Russian, by the name of John Rose, who served on the side of the Colonies in their struggle for independence. The fact, however, that this person was the only Russian, so far as is known, who was in our "Seven Years' War," seems to justify a more extended notice of him than has yet appeared. Learning that there were manuscripts still in existence relating to his career in America, I wrote to Dr. William Irvine, of Irvine, Pennsylvania, who, with great kindness, at once placed at my disposal such family papers as related to the subject, including, also, the entire manuscript correspondence of his grandfather with Washington and Rose. It is from these original and authentic sources that the following narrative is derived.

It was during that gloomy winter at Valley Forge that a Russian gentleman of prepossessing appearance, pleasing in manners and apparently highly gifted, appeared in the cantonments of the army, vainly soliciting a Continental commission. The general opinion was that he was as certainly a man of rank as he was acknowledged to be of high attainments and finished education; but on this point he always maintained the most profound silence. His exemplary conduct and pleasing carriage, however, soon won the general esteem of the army, and obtained for him the position of surgeon's mate in the hospital at Yellow Springs. It was at this period that General William Irvine, who had been recently exchanged, having been taken prisoner in Arnold's expedition to Quebec, rejoined the Pennsylvania line in camp. The many noble personal qualities of Rose immediately attracted his attention, though, having himself served in the British navy as surgeon before the war, he very soon discovered that the young Russian possessed but a very limited knowledge of the medical art. Believing, therefore, that his bravery and intelligence could be made more available to the Colonies in another position, he procured his transfer the same year into the staff of his brigade, and afterwards obtained for him a lieutenancy in the Pennsylvania line. A feeling of jealousy, however, soon arose towards him on the part of some of the American officers, which, though slight, was sufficient to

arouse his extreme sense of honor, and he therefore left the regiment in 1780, and volunteered as a surgeon in the navy of the United States, only to be taken prisoner and carried to New York the same year. From this point he addressed to his old patron a letter, which is here given entire, both as corroborative evidence of tradition and as showing the wonderful mastery he had already acquired over the English language. The punctuation and spelling of the original letter, which is written in a beautiful flowing hand, are strictly preserved.

NEW YORK, NOV. 6th 1780.

SIR:—Since my last Letter to you from Philadelphia the scene is wonderfully changed. My greatest Expectations are annihilated, and I am enclosed by the impenetrable Walls of a Prevost. If I do but continue in health, I shall merrily dance through the various scenes of this Tragie comedie, in hopes to accomplish my latest engagements which shall always remain sacred on my Side. I am told, a General exchange is to take place immediately: but should this not be the case, the thoughts of an approaching Winter, being destitute of every necessary to render Life tolerable, make me wish for a change in my present situation. Assisted by your influence in Philadelphia, as I was taken as surgeon in the ship Revenge, I make no doubt to see my expectations shortly realized.

I am your most obedient, humble Servant,

JOHN ROSE.

That his "expectations" were realized is evident from the fact that, upon being exchanged the following year, General Irvine was so well pleased with the man as to receive him into his family and appoint him one of his aides, with the rank of major. In this latter capacity he served during the whole of the Revolutionary War, retaining to the last the affection of his general and of his brother officers.

The story of this young Russian officer, upon becoming acquainted with General Irvine, was that, sympathizing with the colonists in their struggles with the mother country, he had, against the urgent entreaties of his friends, left his native province of Livonia, made his way to England, and thence to Baltimore, where he had arrived destitute of either friends or money. Disappointed in obtaining a commission in the Continental army, as he had been led to expect, he had taken a brief course of surgery under Dr. Wisendorf, a German physician in that city, whose language he spoke, and had finally succeeded in obtaining the situation of surgeon's mate, as above mentioned. In the military and personal family of General Irvine he was a

great favorite, and it is handed down in the traditions of the Irvine family that he was a gentleman of finished manners, who made himself exceedingly agreeable to the household, in strong contrast with many of our own worthy but uncultivated officers.

The laurels of Major Rose, however, were not confined to the carpet. He was a very efficient aide to General Irvine during the whole war, and was of particular service while the former commanded the Western Department at Pittsburgh,—a command rendered the more embarrassing on account of the disputes arising out of the conflicting claims of Pennsylvania and Virginia. Major Rose made himself very popular with the country people, and, at their request, he was sent by General Irvine as an aide to Colonel Crawford, on the expedition to the Sandusky plains, in 1782, and was very efficient in securing the retreat of the defeated Americans on that occasion. "Mr. Rose, your aide-de-camp," writes Lieutenant James Marshall to General Irvine, at the close of the expedition, "was very hearty when I left him. His services on this occasion have endeared him much to the people of this country, and given great satisfaction to the men on the expedition." "I must acknowledge myself," writes Colonel Williamson, in the same strain, to General Irvine, on this occasion, "ever obliged to Major Rose for his assistance, both in the field of action, and in the camp. His character in our camp is estimable, and his bravery cannot be out-done. Our country must ever be obliged to yourself for your favors on this expedition. Major Rose will give you a particular account of our retreat." General Irvine also bears testimony to his aide's truthfulness and integrity. "The enclosed letters," he writes to General Washington in his official report, "one from Colonel Williamson, second in command, and the other from Major Rose, my aide-de-camp, contain all the particulars of this transaction which have yet come to hand." But the major himself did not return from this expedition without some hair-breadth escapes. Dr. William A. Irvine, a grandson of the general, speaking of the conduct of Rose on this occasion, in a letter to the writer, says, "I remember to have heard an officer relate that, having made his own way into a tree-top, he witnessed the pursuit of Major Rose by a party of mounted Indians, who were at times so close to him as to throw their tomahawks. They were, however, finally baffled by the superior horsemanship and the coolness of Rose."

It would seem, moreover, that Rose did not leave America without having had a little experience in the peculiar American institution known as lobbying. Nor is it a slight proof of the confidence which was reposed in him by his brother officers that he, himself a foreigner, should have been sent to Philadelphia to look after their interests in the Pennsylvania Legislature. "The military gentlemen of our line," he writes during the session of 1784, "have awakened from their slumber, and the walls of the City Tavern have been twice the silent witnesses of our loud deliberations. . . . The House will not readily repeal the act granting us lands upon the Alleghany waters, but it is very probable they can be prevailed on to assume our commutation, and set apart a certain defined tract of country upon the West Branch of the Susquehannah, for the redemption of our commutation notes at a certain ratio per one hundred acres. A committee has been appointed to confer with the Committee of Ways and Means of this assembly, the result of which has not as yet transpired." In his correct use of the language he certainly sets an example to more pretentious English scholars of that and the present day.

Besides these good qualities, however, Rose was noted for his strict integrity and high principles of honor, carrying them, indeed, so far as at times to be amusing. An instance of this occurs in one of his accounts rendered to the government for his expenses while on a military journey. This is here copied in full, although at the risk, in these degenerate days, of calling up a sneer upon the faces of that coterie of gentlemen known as the "Ring."

Major Rose; his bill, April ye 4th, 1783, Bedford.

	£.	s.	d.
To two meals victuals . . . . .	0	3	0
" one quart of cider . . . . .	0	1	0
" two meals victuals for ye man . . . . .	0	3	0
" eight quarts oats . . . . .	0	2	0
" hay one night for two horses . . . . .	0	3	0
" six quarts oats . . . . .	0	1	6
" one nip of todey . . . . .	0	1	3
" half pint of whiskey * . . . . .	0	0	9
" two meals victuals . . . . .	0	3	0
" two " for ye man . . . . .	0	3	0
" four quarts of oats . . . . .	0	1	0
" eight " " " . . . . .	0	2	0
" one bowl of whiskey todey . . . . .	0	1	0



	£.	s.	d.
To one bowl of spirrit today . . . . .	0	2	0
“ hay one night for two horses . . . . .	0	3	0
	—	—	—
	1	10	9
“ two gills of whiskey for ye man . . . . .	0	0	9
	—	—	—
	£1	11	6

\* N.B.—The half pint of whiskey was used to wash the back of my portmanteau horse which was much hurt.

JOHN ROSE.

Indeed, this strict integrity of character was fully recognized by his superiors, who at the close of the war intrusted to him the payment of the troops garrisoned at Pittsburgh, investing him with this responsible trust by the following order :

“ It is ordered that the privates of the Infantry in the Continental service receive on account of their pay by the musters of January, 1783, half a dollar specie pr. week, and the non-commissioned officers the same proportion until further orders. Major Rose, having been pleased to take upon himself the trouble of paying the troops of this garrison (Pitsburg) agreeably to the above directions, he requests that a commissioned officer of each company attend the payments made to his men. The commanding officers of companies are therefore directed to attend with their respective companies immediately after Troop-Beating in the following succession, viz. : Artillery, Virginia detachment and Pennsylvania detachment.”

In the spring of 1784, Major Rose returned to Russia. When on the point of leaving Philadelphia for New York, where he was to take passage for Amsterdam, he, with that order and system for which he was remarkable, wrote General Irvine as follows :

“ Your forage accounts I attempted to settle with Major Hodgson ; but the day not being determined by Congress when the army was discharged—whether it was the third or fourth of November last—prevented me. Your receipt books you will find among the magazines, packed up in a small box. The final accounts of your Continental settlement I have properly adjusted, and committed to the care of Mr. Howell, who was to have left West Point yesterday to settle the accounts of our line.”

While the vessel was lying in the harbor of New York, waiting for a favoring wind, Major Rose wrote a letter to General Irvine, expressing his warm gratitude and attachment to his benefactor and his family; expressing, however, his sorrow for having abstained so long from making known his true history. He then stated that his name was not John Rose, but Gustavus de Rosenthal (Garden speaks of him as Rosendolphe), of Livonia, in Russia; that he was a baron of the empire, and that in an encounter with a nobleman within the precincts of the palace at St. Petersburg, he had killed his antagonist in a duel, brought on by a blow which the other had inflicted upon an aged uncle in his presence. He had then fled to England, whence, learning of the American war, he had sailed immediately for America, anxious to draw his sword in behalf of the American Colonies. He had now, through the mediation of his family, received permission to return; but he designed coming back and making America his home. The fact, however, that he was made Grand Marshal of Livonia soon after his return to his native country, and other circumstances which need not here be enumerated, prevented the fulfilment of his intention, though he often recurred to it in the warm correspondence which he kept up with the Irvine family until his death, in 1830.

"Though my wishes," he writes from St. Petersburg in 1804, "are crossed against their will, my thoughts remain at liberty, and took their flight across the Atlantic, at the sight of an American vessel I discovered in the river making ready to get under sail. I went immediately home and sat down to write you these few lines." The republicanism, however, which he had learned in America he seems not to have forgotten in Russia; and it is rather an interesting incident that Alexander, who has been suspected of democratic leanings at a later period, should have expressed the wish that he—Rosenthal—should wear the insignia of the republican Society of the Cincinnati. "Having already got to the age of fifty," he writes in 1805 to General Irvine, "you'll think I could well go into my grave without having the emblem of the order of the Cincinnati dangling to my button-hole. As for myself, I think so, too; but the people having heard of my being a member of that order, will begin to think me a cheat if I do not wear it as a matter of great distinction agreeably to their notions—and, moreover, the first man himself (Alexander) has been asking me about it, and desires I should

wear it. I am therefore obliged to entreat you again to send me the ribbon with the emblems as it is worn."

The last letter that was received from him was written to Colonel Callender Irvine, a son of the general, in which, after expressing his most cordial attachment to his friend and benefactor, he added,—

An affair of honor compelled me to abandon my own country. I fled to America for refuge, was graciously received by your venerated father, and cherished by him as a son. My obligation cannot be told—the power of language cannot express all that I feel. I wish his portrait above all things—send it to me, that I may possess the delight of constantly viewing the resemblance of my best friend. It will fill up the measure of my happiness. I have content with opulence. The mistress of my early affections is now my wife, and mine is the honor to subscribe myself your friend,

BARON DE ROSENTHAL.

The children of Baron Rosenthal—one of whom served with distinction in Poland—all died before him, though two granddaughters are still living in Russia.

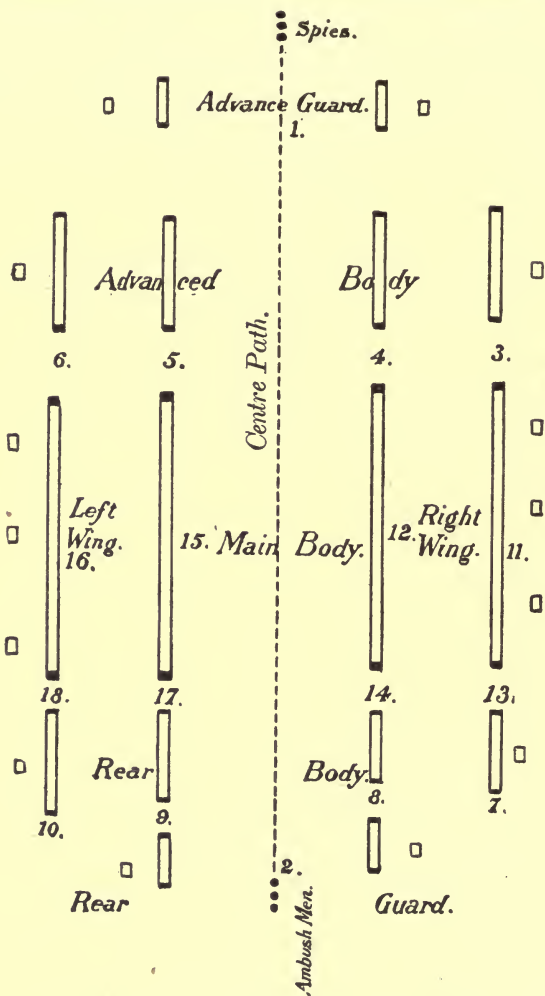
The United States, although somewhat isolated from her continental neighbors, should neglect no opportunity consistent with national honor to gain their good will. The French, the Germans, and the Poles are endeared to us by the memories of Lafayette, Steuben, and Kosciusko, and if this sketch shall serve in any degree to strengthen the rapidly-growing and cordial relations between my countrymen and the Russians its object will have been accomplished.

WILLIAM L. STONE.

JOURNAL.

*May 24th 1782.*—The whole party had crossed the Ohio, and elected Col: W<sup>m</sup> Crawford at the old Mingoe Town the Commander of their Volunteer expedition. Col. Williamson was chosen Second in Command—Col. Gattis third M<sup>c</sup>Clellan fourth, & Brenton fifth in Command—there were 465 Voters at the election.

the troops were exercised according to a plan proposed for our march. Viz:



the advance was commanded by Col. Williamson—The Rear by Col. Gattis. M'Clellan commanded the Right Wing of the Main Body & Brenton the left.

the strength of the different Companies was as follows :

	Men.		Men.
1. Biggs . . . . .	33	6. Richey . . . . .	21
2. Beason . . . . .	31	7. Dean . . . . .	29
3. Downie . . . . .	20	8. Brown & Harden . . . . .	21
4. Rose . . . . .	20	9. Hogland . . . . .	18
5. M'Kichen . . . . .	20	10. Karr . . . . .	23



	Men.		Men.
11. Williamson . . . . .	36	16. Bean . . . . .	29
12. Bilderbeck . . . . .	35	17. Leet . . . . .	26
13. Munn . . . . .	33	18. Hood . . . . .	30
14. Rankin . . . . .	30		—
15. Miller . . . . .	33	Total . . . . .	488

*May 25th Saturday.*—At 10 A.M. the troops began their line of march by companies as they could get ready. Col. Williamson brought up the Rear in the afternoon, detained by the want of a horse for our third pilot.

Our course was W. along the ridge below the Spring in the old Mingoe field. We kept edging towards the North about one point.

We marched through an open wood & a very rich soil, timbered with different kinds of trees. The road was not very difficult nor the passages from one ridge to the other exceedingly steep. Some ridges continued for several miles.

We halted after 10 Miles march along a run, affording good pasture—and named this ground Camp Regulation.—

*May 26th Sunday.*—The loss of several horses detained us untill 8 O'clock next morning. March'd in 2 Columns, as the badness of the ground and the thickets would not admit of marching in 4 Columns agreeable to our proposed plan. We passed through several very steep passages—mires—barren heaths—thickets of thorns almost impassable to the Brushy fork of Cross Creek, Four miles from where we had been encamped. Two miles farther on to the middle fork of Cross Creek the ground produced but huckelberry Bushes and the leaves hardly appeared on the trees.

Our course had been in the fore part of the Day W. inclining a little to the South. Our pilot fearing to be too much to the South inclined now that much to the northward of West. In the afternoon we (our right column [*sic*]) passed a large Lick to which a large Elk & Buffaloe path was visible. We crossed after this two more small Branches of the waters of Cross Creek about 6 miles from where they all join and constitute the main Creek. These head Waters are counted to be 30 Miles from Wheeling & their dividing

Ridges lost themselves into a more level Country. the Woods grew more open & about 4 P.M. we came upon the waters of Muskingham. Our pilot supposed this to be the original Branch of Middle Creek.

We marched this day about 17 miles and encamped along a small Run in a very Brushy place, in the same order, we had marched in, closing a quarée—*vid.* plan of encampment.

*May 27th Monday.*—At 7 we took up our line of march. Our course was W. a point to the Southward. the woods more open—some hills very steep—and several Defiles. the country very indifferent. On the top of a long ridge running W.S.W. our march was much impeded by fallen timber and thickets. Here we struck upon a path to the moravian Towns. This led us S.W. through a better country and Fort Tuscarawas bore N.W. A path led W. our proper course, but we declined taking it, for fear of being discovered. Besides, this path leads through several bad swamps, though it is considerably nearer. We halted after a march of 8 miles along a Creek (about 12 miles from Tuscarawas) in a Swampy Bottom, which was unknown to our pilots. After marching 2 miles S.S.W. through low grounds, we discovered several Sugar Camps and crossed Two Legs. [*sic*] Here we might again have taken a path leading off for the upper Morav. Town, but the former reasons prevailed. After crossing another Creek (name unknown) we encamped; about 3 miles from it.

I suppose this day's march at 16 Miles; and we were thought to be 8 miles from Gnadenhütten, to which place a command of 112 Men was ordered to march next Morning—

*May 28th Tuesday.*—I accompanied Col. Williamson on this command at 8'Oclock A.M. 200 Men turned out to go, and it was merely impossible to detain what was above the number ordered. A short distance from our Camp we entered a fine Bottom for about 2 miles to Still Water Creek, which extended the same distance on the other side. It is a pretty even flowing water about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet high. Out of the Bottom we ascended a high ridge, from which a most beautiful prospect was occasioned by the Water encircling it

almost. An extensive bottom accompanies this Creek for a considerable distance.

Our course was due W. to the middle Morav. Town or Gnadenhütten.

the Command halted half a mile from the Town, whilst Col. W<sup>mson</sup>, our Brigade Major & myself went on foot to reconnoitre the town, whether we could discover any indian Warriors at it. We took a round for near 2 miles up the river across a perspective to the lower town—traversed a level open piece of wood to a pond, at the upper end of which we found a fenced in glade. We struck the fording place just above the town, where we discovered the tracks of a horse & cows, and came to the Town along the Banks of the river. the town was burnt Some time last winter and the ruins of the lowest house in town were mixed with the calcined bones of the burnt bodies of the Indians. A fine plain of considerable extent is enclosed by a ridge of Mountains below the Town. the fording is here very good, which we crossed as soon as the main Body came up. Opposite the Town along the river is a large corn field in which we halted for a refreshment.

At 2 O'clock we were preceded by Col. Williamson with a small party of Sixty, and the whole Body followed upon his heels—pushing forward.

Our course to the upper Town was almost due N. and the distance 8 miles.

this town called Nazareth lies upon the banks of the Muskingham. At the lower end of her, in an obtuse curve of the river is a pond in which the moravians have hid several things.

After we had fixed our encampment here, we were alarmed by the firing of two Guns and an Indian halloo. Major Brenton and Capt. Bean discovered two Indians about a mile from Town. They fired at them but miss'd them.

This occasioned the assigning of alarm posts and rising & standing to Arms an hour before Day. The result of a formal Council of Officers.

*May 29th.*—From the upper Morav. Town we took up

our Line of march in four Columns agreeable to the first plan proposed and kept an easterly course to the mouth of a Creek which empties into Musk. Riv. the fording of the Creek was deep & muddy & we passed near it a dangerous Defile with the River on our right & a high Ridge on our Left. the passage very narrow. We marched from here N.W. through a Bottom for several miles, ascended the long Ridge almost N. & struck upon Bouquet's Road to White Woman's Creek, where he treated with the Indians W.B.S. We were led to this path by following a fresh indian track coming down.

In the middle of the afternoon we came to a fork of the Roads. We followed this path to our right running W. In these forks stood a painted Tree, on which an Indian of the Wolf Tribe marck'd [*sic*] 1 prisoner & 3 Scalps. Signs of an old indian encampment & several fresh tracks were visible. In the evening the mountains begun to look less high, fine Bottoms appeared more frequent and the tops of the Ridges seemed covered with a rich soil. We crossed this day different bad narrow Swamps.

*May 30th.*—We march'd early this day steering N. 75° West along this path called after Bouquet—

A number of horses being lost—2 Companies were left on the ground.

A short distance from our encampment we saw a large Deer Lick, and 2 miles farther on we struck a path crossing ours in a rectangle almost. this is the strait path from Sandusky to Wheeling and crosses the Muskingham about 10 Miles from the upper Morav. Town.

“One of our pilots (Zaines) proposed striking this path in “a strait direction from the Mingoe Bottom—and the other “a path to the N.E. of us, about 8 miles from our first encamping ground, between the 3 forks of Yellow Creek.”

Here we left Bouquet's road & followed this Warrior's path running N.W. towards Mohickin John's Town, where the fort Laurens road joins it.

two days before us a party of 60 Warriors had travelled along here towards our frontiers. Of 3 horse tracks, who had kept a-head of us from the Morav. Towns to observe our



motions one had followed the Warriors and 2 kept before us on the Sandusky course.—The Woods were on fire at different places. At 11 o'clock we were joined by the remaining party & crossed immediately after a Bad Defile: marching down a rocky hill, at the foot of which we had to cross a Creek & immediately again to ascend a steep rocky hill covered by an open Wood. A place formed to obstruct numbers with a handfull of Men, particularly as the Hill on the north Side commands the other, on this side the Creek.

the Country in general is level, rich, well timbered and intersected by a great many runs, who are accompanied by excellent Bottoms.

In the evening we entered a Bottom several miles long, watered by different winding runs & terminated by Kill Buck's Creek. We crossed it about Miles [*sic*] from Kill Buck's former town & encamped along it at the upper end of the Bottom. \*the north Banks of this Water were so steep & miry that we were baffled in several places in our attempts to get out of the Creek. the easiest ford is in a curve of the Creek to your Right hand as the common path leads, and then you are obliged to go a piece in the Water up the Creek.

I calculate this day's march at near 20 miles. We passed several encampments of this party of Warriors going to our frontiers, who probably proceeded but slow, and detained hunting. It would have been necessary to have sent a runner back to apprize our frontiers of this impending danger. the letters were wrote & we could but get one Man willing to undertake carrying them; on condition, another one would accompany him. But as no other could be found, the matter fell through.

*May 31st Friday.*—We started earlier this morning than we had done any day yet; & had in the forepart of the Day a midling level Country & open Woods. After 7 miles march we came to a very small run with steep Banks, where on the edge of the Bank the Tuscarawos road joins this path. I went to examine this path with our pilot, and found fresh tracks that had gone down. Not quite 2 miles from this run stood formerly Mohickin John's Town, sur-

rounded by Glades & small Lakes. A little fresh run originates at a small Spring, about 300 Yards Back meandreing [*sic*] through Grottos of Wood and the eastermost Branch of White woman's Creek winds along the foot of a mountain which closes the prospect, the soil here though not very rich seems sufficiently so for the production of grain, and the lakes are full of fish.

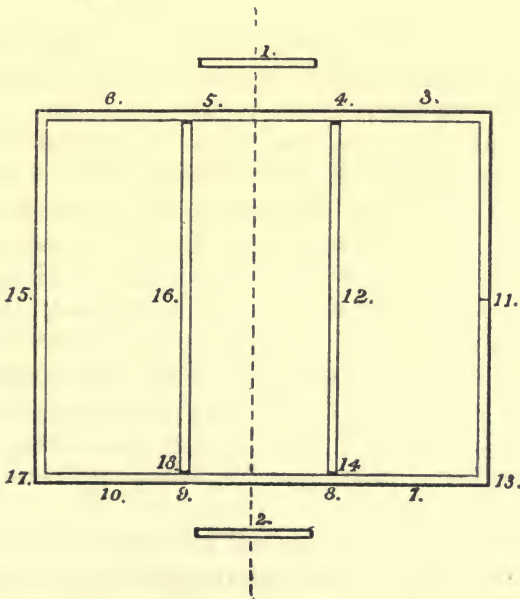
Swamps & Mires intersect the Country, who are allmost unavoidable & form dangerous Defiles. to avoid these our pilots sat out a South course along a blind path close to the right of the first Lake: a road they formerly had travelled & they were acquainted with; & left 2 very plain paths to our right bearing W. of which the northermost one leads past a large Lick.

After marching 2 miles we crossed Ku-kuh-sing (a branch of White woman's Creek so called from a Town at the mouth of it) traversed a Glade—recrossed the same Creek, and came upon a miry place but a few yards wide—deep to the shoulders of a horse, & passable by one man at a time only, occasioned by an impenetrable morass on the right & a high steep Hill on the Left. It is a kind a Draft [*sic*] which empties itself out of this morass into the Creek a few yards from where the main Body crossed it. I tryed whether it was not possible to avoid this draft by crossing the Creek some distance below it, & found it practicable. But a narrow path for 2 or 300 yards continues along the foot of the hill, only passable in an Indian File & beset with thickets.

Our pilots asserted that the other 2 paths we left at Mochikin John's Town to our right running W. were so miry & hilly that it was impossible for a traveller on foot to get along. three miles farther on we came upon the midle fork of White Woman's Creek, on which we encamped & here the Glades end—

*June 1st Saturday.*—Immediately after crossing this midle Fork the road takes Westerly and is very broken, hilly, & full of disagreeable thickets. After passing a small Bottom, we ascended a ridge full of fallen timber several miles long running between N.W. & due North. the distance from the

midle to the third fork of White woman's Creek, which is thought the main branch is here about 5 miles. After crossing it, you crawl upon an uneven road beset with thickets along the slanting side of a hill for near 1 Mile, which ends in a beautifull Bottom & continues  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles to Hell Town, which on account of the pleasantness of its situation rather deserves the name of the Elysian fields. Hell Town lies upon the Banks of this third fork of White Woman's Creek, which we recrossed at the Town, entered a beautifull Bottom where we halted to form & consult—the discovery of a large Indian trail to our Right occasioned the sending out of reconnoitring parties. these detected 2 Indians who were fired at 3 times but they made their escape. This unexpected alarm moved us to form in Line of Batle of which this is our plan : everybody facing outwards, viz—



Immediately after Col. Crawford called here a Council of all his field officers & Captains. He was moved to this step, he said: by the murmuring of the party communicated to  
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him and by finding the evening before that upon a particular enquiry some Men were reduced to 5 L<sup>bs</sup> of Flour & that the generality did not exceed 10 days provisions. He represented; that: as we had been discovered since the 28<sup>th</sup> May, the ennemy would have sufficient time to collect all their forces to Sandusky. By the information he had of Gen<sup>l</sup> Clarke, who was particularly assiduous in getting this information, all their forces would be collected within a Circle of about 50 Miles. Roche de Bout where the British kept a regular Port was but 30 miles from either of the Sanduskies by Selover's information. The Shawnoes lived within 40 miles—Lower Sanduskies from the upper but 35 miles & from this place they could sail in 20 hours across the Lake to Detroit.—He doubted not, but what he could reach Sandusky with his forces, but his return would certainly be very difficult. How would we carry our wounded along? and wounded we would have if we proceeded—How secure a retreat, if we were defeated? How succeed in taking the Town & destroying the Indians if as he was told, they had strong Block houses?

If they did relinquish that design of proceeding to Sandusky, these frequent & larger Indian trails to the North did certainly indicate to his opinion an Indian Settlement. they would follow them & could not fail of meeting with success. Mr. Zaines our pilot who was called upon, confirmed that he knew there had been half ways to Sandusky about 30 Miles from this place a Town called D<sup>rs</sup> Town [*sic*] That it lay about 10 Miles to the North east from the common Road to Sandusky. That they could not take off from the Road on the Beach ridge, opposite that place, to get to it; but that they ought to quit the beaten path here, & follow the Trail to our Right—

But the opinion of the council was against receding from the first proposed plan, and determined to go to Sandusky. Accordingly we took up our Line of march, crossed a run, marched 9 miles through a variable country along a path quite blind, & only recognizable by the Blazes in the trees. We encamped this night on the midle fork of White-woman's Creek.



*June 2nd Sunday.*—We immediately forsook this blind path & marching due East, expected to intercept a plainer Warriors path. After a miles march in this direction a morass about 30 yards wide, retarded our progress for a considerable time. After crossing this morass, we struck on the opposite side this same blind path, we had left to the South in the morning. We had hardly continued 2 miles longer on it, when a plain path running W. crossed it. We altered our course with this one, judging it to be One of those, we had left to our Right at Mohickin John's Town. Immediately after, we ascended, what is called the Beach Ridge—I was very much deceived in my expectations of this Ridge by the description I had of it. Instead of finding it deep miry—I found it dry and intersected with but a few drafts of Mudd. In this day's march we found but two of these drafts which would require bridging to carry waggons across. It is a black rich earth—this Ridge runs nearly North—We encamped about 10 miles on it at a Deer Lick: where we discovered several children's & other tracks, as C. C. assured me, which made him suppose, D<sup>r</sup> Town was not far off.

*June 3rd Monday.*—From this Lick the road gets worne, and continues so, for 5 miles to D<sup>r</sup> Town, on Sandusky River. It is a kind of low Bottom, miry in different places which continue at a stretch for near  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile.

We crossed Sandusky river at the Town, which is contiguous to a Lick, & has been evacuated this some time.

Two miles from the Town we recrossed the River, & the road continues muddy for 3 miles farther, when we entered the plains. But before entering the plains, the Woods are along this muddy road Brushy—

Our course from the Lick was allmost N. From the Town inclining to N.W. & in the plains W.

the aspect of these plains is exceedingly pleasant, interspersed with groups of trees forming Islands. The different kinds of grass indicate the different qualities of the ground underneath. Its height is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet.

A large Warriors trail quite fresh came into our path

about  $9\frac{1}{2}$  miles from where we entered the plains & run S.W. & N.E.—

We halted at 6 O'clock at a Spring 10 miles in the plains, with an intention to regulate matters for an attack, & agree upon the mode of it.

The Council convened at Dark. Col. C——d proposed :

1. to march through the night. Beset the Town—assault it & put everything to the sword, or

2. Remain on the ground all night. March off as commonly the next morning, and reconnoitre the Town in the day, and carry on your measures accordingly—He himself did seem rather inclined to the latter proposition as he did not know the ground, nor was any Body with us acquainted with it.

the rest of the Council objected to the first proposal : because we might kill one another in the night and secondly, the white prisoners among the Indians would certainly fall a sacrifice along with the rest.

*June 4th Tuesday.*—Early this morning we heard the discharge of several cannon at some considerable distance. It was impossible to judge with certainty by their report, as the air was heavy on account of a very thick fog. the report was to the N. Some Showers of rain we had yesterday afternoon, occasioned the discharge of all our rifles before we march'd. This was ordered to be done in Companies—

Seven miles from this Spring we encamped on, we discovered a quarter of a mile from the Road the remains of the Town of the Moravians who were removed from there again last Spring. It extended along the Sandusky River, which is but shallow here & I counted 26 Houses burnt and 9 standing. A litle distance farther down, on the East end of a glade, likewise contiguous to the River, some Cabbins of the Half King were yet to be seen.

A short distance before we reached this place we crossed a Creek, which some count to the Waters of Sioto others say it is a branch of the Sandusky. Immediately beyond it, is a ravine. Where the path leads across this river the woods are brushy & the ascent on the North Side steep.

Beyond the glade you ascend a hill; and here the Shawnoe path joined our Road to Sandusky. A short distance beyond it, is the old Town along a small Spring—counted 20 miles from the beginning of the plains.

Here some murmur arose among the men & near 100 combined not to proceed any farther, as they thought the Indians were moved to Lower Sandusky, because no signs of anything living was discernible about this place. Upon the affirmation of the pilots that they had heard the Town had been removed 2 miles lower, all agreed to proceed that distance, whilst others were keen to go on to the lower town.

We continued our march about 5 miles farther on through an almost continued glade, and halted in the skirts of a piece of Woods, where the Majority was for returning & not to go on any farther, discouraged by the scarcity of their provisions, and that there was not the least sign of any cultivation or habitation, nor of cattle or horses. I had the Command of 2 Companies mounted on the best horses amounting to 40 men assigned me. I employed these in reconnoitring the Woods—posting them as Vedettes, whilst the Line halted—and in covering with some Foot the passing of Defiles, whilst marching towards the enemy. Here Col. C—d requested me to go a head some miles and reconnoitre the Country whether I could discover the Town or signs of an enemy. Meanwhile he would take the sense of the Body, whether to proceed or to return. Col. Williamson at the same time told me, he had been assured by old Shabo the town was removed 8 miles lower down the river from the old Town. I was escorted by 24 Horse. their Baggage & provisions incumbered them too much for a rapid move. this we left hid  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the main Body. I had gone when about 3 miles near the entrance of a piece of woods my advance discovered the roofs of 3 houses. At the same time I saw a party of Indians upon my right along the edge of a wood, and a large Body trying with the utmost velocity to gain my Rear.

to apprise the main Body of the approach of an enemy



as I knew them to be in the utmost confusion, disputing & quarelling—to detain the ennemy by a show of an attack and faint resistance, to gain our party time to form a disposition and possess themselves of proper ground—not to have my retreat to them cut off, which was not very well possible in these plains—and lastly not to loose the Baggage & provisions of my men, were the points I wanted to gain.

I dispatched immediatly 2 of the swiftest horses, and by dispersing my men suspended the ennemy's attention whilst I sent a party to secure the provisions etc who I ordered to wait for me & the rest at the spot. I continued forming my men upon eminences and then again dispersing them over the plains, that I gained a good Deal of time. But observing that their main force drew towards my Rear, to take possession as I imagined of a piece of woods through which I had to pass, on account of a morass to my left, I was obliged to join my men at the provision with some haste. this drew near 50 Indians naked & painted into the plains. On an eminence where I joined the remainder of my party I formed the whole and exchanged some shot. By this time I observed the main Body in motion in my Rear, marching up to that piece of woods, where I feared the ennemy intended to cut off my retreat. Here both parties met one another and a hot firing immediatly commenced at 4 P.M.—Our people possessed themselves in a short time of this piece of Woods, & a hot fire was kept up untill Sun Set in a small Skirt, which had communication with those woods the ennemy was in. Col. Gaddis who commanded in our Rear kept his ground & about sunset push'd the ennemy out of a skirt communicating with the ennemy's Woods like the one in front—His party was far superior to the enemy, and it costed him much ado, to get his men to a push. Major Brenton on the Left, had extended his Wing to far, & lost rather ground. He saw himself obliged to contract his Line. The firing ceased at sunset—We were very much distressed on this ground for the want of Water, & discovered at last a pudle of Rain Water at the foot of an old turned up tree.



We had in this day's action 2 men killed upon the spot. three more died in the night of their wounds. Nineteen were wounded of whom three more are mortally so. One man of ours was scalped in that point of Woods, where Gaddis commanded. I heard but of two scalps our party took.

the whole Body was to remain upon their arms all night. Notwithstanding we could not find men to cover our right flank for near half a quarter of a Mile.

*June 5th Wednesday.*—the firing begun at Sun rise & continued all Day at long shot. the ennemy's intention was evidently, to cause us to waste our ammunition. They kept manœuvering all Day, trying to make small numbers look large; so to draw our attention, amuse us, untill a reinforcement would arrive them—

A plan was proposed to send a party of 150 men mounted on the best Horses, upon the ennemy's left Flank and attack them at the same time with 50 Foot in front in that small stripe of Woods. Col. Williamson was to lead the foot and the Command of the horse was assigned to me. Col C——d talked of taking the sense of his Field Officers, and the proposal was laid a side. Even our Light horse had been ordered the Evening before to dismount, & post themselves behind Trees.

I observed the number of Horsemen among the ennemy increase visibly, which the enemy show'd us to very great advantage: & in the evening a Body of 150 Shawnoes advanced quite openly in 3 Columns on the common road in our Rear, carrying a standard (red) at the head of their Centre Column. These encamped to the S. in the rear upon our left. There was now but about a quarter of a mile between the Shawnoes and Delaware encampments in our Rear across the road we had to return on. the Delawares etc extended from E. in the Rear of Right all along upon our Right untill nearly West in front of us along the road to Sandusky.

At Sunset the ennemy fired off their guns all round by way of a Feu de joie—this political stroke of theirs had

that effect it was intended for, & compleated the Business with us.

Orders had been issued to make Biers for such Wounded as could not ride on horseback. Now it was ordered the men should singly go & saddle their horses & put on their Loads. A retreat was agreed on to be made in the night, marching in 2 columns a long the same Road we came, and fighting our way if we should be discovered & attacked by the ennemy.

Immediately after Dark we were collected & paraded in Companies to take up our Line of march as agreed on, and had called in all our Sentinels, when one Capt. Hardin at the head of a large party, thinking our enterprize rather hazardous was moving off toward the town first, and expected by a circuitous march to fall into our path & by that means avoid the ennemy's vigilance. Col. C——d desired Harrison & myself to detain the Body untill he should persuade Hardin's party to return, as we were too much weakened by this separation—

He was not long gone, when the ennemy begun to fire into our encampment. that instant every Body was pushing as if it had been a signal agreed on for that purpose. Most all took to the South round the lower end of the Shawnoe encampment and some few went along the path agreeable to our made known plan. These suffered considerably as the ennemy was alarmed by their sentries & guards on the Road— At the old Town of Sandusky our party of about 50 struck the road and an other larger party fell in at our Rear. to avoid passing a large glade a mile from the town we wanted to follow the trail of our outermost left Column on our advance, which took as I recollected through the Woods round the head of the glade to our right & South. Unmindfull that the Shawnoe path did take off at the same place, we fell upon it and followed it for near 2 miles, deceived by the trails on each side, as the Shawnoes advanced in 3 Columns. the rise of the moon undeceived us at last and we struck strait across into our proper path 3 miles from the old Town. Here Col. Williamson & his party joined us, which increased our number to about 250 men.

*June 6th Wednesday* [Thursday].—Day was begun to break, and we made the best of our Way, without thinking of forming, to the Spring we had encamped on. As Col. Crawford was missing, the Command devolved upon Col. Williamson, who arranged the line of march and immediately constituted all the best horses & horsemen as Light Horse. this was necessary as the ennemy was strong in light Cavalry, which he could employ to advantage in the plains, and which we ought to oppose in the same Way—

We proceeded with as much speed as possible through the plains, wanting to gain the Woods, fearfull of the ennemy's horse. Our front was stragling, as every Body expected a general overthrow if the ennemy did overtake us in the plains and thought the Woods could only afford us a chance, against their numbers.

Col. W<sup>m</sup> Harrison—M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Crawford—myself & my Waiter were about 2 or 300 yards in front of the advance, trying to keep the men together and from going off in smalls, [*sic*] when the ennemy's horse sallied out of a small piece of Woods on our Left, upon us. I took back to the party in the Rear, in some measure past the ennemy, who had allmost got between us & them and alarmed our Light horse, who went immediately in pursuit of these Rangers whilst Harrison & the rest took strait from the ennemy to the South, the largest body of whom continued in chase of them. My waiter dodged these mounted Rangers round a hill & joined us: but Harrison & Crawford were never heard off since.

About 1 mile within the glades we halted a short time to refresh our horses a moment, who had travelled now without any halt 24 miles, not counting our circuitous march. But that instant our rear was fired on, & we saw the ennemy stringing along to our front, whilst a party wanted to detain us on the spot. A firing began between us in the rear, and as soon as everything was ready to move on farther, and our Light horse had begun their march in our front to secure our entering the Woods. the ennemy fled from our rear. We had 3 killed and 8 wounded in this Skirmish, which did



not last quite an hour. But our Flanks and Rear continued firing at an intruding ennemy, untill we reached the Woods, since which time we were not any farther molested.

It was here that a good many deserted us: who mostly all lost themselves in the Woods & fell into our Rear at Mohickin John's Town &c.

We march'd unremittingly through a severe rain to our former encampment on the Lick beyond D<sup>r</sup> Town. It was about 6 P.M. we reached this, and it was concluded on, to tarry here but two hours for the refreshment of our horses and then to continue a forced march through the Night to clear ourselves of the Beach Ridge. Large fires were made, to comfort the Wounded and dry ourselves. In this manner we tarried untill 1 in the morning, when we found it absolutely impossible to keep or find so narrow a path in these thickets, we had encamped in.

*June 7th Thursday* [Friday].—We moved off at the dawn of Day. Not  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour after, we heard the Scalp Halloo, and found that the ennemy had scalped a Boy of ours who with two others remained behind to bake Bread. These were taken. this unfortunate Boy (John Hayes) was shot in the Shoulder on Tuesday. On Wednesday the party of mounted Yagers wounded him with a Tomahawk in the Skull, but were obliged to leave him behind, being hot pursued by our horse. He having a Breech Clous &c [*sic*] on, and the Blood of his Wound having painted his face & breast quite red, he was taken for an Indian & 2 of our Men levelled their rifles at him to shut him, [*sic*] when he begged for God's sake not to be killed and told his name. He seemed a little frantic after this last Wound and could not escape his fate of being scalped.

We march'd with little Order but much precipitation over the beach ridge, where the road was much softer & deeper after yesterday's Rain. this gives me reason to suspect that the different seasons must have a great influence upon the practicability of passing it.

We continued to Day the plainest path as mentioned in this Journal *June 2nd* which led us into the glades near



Mohickin John's Town, where we encamped along the Banks of the Creek.

*June 8th.*—this path fell into our former trail at the Town leading past the Lick. It is much nearer better and less perillous than our former path. We avoided the repeated crossing of Creeks and that ugly morass which detained us so long going. this path winds along a run, at the foot of a midling high ridge on the W. for a considerable distance.

“the night was so cold in these glades that there was a heavy White frost upon the Grass in the morning, the ground in the lower glade seems very fit for the cutting of “Turff.” Here we formed our Men again into the original 4 Columns and march'd in very good order. At the foot of the long ridge we were joined by Capt. Williamson & a party of 40 men ascended the Ridge and encamped on it about 6 miles from where Bouquets and the Wheeling path fork—

*June 9th.*—A party of about 30 joined us this morning before we march'd besides single Men, who came up with us constantly; and we observed in different places signs of encampments of our people of about 40 or 50 along the road—

At 10 this morning we left this long ridge (12 or 14 miles long full of fallen timber, thickets, & in some places stony) near to where Bouquets & the Wheeling path intersect one another. the latter one crosses the river 10 Miles below the Towns and the distance from there to Wheeling our pilots assert to be 50 miles. the Country they say is level & dry. Sixteen men our pilots included left us here to go to Wheeling.—

We proceeded 2 miles farther on our old Trail, when we struck off E. through the Woods for the L. Morav. Town. After passing the first ridge, intervening Swamps obliged us to lean to our old Trail and encamped about 6 miles from Muskingham. We gained very little headway in this day's march.

*June 10th.*—We crossed the Muskingham between the two upper Towns. After we had dispatched small Bodies to each of the Towns on our Flanks. Here we counted our men and found their Number to be 380.

We again tryed to steer a nearer course to our old trail, and stood E. one point southerly. Upon a high ridge we

struck the M'Intosh path to the Towns. quit it unmindfull that it strikes our trail upon a ridge as mentioned May 27th

We encamped about 2 miles from our old trail, and were joined by 3 men—

*June 11th.*—A rainy Day. the men were kept together with the utmost difficulty, & begin to break off in small parties pushing a head.

We marched 1 mile beyond Brushy Camp to within about 26 miles of the Mingoe Bottom.

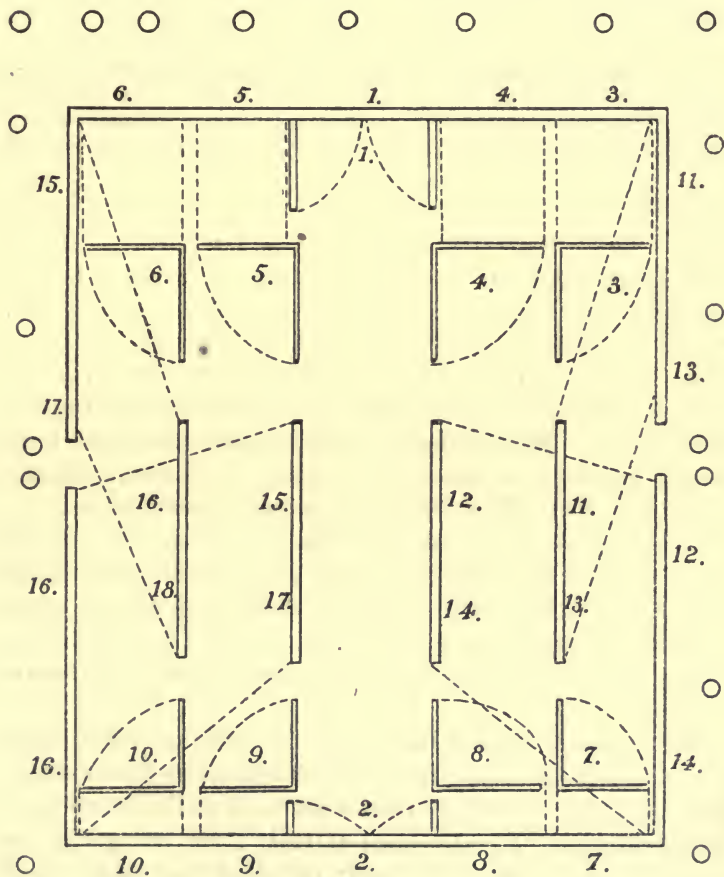
*June 12th.*—Being requested to cause a sufficiency of canoes to be procured for the speedy crossing the Wounded and Men over the Ohio, I left the party early in the morning and arrived with my Waiter at 6 in the afternoon at the Mingoe Bottom. Here I found 6 canoes provided and several actually crossing. Besides a number of people collected with provisions & arms to relieve us: as they had been informed by 9 men, who were come in 4 days before us, and must have deserted us on the action of the 4th that we were all surrounded by the Indians, & must consequently fall a sacrifice. the expectation of ammunition from Fort Pitt, which was actually on the road, delayed their march.

I was also informed that another party of 40 had arrived some days since, continuing separated from the main Body since the night of the Retreat—

*June 13th.*—the main Body arrived at 12 o'clock, and were all across the River by 3 P.M. Some wounded remained here, others went to their respective homes. they were desired all, to be transported by water to Fort Pitt. Six men who had been separated from us ever since the 5th instant, came in at 4 P.M. and I since knew of five, being come in at Fort M'Intosh, among whom Capt. Hardin alias Miller John Hardin on George's Creek, was.

N.B.—the number of *killed & missing* will be between 40 & 50 Men & Officers. *Wounded* there were 28 Men & Officers, of whom 3 to my knowledge were left on the ground in the hurry of the retreat, lying in Biers ready to be moved off. their wounds were all mortal. One Tho<sup>s</sup> Ogle likewise

mortally wounded was said, to have run above 1 mile after our flying Body. One of the Wounded John Hayes was scalped—and another staid behind at the Morav. Towns. All the rest came in to Deeker's Fort—



*Plan of Encampment.*

(To be continued.)

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE COLONY OF WEST-JERSEY, IN AMERICA. SEPTEMBER, ANNO DOM. 1681.

[The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has lately had presented to it a paper bearing the above title, which, so far as we know, has heretofore escaped the notice of collectors. It is a single sheet printed on both sides, measuring eleven and one-fourth by six and three-fourths inches.]

1. Some few Years since, there were several Printed Papers published, giving Account of this Colony, which gave Encouragement to many Persons to Purchase Lands, and Transport Themselves, Servants, and Families thither, who have settled Themselves in that Colony, upon the Great River of Delaware, and the *Creeks* and *Harbors* thereof; and have Built some Towns apt for Trade, with Convenient Ports, where large Ships of Considerable Burthen have already unloaded, especially at Burlington, Scituate about a Hundred & Fifty Miles from the Sea up the said River.

2. And there are also many Families, who have settled Themselves in that Country; some about Husbandry, others have Erected Mills for Grinding Corn, and several other necessary Tradesmen have There settled Themselves in Towns, and in the Country, fit for their Respective Undertakings.

3. The Husband-Men have good Increase, as well in large Cattle and Hogs; as also, in all such sorts of Grain which grow in England; and the same are Sold at Easie and Reasonable Rates: The Increase of their Corn being considerably Greater than in England; of which they Make good Bread, and Brew good Beer and Ale for their Use. And as for other Provisions, they are Plentiful; as Fish, Fowls, Deer, Pork, Beef, and many Sorts of Fruits; as Grapes, Peaches, Apricocks, Cherryes, and Apples, of which Good Syder is made.

4. The Country also produces Flax and Hemp, which they



already Spin and Manufacture into Linnen: They make several Stuffs and Cloath of Wool for Apparel: They Tan Leather, Make Shoes and Hats.

5. They have also Coopers, Smiths, Carpenters, Bricklayers, Wheel-Wrights, Plow-Wrights, and Mill-Wrights, Ship-Carpenters, and other Trades, which work upon what the Country produces for Manufacturies.

6. For the Soyl it is Good, and capable to produce anything that England doth: [and] The Yearly Increase is far Greater. The Air Temperate and Healthy; Winter not so long as is in England: Few Natives in the Country; but those that are, are very Peaceable, Useful, and Serviceable to the English Inhabitants.

7. There are many Creeks and Bayes adjoining, and belonging to Delaware-River, beside other Rivers and Creeks along the Sea-shore, which are Navigable.

8. For Minerals within the Earth, they have not had Time to search; only, there are Iron-Mines,—and a Furnace, and Forging Mill already set up in East-Jersey, where they Make Iron.

9. Their Houses are some Built of Brick, some of Timber, Plaister'd & Ceil'd, as in England: So that they have Materials within the Country, to set Themselves at work, and to make all manner of Conveniency for Humane Life: And what they do not Spend, or have to Spare, they sell to their Neighbours, and Transport the Rest to the other American-Plantations.

10. There is variety of Trees in the Country, and many of them; as Oak, Cedar, Chesnut, Wallnut, Mulberry, etc. and several sorts that are not in England.

11. For the Title of the said Colony, it stands thus: Some Years since, the King granted under the Great Seal of England, unto the Duke of York, His Heirs and Assigns, several Tracts of Land in America, (in which Jersey is included) with full Power of Government, making Laws, Peace, War, and all other Things whatsoever, for Settling and Governing the same. The Duke of York, [in Affirmation of former Grants and Conveyances thereof] by Con-

veyance Inrolled in the High-Court of Chancery, Grants and Conveys the Whole Colony of West-Jersey, with all Lands, Rivers, Bayes, Creeks, Royalties, and Priviledges thereunto belonging, unto William Pen, Gawen Lawry, and Nicholas Lucas, In Trust for Edward Billinge, His Heirs and Assigns for ever: And by like Conveyance, the said Duke Granted the Power of Government of the said West-Jersey unto the said Edward Billinge, His Deputy or Deputies, Commissioner or Commissioners, for Governing and Settling the said West-Jersey; And that in as full and ample Manner, to all Intents and Purposes, as the same was Granted to Him by the King. All which Laws & Settlements are, and are to be Made & Done with the Consent & Approbation of the Proprietors & Free-holders thereof. So that, neither Customs, Charge, Imposition, nor any other Services or Taxes whatsoever, are to be Imposed upon the Inhabitants, but by their own Consent in a Free and General-Assembly of the Proprietors and Free-Holders of the said Colony; which Assembly is to meet once every Year.

12. There is likewise Certain Provision made for the Liberty of Conscience, in Matters of Religion, that all Persons living Peaceably, may enjoy the Benefit of the Religious Exercise thereof, without any Molestation whatsoever.

13. The Method laid down for Sale and Division of the Country of West-Jersey, is by Proprieties, (that is to say) One Propriety contains the Hundredth Part of the Whole Country: Of which Proprieties, many are already Sold, and disposed of to Purchasers; & several of the same remains yet to be Sold. In each of these Hundred Parts or Proprieties, the Quantity of Acres, cannot be absolutely Ascertain'd; but its generally judged to be Twenty Thousand Acres, and upwards; but some have accounted each Propriety to contain much more. And if any Person be not minded to deal for a Whole Propriety; Two, Four, Six, Eight, or more, may joyn in the Purchase thereof; There being Land enough in one of these Proprieties for many Families.

14. The Dividing, and Laying out the Land, is done by

Commissioners appointed upon the Place. And there is a large Tract of Land, containing above Sixty English Miles, lying along the River of Delaware, taken up, and Bought of the Natives: The Commissioners lay out (at present) about Five or Six Thousand Acres of Land for a Propriety out of this Tract, as People come over that have Bought: By which Means, the People settle near together, for their Conveniency of Trade and Commerce. And when this Tract of Land is all Settled, then it's intended to take up another Tract of Land, and proceed in the same Method; and so in like manner to continue, until the Whole Country is Divided. And the said Commissioners, for dividing the same, are to be Chosen by the General-Assembly of the Colony, with Approbation of the Governor, or His Deputy, upon the Place.

15. As for the Deeds or Conveyances, signed, or to be signed by Edward [Billinge] and His Trustees, they were at first drawn up by able Counsellors at Law, and are [all] after one manner: So that, every Purchaser hath alike Priviledge.

16. For Transportation of Passengers to West-Jersey, Ships set Sail from London generally Once in Three Months, sometimes in Two Months: The Master gives Notice Six Weeks (or more) of his Going before-hand.

17. The Price for every Passenger, (that is to say) for Men and Women, Meat, Drink, and Passage, with a Chest, is Five Pounds sterling per Head: For Children of Twelve Years of Age, and under, Fifty Shillings per Head; Sucking Children, Nothing: For Goods, Forty Shillings a Tun Freight, to be Landed at Burlington, or elsewhere upon Delaware-River.

18. Sometimes, ships go from Dublin, sometimes from Hull: But if any Persons, to the Number of Thirty, or more, in Scotland or Ireland, desiring to be taken in There, the Ship-Master will take them in at Leith, Dundee, or Aberdeen on the East, and at Aire on the West of Scotland, and at Dublin or Waterford in Ireland; so as they order some Person in London, to agree, and give Security for so many

Passengers to be ready at the Time and Place agreed upon, to be taken Aboard, with Account how many Tun of Goods they intend to Ship. And the Commodities fit to be carryed to New-Jersey, are such as are usually carryed to Virginia, New-York, or Mary-Land.

19. Thus far it is thought meet (in short) to inform all Persons, to whose Hands the several former Printed Papers and Testimonies concerning New-Jersey may not come: But if any Desire to have further Information, there are several Letters from Persons settled in West Jersey to their Friends in England, lately Printed, and are to be had at Benjamine Clarks, in George-Yard in Lumbord-Street, London; and Robert Turners, at Dublin in Ireland; David Falkner, at Edinburgh; Hugh Woods, at Hamilton; John Cowey's, at Aberdeen in Scotland. And for such who desire to be Purchasers of Land in West-Jersey, or to be satisfied concerning any thing relating thereto, they may Repair or Write to Thomas Rudyard, in the afore-said George-Yard in Lumbard-Street; where they may be further Treated with therein; where, it's doubted not, but they will have Full Satisfaction both as to the Holding, Division, Concessions, and Settlements of the said New Jersey.



DEFENCES OF PHILADELPHIA IN 1777.

CONTRIBUTED BY WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

(Continued from page 19.)

MAJOR-GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE.

“ Gen<sup>l</sup> Wayne’s Opinion of the Defences necessary for the River and Land in case the Enemy should attempt the Reduction of Phil<sup>a</sup>.

“ The Works as *Contracted* by Gen<sup>l</sup>. De Coudre to be completed and supplied with six or eight pieces of artillery, and men sufficient to fight them with about 500 Troops. One Redoubt on the High Ground at Darby Creek, sufficient to contain 200 men. The fleet, fire ships & Rafts to lay abreast and across the western channel, to act in Conjunction with the Batteries so long as it is practicable or prudent to maintain them, boats to be kept in Readiness to carry off the Troops in case of a misfortune.

“ If its found necessary to avacuate these posts, the Fleet and fire [ships] to Retire Immediately to Fort Island—or act in the Rear of the Enemy Occationally.

“ It will be absolutely necessary to throw a Good Garrison into the old Fort under the Command of proper officers with a proportionable number of men from the Corps of Artillery to the Guns therein mounted. Red Bank being a post of Consequence, as it over looks and enfilades the old Fort and vessels, it will be proper to Enclose the two Bastions, and place therein 4 or 500 men, which with the assistance of the militia of New Jersey in the vicinity thereof (after cutting away the Banks, Dams and Bridges over the Creeks) will greatly retard, if not totally prevent the Enemy from penetrating that way.

“ Whilst this is doing, the Banks, dams, Bridges and Roads on the west side of the Delaware ought to be broke

up from Marcus Hook to Phil<sup>a</sup>, for which purpose a judicious and Determined officer with a sufficient number of men and tools ought to be on the spot ready to execute this business at a signal being given.

“The army should be stationed near Marcus Hook in order to oppose the Enemy should they attempt to move from under Cover of their shiping,—or in case they should proceed further up to the land, to be ready to move with them, taking advantage of such Strong Grounds and Marshes as present themselves in the way.

“As much will depend on the Mode and Manner of the Enemies Movements, the subject admits of nothing further than General heads, and as such they are presented by

“ANT<sup>r</sup> WAYNE.

“PHILA. 7th August, 1777.”

FROM JOSEPH REED.

“DEAR SIR

“I shall make no apology for troubling you with the following Hints, because I well know that the Goodness, and I may truly add the greatness of your mind would induce you to listen with Patience and even cheerfulness to the suggestions of the meanest soldier if properly presented.

“Whether Philadelphia is the present object of attack is yet a Question, and every one reasons upon it as his Fears, Hopes and Interest dictate. That the acquisition would give eclat to their arms as subduing another of the capital cities, the seat of the Congress, and in no small Degree the principal Magazine of all supplies—that it has been held forth in Europe as the next Object of their Pursuit, are as certain Truths as that one half of the summer has been lost in a fruitless Attempt by Land. Add to this that no military History can shew an Instance of a Feint or Diversion made with the Partys whole Force and especially subject to the Chances of Wind and Weather, and the Certainty of sickness and mortality arising from crowding Troops on board vessels in a hot season. When these Things are considered one would be led to decide without Hesitation that this is

their Object. On the other Hand the obvious Advantages arising from a Junction with their Northern Army, the apparent if not real separation of the Northern and Southern States by the Possession of Hudson's River, and the great Accession of strength from the disaffected Counties of New York, seem to be equivalent to their Prospects of Philadelphia. However, as your army is now here and the excessive Heat of the Weather requires their having as much Rest as possible, Prudence and Judgment seem to require that the same Disposition should be made at present and the system of Defence formed as if their Designs upon the City were out of all Doubt.—The successful Defence of Philadel<sup>a</sup> will comprehend not only the Preservation of the City, but a Disappointment of the Campaign, and in this view our Exertions cannot be too great or our Preparations too early. And as much may depend upon the arrangement, I have ventured to submit to your Excell<sup>y</sup> a few sentiments which I have formed upon a view of our several Defences, Conversation with others both of the Land and River Departments.

“However the different Defences of the River as depending both on the Forts, Gallies and floating Batteries may be blended as forming one grand Plan with the Defence made by the Army, it may be necessary to distinguish them in Council least the Variety of Objects should confuse and distract. Tho nothing seems to be more certain than that Failure in the Land Defence will be followed by that of the River and so vice versa.—I will begin with that of the Army.

“From the conduct of the Enemy last Campaign and the certain Consequences that would follow if it should succeed, I think it very probable that if the River Defence should be as formidable as I trust it will, Mr. Howe will depend more upon his operations by Land than Water and if his Landing is safely effected will endeavor by a circuitous March to get into our Rear. It seems necessary therefore to take such a Position as to prevent this, and yet at the same Time so far advanced as to make his march as tedious as possible,

and thereby ensure as many Opportunities to check his Advances as the Distance of Ground and Frequency of advantageous Passes will admit—Some are of Opinion that at all Events opposition should be made at their Landing and there is no Doubt but the Landing of Troops in the Face of an Enemy is one of the most dangerous Manœuvres in War—but in our Case the Smoothness of the Water, the Flatness of the Ground and the heavy Fire which the Enemy can bring to cover their operations seem almost to exclude any Prospect of success. To throw up Lines for this Purpose seems also out of the Question from the Extent of Ground on which they may land to advantage. I have never heard two Opinions with Respect to the Place of Landing every one without the least Hesitation has fixed it at Marcus Hook, or its Vicinity, tho they will have fast (?) Land between that and Wilmington in spots. I can hardly suppose they will go lower, as they will have Christine River (near as wide as the Delaware at Trenton) to encounter, and the high Grounds of Wilmington possessed by our Troops would give us a very advantageous Position. If the advancing our Troops below Marcus Hook or to it, would throw the Landing below Wilmington, it would be a very happy Circumstance, but the Risque of their passing them and landing seems too great, and the Consequences of it would be fatal if the Enemy should by that means get between Philadelphia and our army: I have sometimes thought of a middle course viz. To take a strong Position such as that between Ridley and Crum Creeks to make a shew of Troops as far down as that they could make an Appearance to the Enemy, to deter their Landing but not farther than to be able to retire without Confusion to the East side of Chester Creek and so up to the Main Post if it should be necessary.

“ Some have thought of the Enemy’s landing on the Jersey shore and in the survey now making for your Excellency agreeable to what I mentioned at Head Quarters, that shore will be included, but no Person acquainted with that Ground will countenance an Idea of their Landing there



with a view of marching up. The number of Creeks, Marshes and Causeways must deter them, besides that if all these Obstacles are surmounted the Delaware is still between them and their Object—The Landing between Chester and Philadelphia, or at Chester, seems to be very improbable. As to the first it is all Marsh or bank'd Meadow except in one or two Places from which they must come thro such Ground. It is extremely unhealthy and may be laid under Water for several Miles. At Chester there are but 3 or 4 wharves and they are accessible for landing Troops only at High Water and near it, so that a Landing there must be tedious and difficult. All these Circumstances seem to decide clearly that no Landing will be made nearer the City than Marcus Hook.—If the Militia should be called out, and have no Tents, which seems but too likely, they will probably be placed in Chester. In this case it will, I imagine, be necessary that some Troops should be advanced beyond them as they will hardly have Confidence enough to oppose the first advances of the Enemy—and a precipitate hasty Retreat or Flight would have a very bad Effect on the other Part of the Army.

“The Position between Crum and Ridley Creek will be very advantageous on one account—there will be but one Flank to guard, the River and Marsh effectually securing the other—and tho it will not be so convenient to Fort Island as the High Grounds near Darby, yet if the Post is maintained at the mouth of Darby Creek, the Communication with the whole of the River Defence will I believe be found full as easy from the one as the other. I would also beg Leave to suggest another Reason for preparing the Post between the two Creeks to Darby—that if any Accident should happen at the latter to make it necessary to retire over Schuylkill, the Distance is so small that the Troops would probably crowd upon one another in Confusion at the Passage of the River—whereas if they should be obliged to retire from the other, the high Ground at Darby would be very advantageous to check the advances of the Enemy, while the Van of our Army were crossing, and if necessary

in this Case a Part must be sacrificed for the Safety of the whole—rather than the Enemy should avail himself of our Bridges. Here I would remark to your Excell<sup>y</sup> that I think if another Bridge of Boats could be thrown over Schuylkill at the lower Ferry, it would greatly Facilitate the Communication of the Army with the City—and in Case of Retreat I fear our Bridge would be found very insufficient for the Troops, Artillery and Baggage.

“I have heard some Persons mention that in Case our Army should be obliged to retire either on Account of a superiority of numbers or any Disaster, they might do it on the west side of Schuylkill and so cross the River above the Falls—but the Country is exceedingly hilly, the Banks of the River on both sides very steep, and if there should be any heavy Rains, the Fords would not be passable—so that I am perswaded if our Army should be obliged to give Ground, there is no Rout so easy and advantageous as that across the Schuylkill near the City, provided the Means of crossing the River are seasonably attended to.

“With respect to the river defense it may be properly divided into three parts.

“First. The Fire Vessels; secondly, the Gallies and floating Batteries; thirdly, the Posts & Forts at Darby Creek Mouth, at Billings Port, at Fort Island & Red Bank.

“As to the First. The effect is very great when successful, but it is very uncertain; in almost every siege of maritime Places they have been attempted and generally failed. Such desperate Courage is required, so many Circumstances of Wind & Tide must concur as to make every thinking Person cautious how he depends too much upon them. But as great preparation is made in this Way, & the Persons concerned are very sanguine, perhaps it will be best to run a Risque of some of the Vessels to cover them while the attempt is made. But to ensure as far as possible the success, I humbly apprehend it would be best for those who are to execute it to have the sole management and Direction both as to Time & Place. It is so detached a Business from the other, that I think it may safely be left to them-

selves; it is much to be feared that if they receive Orders from the Land Officers they will not act with the same Confidence; as in Case of Failure they will have Shelter from the Claims & Censure of the publick. There are some Vessels which move well, that I understand can be spared for the Purpose of assisting in this Enterprize & that without weakning the Capital Defence too much. The Effect will be so great, if the Fire takes Place, as would seem very well to warrant exposing them to some Danger in order to give the Operation a fair Tryal.

“As to the Gallies & floating Batteries, they are so unwieldy & move so slow that Prudence will not warrant their being placed but in that spot where the great Defence is to be made, viz, at the Chevaux de frize. There are, I believe, some Difficulties with Respect to Rank & Command. It is much to be wished they were removed before the Enemy approaches.

“The utility of all the shipping of every species will depend so much upon their being protected from the Shore that I am persuaded this Circumstance will claim much of your Excell<sup>ty</sup> Attention.

“First. As to the Fort at the Mouth of Darby Creek. This Work it seems was constructed for the purpose of sheltering such Vessels as should have occasion to retire thro’ the shallow channel which runs on the west side of the River between the main Land & an Island. It was done on the Importunity of the Captains of the Vessels, & they seem to place great Confidence in it. In this view, rather than from any Advantage they can perceive, I find many Gentlemen acquiesce in retaining it; but all agree that it ought to be made more respectable than it is at present. I do not pretend to any knowledge in the Science of Engineering, so that I do not presume to trouble your Excellency with any Opinion as to the mode of construction, or what Alterations should be made so as to give it value.

“Secondly. As to Billings Port. A Fatality has attended it from the Beginning, so that perhaps it would have been better to have been left in a State of Nature than to have it



in the Condition it is, or probably will be, if the Enemy should advance. However, it is a Post. Obstructions in the River have been sunk—To abandon it totally would be losing the Benefit of what has been done, would discourage the Captains & Seamen who are to defend the River & have been taught to depend upon some Protection from it. The Enemy would probably take a Possession to swell the List of Conquests & might perhaps annoy, tho' I think not materially the Gallies & Vessels defending the upper Cheveaux de frize. Upon these Accounts, I fear the abandoning it would have bad Effects. But it would be equally against my Judgment to weaken the Army by putting a large Garrison of Continental Troops in it. For should the Enemy resolve not to pass it by, it seems too accessible in the Rear to promise much success in the Defence of it. I would therefore suggest the finishing it upon a smaller scale than has been proposed, to mount a few Guns put in such a Number of Artillery Men as would be wanted to work them—a small Detachment of Continental Troops, say 2 or 300, under a good Officer—add to these so many Jersey Militia as would completely man the Work—at the same Time they might be provided at the Water Side with the Means of Retreat whenever the Enemy's approach on the Land Side should indicate its being no longer tenable. This seems to be a mean, between abandoning & risking too much in its Defence. If the Enemy resolve to approach by Water, this Post must be taken, or it will embarrass them; they must land a considerable Force under many unpleasant Circumstances, the Remainder in the mean Time laying on board the Fleet, or divided on different sides of the River which must be dangerous. If, on the other Hand, the great Push is made on the Land, & the Water operations are to be subservient to it, nothing is lost but the Service of those Artillery Men & that Detachment. The Militia are upon their own Guard & probably would not compose a Part of the Army in Pennsylvania, if they were not at Billingsport. The Pennsylvania Militia would serve with more alacrity & effect on this side the River than



the other, tho' they are now really defending their own City.

“ As to Red bank. I have never heard any other Reason assigned for making it a Post than to keep it out of the Hands of the Enemy who might otherwise annoy the Garrison at Fort Island. But when it is considered that Red bank is 1900 yards from Fort Island, that tho' it is higher it is not a very commanding situation; that it is yet unfinished; that if the Enemy are resolved to have it, it is accessible on the land; that it will weaken our Force still farther to garrison it; that some other Post must be stripp'd to provide Guns for it; I say, all these Things considered, it should seem very questionable whether it is worth retaining in the mode proposed by some Gentlemen.

“ As to Fort Island. I cannot but say I feel a particular Pleasure in learning that the Idea of abandoning it, breaking up the Platforms & removing the Guns is exploded. I do not know but some Improvements may be made there, some Gentlemen are very clear in the Necessity of them. From all the Conversation I have had with the officers on the River, I am perswaded much will depend upon the Defence made at this Fort. It is secured fully in the Rear—it has Barracks for the accommodation of the Troops—Magazines for the safety of the ammunition—commands the obstructions in the River, and while defended, it will have intercourse with the city for all kinds of supplies. If it should be necessary the surrounding Land can all be laid under Water. In short, I scarcely know a Circumstance attending it which an officer would wish to have altered or added, unless it be to raise it higher above the water. I cannot but therefore repeat it to your Excell<sup>y</sup> that in my poor Opinion the Preservation of the City on that side will intirely depend upon the good management of this Post & a correspondent Behavior in the Gallies. Nor does it appear to me that a very great Number of Men will be required for its Defence. It cannot be stormed but from Boats landing in mud up to the waists of the men, or from keys which are few and easily defended. I should think it might hold out till it was battered

down by shipping, an Event not much to be feared, as this Post will not be exposed till Billings Port is relinquished. The Garrison retiring from thence will make a handsome Reinforcement to that of Fort Island if they do not bring any Pannick with them.

“ Before I conclude I would observe to your Excellency that I believe some Hint from you to Congress or the Executive Council of the State will be necessary, in order to effect a timely Removal of the great Quantity of Stock from the River side, and the necessary Preparations made to overflow the Land adjoining the Rivers Delaware and Schuylkill if necessary—or it may happen here as elsewhere that these essential steps may be deferr’d till it is too late.

“ Thus I have ventured to throw together a few indigested Thoughts. I shall be happy if they are of any Use to your Excell<sup>y</sup>—if they are not, I am sure you will excuse it as they proceed from the same sincere Attachment to your Person and Fame which your Friendship and Favor must necessarily create in a Mind of any Sensibility. I am

“ Dear Sir,

“ most truly & affectionately

“ yours

“ J. REED.

“ PHILAD. Aug<sup>t</sup> 7. 1777.”

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL KNOX.

“ It is the opinion of the subscriber that the Battery on Fort Island ought to have an additional work thrown up upon its left, and Garrison’d with 12 pieces heavy cannon, 150 cannoniers, and half as many assistants, with 500 Infantry.

“ Red Bank is to be contracted so as to have 5 or 6 cannon on the land side, and as many heavy towards the river ; to prevent any ships coming up the channel leading to it, in order to flank the Gallies which may be station’d for the defence of the Cheveaux de Frize near the Fort.

“ Billingsport to be finish'd as at present contracted, or if possible more so; so as to hold 300 men exclusive of 150 cannoniers and 75 assistants, to work 12 pieces heavy cannon which ought to be in this work.

“ The Gallies to lye opposite to it at the break of the low Island, in order to assist the fire of Billingsport: these Gallies would be for this purpose preferable to the floating Batteries, as they can be most easily remov'd in case of an accident to Billingsport.

“ If much depends on the fire ships an inclosed Battery ought to be constructed on some advantageous piece of ground near Derbys Creek, and something higher up the river than where the present defective Battery is; this in order to prevent any of the enemy's ships mooring at the mouth of the western channel; so to hinder the fire ships sent round into the main ship channel. The western channel is thought to be most commodious for the free operation of the fire ships either in the Channel leading to Billingsport or further down the river; the Gallies ought also to lye in the western channel if their retreat is perfectly secure; as the Commodore says; as well in order to protect the fire ships, as to annoy any of the enemy's Frigates which may be opposed to Billingsport; but the two floating Batteries which from their unwieldiness, cannot be easily mov'd together with the Frigates and Xebecques, ought to lye behind the second row of Chevaux de Frize, upon a line with Fort Island.

“ If there should be time enough, a strong enclos'd work ought to be thrown up on fort Island, capable of containing 4 or 500 men; an advantage may be taken of part of the stone work already erected, and which in its present state would be infinitely detrimental to any body of men who may seek shelter from it.

“ These sentiments are respectfully submitted by Sir Y<sup>r</sup> most obt Hble Serv<sup>t</sup>

“ HENRY KNOX  
“ Brig<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Artillery.

“ CAMP SANDY RUN, 9<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>l</sup>. 1777.”

WASHINGTON TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

“ HEADQUARTERS, CAMP, NEAR GERMAN TOWN,

“ Aug [9], 1777.

“ SIR :

“ The disappearance of the enemy’s fleet for so many days rendering it rather improbable, that they will again return, I have thought it adviseable to remove the army back to Coryell’s where it will be near enough to succor Philadelphia, should the enemy contrary to appearances still make that the object of their next operations, and will be so much the more conveniently situated to proceed to the Northward, should the event of the present ambiguous and perplexing situation of things call them that way. I was the more inclined to this step, as the nearness of the army to the city, beside other disadvantages, afforded a temptation both to officers and men to indulge themselves in licenses inconsistent with discipline and order, and consequently of a very injurious tendency.<sup>1</sup>

“ But before my departure, I esteem it my duty to communicate to Congress the result of my examination into the nature of the River defence proper to be adopted according to the means in our possession, to prevent the success of any attempt upon Philadelphia by water.—I therefore beg leave to lay before Congress what appears to me most eligible, considering all circumstances, and comparing my own observations, with the different opinions of the Gentlemen, whom I consulted on the occasion.

“ It is generally a well founded maxim, that we ought to endeavor to reduce our defence as much as possible to a certainty, by collecting our strength and making all our preparations at one point, rather than to risk its being weak and ineffectual every where, by dividing our attention and force

<sup>1</sup> “ You will take every possible care in your power, as well in your march as during your stay at that place [Maidenhead], to restrain every species of licentiousness in the soldiery, and to prevent them doing the least injury to the inhabitants or their property, as nothing can be more disserviceable to our cause, or more unworthy of the characters we profess—to say nothing of the injustice of the measure.”—*Washington to Colonel Morgan*, August 9, 1777.



to different objects. In doing this, we may disable ourselves from acting with sufficient vigor any where, and a misfortune in one place may pave the way for a similar one in another. In our circumstances, we have neither men, cannon, nor any thing else to spare, and perhaps cannot with propriety hazard them on objects which being attended with the greatest success we can promise ourselves, can be productive of only partial and indcisive advantages, and which may possibly fail of the end proposed, may have some serious ill-consequences, and must at all events have some disadvantages.

“It is then to be considered, where our defence can be most effectually made,—whether at Billingsport, or at Fort Island.

“It appears to me, that the last deserves greatly the preference. Billingsport has but one row of Chevaux de frize, Fort Island has three; and in addition to them, a boom and another Chevaux de frize, ready to be sunk in the channel, on the approach of the enemy; of course the obstructions in this respect are four times as great at the one as at the other. The Gallies and floating batteries, that could be brought for the defence of the chevaux de frize at Billingsport, would be unable to maintain their station, when once the enemy were in possession of the commanding ground on the Jersey side, to which they would be entirely exposed, and notwithstanding the works raising there, even supposing them complete, the strongest advocates for making our defence in this place do not pretend, that that event can be protracted more than fifteen or twenty days at most, at the end of which time, we should be obliged with the loss of our cannon at least to abandon the defence, and leave it in the power of the enemy to remove or destroy the chevaux de frize at pleasure. Nor is it by any means certain that a single row of chevaux de frize would be an impenetrable barrier to the enemy’s ships. Experiments have been made that lead to a contrary supposition, and if they should hazard one, which it might be well worth their while to do, with some of their less valuable ships, under favor of a

leading breeze and tide, and should succeed in it,—the consequence might be the loss of our gallies and floating batteries, which I apprehend might be intercepted, and with the assistance of their gallies and small armed vessels, taken and this would greatly weaken the opposition we might otherwise give at Fort Island, and tend powerfully to render it abortive. But if they should not attempt this, contenting themselves with safer though slower operations, I have already observed, that it is agreed, on all hands, in fifteen or twenty days they would be able to possess themselves of infallible means of frustrating our opposition there, by the capture of our works; and if we add to this, that it might very possibly happen in less time,—if from no other cause,—yet from the garrison being intimidated, by a consciousness of its own inferiority and inability to support itself against a so much superior force of numbers,—which might occasion a conduct destructive to itself—there will remain no sufficient reasons to justify the making this the principal point of defence.

“ At Fort Island the boom and chevaux de frize are an ample security against any forcible impression of the enemy’s ships which it would be imprudent in them to attempt. On the Jersey side the situation of the ground is such, that the gallies, floating batteries and forts employed in the defence of the obstructions would have little to fear from any batteries erected there. Red-bank seems, by its elevation to be the only advantageous spot for annoying them; but as it is computed to be above 1900 yards from Fort Island, the distance is rather too great to allow any battery raised there to act with so much effect as to be able to silence our fire. On this side, the ground by dykes and sluices may be laid under water to so considerable an extent as to leave no danger of our River force being annoyed from thence; for which purpose suitable precautions ought, at once, to be made, against it may be necessary to carry them into effect.

“ But, though a battery upon Red-bank, would not in my apprehension, be able to prevent the efficacy of our defence or give any material disturbance to Fort Island, in particu-

lar, yet it might serve to make the situation of some of our gallies rather uneasy; and this perhaps makes it worth while to pre-occupy it in order to keep it out of the enemy's hands erecting a small, but strong work there capable of containing about two hundred men, with six or eight pieces of light cannon, and a proportionable quantity of stores. As the approaches to it are difficult on account of the adjacent creeks, and a communication can be kept open between it and our army, by which means the garrison might receive succors from time to time, though we could not expect to make it impregnable, yet we should have a prospect of holding it much longer than we could the work at Billingsport.

“In the position, which from my present view of it, I should think it best for our army to take, the left wing of it would be nearly opposite to Red-bank, and therefore in a condition to relieve and support it; whereas Billingsport being more remote from the probable position of the army, and detached from any other work, could not easily derive any assistance from without and must rely wholly upon its own strength.

“Either at Billingsport or at Fort Island, I believe there is not much to be apprehended from the fire of the enemy's ships unaided by land batteries; For as by the information of those who ought to be acquainted with the fact, not more than three ships can act abreast at a time at either place, and as the gallies, not requiring the same depth of water, can extend themselves at pleasure, and besides carry a superior weight of metal to that which frigates commonly have, a much superior fire, could be opposed to them than any they could bring and from the difference of size and make between the frigates and gallies, to much better effect than theirs. The comparative extent of the River at Billingsport and at Fort Island has been assigned as a motive of preference to the former, the river being narrower there than at the latter, and supposed to admit of fewer ships operating at a time; but as it is asserted by the gentlemen in the River department, that the sand banks and shallowness of the River in most places near Fort Island, compen-



sate for the width of it and make it impossible for more than three ships to act together at a time, this reason of preferring the position at Billingsport seems to have no foundation. And if we consider, that our whole force of galleys and floating batteries, would be collected at Fort Island, assisted by the fort itself and that it would not be safe to trust them all out for the defence of Billingsport, for fear of the disaster already suggested, it seems evident enough that this is the place where our defence may be most successfully made.

“ One of the most weighty considerations with me is, that our Army as before intimated, could more conveniently co-operate with the defence by water here than at Billingsport. The ground on this side is better situated here than at the other place, and the Army being so much nearer the city, it is so much the less likely, that the enemy should be able, by a circuitous route to fall into the rear of it and separate it from the city, which is a circumstance that ought carefully to be attended to.

“ Some Gentlemen are of opinion that our principal dependence ought to be upon Fort Island and its appendages; but at the same time, that we should make a part of our defence at Billingsport proposing for that purpose that the works there should be continued on the new contracted scale to be garrisoned by four or five hundred men. The reasons for this are—that it would serve to delay the enemy and give our army time to come up, should it be at any distance and that it would prevent those disagreeable impressions which never fail to accompany the abandoning works that have been once raised and plans that have been once in execution; especially when the persons concerned in the defence of them repose a degree of confidence in them;—which is said to be the case in the present instance. But these reasons may perhaps not be so conclusive as 'tis imagined; for 'tis a question whether, if our army was so remote as to make such a delay necessary, the enemy would embarrass themselves with removing the water obstructions in the first place, but would not rather debark and make



a rapid march by land; possessing themselves of the city and of those positions which would make the surrender of the galleys, &c., in some sort a natural consequence; and it is worthy of consideration, whether the abandoning the works begun at this time, which will probably allow some leisure for any disagreeable impressions it might make to be effaced, will not be less injurious than the abandoning them hereafter when they have cost more expence, time and labor, and in the critical moment of an attack, when every misfortune, and the loss of the most inconsiderable post is too apt to have a much worse influence on the mind than the real importance of it will justify. Add to this the possibility that the garrison dismayed at the approach of numbers so superior to their own, might not answer the end expected from them, and might even be lost by their timidity—the certainty of losing the cannon after the time limited for the defence and thereby weakening that of the upper position—the chance of losing the galleys and floating batteries, requisite for covering the chevaux de frize, by a hazardous and successful attempt to break through them, and the garrison with them, which would fall of course upon such an event,—It is however, submitted to Congress to ballance the advantages and disadvantages and determine accordingly. I would only beg leave to give it clearly as my opinion, that our principal dependence ought to be upon Fort Island and the obstructions there, and that Billingsport ought not by any means to be defended, more than as a secondary object.

“ And to that end, I would recommend that the works on Fort Island, which on their present construction are by no means calculated for the defence of the Chevaux de frize be immediately altered and adapted to that purpose, taking care, at the same time, to make them defensible with a small number of men against any sudden attempt to land in boats and carry them by assault.—But whatever scheme is pursued, I could wish the greatest diligence and despatch may be used in bringing it to maturity; for though the danger which lately threatened seems to have subsided,

there is no knowing how soon it may return and certainly it will be prudent to do every thing in our power to be prepared for it, as we can lose nothing by being so, and may lose a great deal by neglecting to improve the interval of leisure they have given us should it be their intention to revisit this quarter. As the means to this—it will be necessary to furnish Mr. Coudray to whom the Superintendency of those works is intrusted, with a competent number of workmen, tools, and what other things he may want to enable him to carry them on with propriety, ease and expedition.

“On the whole I am of opinion that the obstructions in the River, with the help of gallies, floating batteries, and with tolerable industry to put the land works in a proper state, will be extremely formidable to the enemy and authorise a reasonable expectation of their being effectual. The fire ships also will contribute to this end, for though there are many obstacles that render their success precarious, and a happy concurrence of circumstances is necessary towards it, any of which failing may disappoint the project, and there is therefore no room to be sanguine, yet there is some probability of its succeeding and they will be at least an embarrassment and terror to the enemy, and will oblige them to use precautions inconvenient to them and serviceable to us.

“As an accurate knowledge of the country is essential to a good defence and as the enemy’s approach may be sudden and we may be called to act, without having time, when it happens, to examine it sufficiently if it is not done beforehand, it would answer a valuable purpose to have it immediately carefully reconnoitred, and sketches taken of all the landing places, great roads and bye-paths, Incamping grounds, heights, rivers, creeks, morasses, and every thing that it can be of any importance to know.

“Marcus Hook seems to be the most advanced place at which it is conjectured the enemy will land, the survey should therefore comprehend all the country between that & Phil<sup>a</sup>.

“Mr. Du Coudray has offered his services with his Engineers to do this business, if authorized by Congress, only requiring that they be supplied with horses and a hand or two. If Congress approve of it, I shall be glad they may be desired to enter upon it, without loss of time. I have the honor, &c.

“G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.”

FROM DU COUDRAY.

“PHILADELPHIA, 10 August, 1777.

“SIR,

“I have received with the most Respectful gratitude, the new proofs of esteem and kindness, with which, your Excellency has honoured me, in making Colonel Hamilton communicate to me the Letter, which you have addressed to the Congress, with regard to the defence of the approaches of the enemy to philadelphia.

“The manner in which your Excellency has discussed the different opinions about the fortifications of the River, places in the most evident Light the sentiment which you preferably adopt.

“It is beyond all Dispute, that the situation of fort island is more advantageous, than that of billing’s port, by the difficulty which the enemy shal have of aproaching it; by the Resources which the ground affords of erecting there a better fortification; and by the facility of conveying assistance. The chief Reason which induced me to prefer Billingsport, was the narrowness of the river in this place, which is in Reality two third less than at fort island, and upon that account, seems to Reduce the enemy to a necessity of bringing to action, at the same time, a far less number of vessels to Destroy the means of Defending the chevaux de frize. But the informations given your excellency, having demonstrated, as you say in your Letter, to the Congress, that notwithstanding the breadth of the river at fort island, the enemy can present there but three fregates at a time; it is certain that preferable aplication must be given to defend that part of the river; if there be time



enough, to put this fort in a condition of Resisting the forces which the enemy, by the means of small vessels and chaloupes, might conduct there a number sufficient to nail up the cannon, and destroy the single palissade badly flanked, badly [?], which constitutes actually its only Defence on three of its four fronts.

“The immediate assistance which your excellency Demands, of Congress for this object, and the Reasons which you Lay before them to show the importance of a Ready Complacency, cannot fail of changing immediately the critical situation in which matters are in this Respect, and in which the most unavoidably Remain a far longer time than at billing’s port, if the means employed be similar.

“Tho’ your excellency has Declared nothing Definitive to me on this subject, when I left you before yesterday, the idea however which I had of your opinion, has induced me yesterday to go to fort island with four engineers, where we passt the whole day in examining, combining and drawing all its particulars circumstances, as well as those of the environs, which have any Relation to it. The approach of the night, and the absolute cessation from all work in this country during sundays, even in the most urgent momens, obliged us to defer the continuation of this work till tomorrow, when I hope we will finish it. I believe we shall be employed tuesday and wenesday in drawing these particulars in such a manner as to put them in a Condition of being presented to your excellency; which I intend to do thursday or friday at farthest. I shall deliver at the same time the Result of the examination of the cannons, and the carriages which are at present fit to be employed, or may be rendered so in the course of this month; the end of which I think ought to be Declared of the time when all these works are to be finished, both at fort island and Red bank, which your excellency think proper to be put in a state of Defense.

“I hope also that the same period will be sufficient to execute the minute examination which I proposed to your excellency, to make from markus’ hook to philadelphia; a



project which you have honoured of your approbation, and solicitations to Congress.

“I shal think myself happy if the execution of these different objects should afford me, as well all the officers who accompany me, an occasion of engaging with the enemy, and of carrying with us proofs of that esteem, which we came so far to seek for; and the certainty of which will at the same time constitute our consolation and glory.<sup>1</sup>

“I am with greatest Respect

“Sir

“of your excellency

“the most obedient servant

“DU COUDRAY.”

WASHINGTON TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

• “HEAD QUARTERS, CAMP AT CROSS ROADS,  
“15 August, 1777.

“SIR,

“Mr. Du Coudray has laid before me a plan of the river by which it appears that for a considerable space between

<sup>1</sup> “That A. met Ld B. & Gen. Howe at the entrance of the Delaware, that he informed them of the state of the river, and the chain, the chevaux de frize, &c.; that they on that inquired into the state of Chesapeake, and the possibility of landing at the head of Elk. It was urged to them that it would be better to land below the impediments, as they would by that means save the sea voyage, and be almost as near Philadelphia. To this was answered, that the taking of the city was not the principal object, but as it afterwards appeared that all the magazines were then at York Town or Carlisle, and the taking of them would effectively crush Gen. Washington, and therefore they pursued their intention of going up the Chesapeak, as the demolition of the magazines was to be more easily effected by so doing. After having landed at the Head of Elk with this view, the Gen'l gained secret intelligence that Gen. W. had promised his officers to risk a battle, and preparations were accordingly made to tempt him to keep his promise, which ended in the affair of Brandywine. That led on to the taking of Philadelphia, the danger the army incurred at German Town, and the laying aside all intentions upon the magazines, which has never been renewed during the whole winter, or before the opening of the campaign in the Spring, tho' those magazines subsisted the whole army of the enemy.”—*Earl of Carlisle; note of a conversation.* Stevens's “Fac-similes,” Vol. I. folio 82.

the two sand banks on the east side of Fort Island there is from four to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms depth of water. According to this representation there would be room for three frigates to lie between those banks, in such a position as to enfilade the works at Fort Island, and make it difficult to maintain them. There are but two ways of remedying this inconvenience; one by having a sufficient number of chevaux de frize sunk at the entrance between the two banks, and the other by having the left flank of Fort Island fortification supported by a good battery, capable of resisting the cannon of the ship, & obliging them to quit their station. The first is evidently preferable because the efficacy of it will be more certain. A few chevaux de frize properly placed might effectually bar all access to the ships; but there is a possibility that any battery we can construct might be overpowered by the fire of the shipping. And as we have few cannon and Fort Island is itself a marshy spot incapable of affording earth for the batteries necessary to be raised upon it, which must be brought from the opposite shore, it would not be prudent to multiply works there more than cannot be avoided. It would also be a great advantage gained, to secure the island from annoyance, except in one point and that in front from only three ships at a time, which would be effected by stopping up the passage between the two banks with chevaux de frize. I should therefore think it of importance to have this measure immediately adopted and carried into execution.

“ With great respect &c.

“ G<sup>o</sup>. WASHINGTON.”

(To be continued.)

"POLL BOOK OF  
AN ELECTION IN 1739"  
BURLINGTON COUNTY, NEW JERSEY.

CONTRIBUTED BY JOHN J. THOMPSON.

An Acc<sup>t</sup> of the Election for the County of Burlington  
which began the 14 of 3<sup>mo</sup> 1739.

		Votes	
Stacy fol	..... 1	47	
	..... 2	49	
	..... 3	51	
	..... 4	49	
	..... 5	46	
	..... 6	12	
	..... 7	36	
		<hr style="width: 100%;"/>	
		Stacy 290 Votes .....	290
Cooke fol	..... 1	46	
	..... 2	47	
	..... 3	48	
	..... 4	44	
	..... 5	42	
	..... 6	9	
	..... 7	38	
		<hr style="width: 100%;"/>	
		Cooke 274 Votes .....	274
Woolman fol	..... 1	26	
	..... 2	0	
	..... 3	3	
	..... 4	42	
	..... 5	44	
	..... 6	44	
	..... 7	43	
		<hr style="width: 100%;"/>	
		Woolman 202 Votes .....	202
Wright fol	..... 1	14	
	..... 2	0	
	..... 3	0	
	..... 4	12	
	..... 5	38	
	..... 6	35	
	..... 7	7	
		<hr style="width: 100%;"/>	
		Wright 106 Votes .....	106
			<hr style="width: 100%;"/>
			In all 872

Mahlon Stacy & W<sup>m</sup> Cook having a Majority of votes were declared Representatives for the County of Burlington, to Serve in the General Assembly for the province of Nova Cesaria or New Jersey the 18<sup>th</sup> 3<sup>mo</sup> 1739

E<sup>s</sup> Ex<sup>d</sup> p John Smith Clerk

		Votes
Stacy—day	1	113
	2	104
	3	30
	4	30
	5	13
		<hr/>
	Stacy	..... 290 Votes

Cooke—day	1	108
	2	92
	3	33
	4	25
	5	16
		<hr/>
	Cooke	..... 274 Votes

Woolman—day	1	21
	2	44
	3	55
	4	64
	5	18
		<hr/>
	Woolman	..... 202 Votes

Wright—day	1	12
	2	30
	3	54
	4	8
	5	2
		<hr/>
	Wright	..... 106 Votes

In all 872 Votes

Thomas Hunloke Sheriff

Mahlon Stacy	} Candidates
William Cooke	
Samuel Woolman	
Joshua Wright	



Robert Field	} Inspectors	Edward Pierce Esq <sup>r</sup>	} Clerks
Thomas Seve		Ralph Peart	
Thomas Budd		Thomas Potts Jun <sup>r</sup>	
Benja <sup>a</sup> Seve		John Woolman	
		John Smith	

Lewis Morris Esq<sup>r</sup> Governour & Commander In Chief &c

CANDIDATES.

**Sam'l Wolman**

John Cheshire  
Will<sup>m</sup> Pratt  
Henry Burr  
Joseph Devenish  
Joseph Pearson  
Sam<sup>l</sup> Hains  
Jen Butcher  
Nathaniel Hains  
James Wells  
Jacob Lipincott  
Will<sup>m</sup> Foster  
Will<sup>m</sup> Sharp  
Benja<sup>a</sup> Allin  
John Cox  
Thomas Wilkins  
Thomas Bishop  
Thomas Andrews  
Will<sup>m</sup> Austin  
Joseph Burr—19  
Caleb Hains  
John Darnelly—21  
James Antrom  
Phillip Wallis  
John Evans  
Andrew Conrow  
John Neal—26

SAM SMITH  
In Burlington

**Joshua Wright**

John Cheshire  
Henry Burr  
Joseph Devenish  
Joseph Pearson  
Sam<sup>l</sup> Hains  
Jen Butcher  
Nathaniel Hains  
Jacob Lipincott  
John Cox  
Thomas Andrews  
Joseph Burr  
Caleb Hains—12  
James Antrom  
John Neale—14

S<sup>a</sup> Smith

Sam Smith

Smith

Sannel Smith  
S<sup>a</sup> Smith

nemini contradicentia  
Quantum Sufficit

**Wm. Cook**

John Steward  
John Ruckhill  
Isaac Foreman  
Jen Quicksail  
Daniel Farnsworth  
Joseph Thorn  
Benja<sup>a</sup> Robins  
Thom<sup>s</sup> Hooton Sen  
Ambrose field  
Thomas Eves  
Joseph Quicksail  
Thomas Sharp  
Jen Chapman  
Benja<sup>a</sup> Wright  
Peter Emley  
David Ruckhill  
Tho<sup>s</sup> ffoluks jun<sup>r</sup>  
Rob<sup>t</sup> Chapman  
Thom<sup>s</sup> Lipincott  
Sam<sup>l</sup> Taler  
Sam<sup>l</sup> Lipincott  
Joseph Pope  
Thomas Cook  
Will<sup>m</sup> Bunting  
Mark Stratton  
John ffolowell  
Sam<sup>l</sup> Thorn  
Jonathan Seve  
Thom<sup>s</sup> Copperth-  
wait  
Anthony Bunting  
Will<sup>m</sup> Harrison  
John forsythe  
John Taler  
Josiah Gaskil  
Caleb Seve jun<sup>r</sup>  
Will<sup>m</sup> Hooton  
John Hooton  
Jacob Lipincott jun<sup>r</sup>  
Rich<sup>d</sup> Heritage  
Rich<sup>d</sup> Eys  
John Black  
John Eves  
John Bacon  
Eber Decow  
Joseph Stokes  
Thomas Duglas

**Mah. Stacy**

Jen Steward  
Jen Ruckhill  
Isaac foreman  
Jen Quicksail  
Dan<sup>l</sup> Farnsworth  
Joseph Thorn  
Benja<sup>a</sup> Robins  
Thom<sup>s</sup> Hooton  
Ambrose Field  
Thomas Eves  
Joseph Quicksail  
Thomas Sharp  
Jen Chapman  
Benja<sup>a</sup> Wright  
Peter Emley  
David Ruckhill  
Thom<sup>s</sup> ffoluks jun<sup>r</sup>  
Rob<sup>t</sup> Chapman  
Thom<sup>s</sup> Lipincott  
Sam<sup>l</sup> Taler  
Sam<sup>l</sup> Lipincott  
Joseph Pope  
Thomas Cook X  
Will<sup>m</sup> Bunting  
Mark Stratton  
Jen ffolowell  
Sam<sup>l</sup> Thorn  
Jonathan Seve  
Thom<sup>s</sup> Copperth-  
wait  
Anthony Bunting  
Will<sup>m</sup> Harrison  
Jen forsythe  
John Taler  
Josiah Gaskil  
Caleb Seve jun<sup>r</sup>  
Will<sup>m</sup> Hooton  
John Hooton  
Jacob Lipincott jun<sup>r</sup>  
Rich<sup>d</sup> Heritage  
Rich<sup>d</sup> Eys  
John Black  
John Eves  
Will<sup>m</sup> Pratt  
John Bacon  
Eber Decow  
Joseph Stokes  
Thomas Duglas

**Sam'l Wolman**

**Joshua Wright**

**Wm. Cook**

**Mah'n Stacy**

Rob<sup>t</sup> Buckhill  
 Thomas Black  
 Rich<sup>d</sup> Smith Black S  
 Caleb Scattergood  
 Thom<sup>s</sup> Hackney  
 Will<sup>m</sup> French  
 Peter Phillips  
 Sam<sup>l</sup> Shoures  
 Michael Adkinson  
 Will<sup>m</sup> Murrel  
 Thom<sup>s</sup> Budd jun<sup>r</sup>  
 James Pharro  
 Nehemiah Hains  
 Joseph Reaves  
 Sam<sup>l</sup> Woodward  
 Joseph Steward  
 Sam<sup>l</sup> Bunting jun<sup>r</sup>  
 Edm<sup>d</sup> Beaks  
 John Bullock  
 Thom<sup>s</sup> french  
 Benja<sup>s</sup> Talman  
 Anthony Woodard  
 Will<sup>m</sup> Satterthwait  
 John Hamel  
 Benja<sup>s</sup> Field  
 Sam<sup>l</sup> farnsworth  
 John Milburn  
 George ffollowel  
 Isaac Bolton  
 Joseph Pancost  
 Thomas Pancost  
 Thomas Hains  
 Nathan Hains  
 John Roberts  
 Joseph Talman  
 Nicholas Powel  
 Edw<sup>d</sup> Mullin  
 John Warrin  
 Nathaniel Potts  
 Will<sup>m</sup> Chapman  
 Joseph fenemoor  
 Will<sup>m</sup> Garwood  
 Michael Brannin  
 Robert Ingle  
 Timothy Middleton  
 John Ingle  
 Will<sup>m</sup> ffoster

Rob<sup>t</sup> Buckhill  
 Thom<sup>s</sup> Black  
 Rich<sup>d</sup> Smith  
 B<sup>t</sup> Smith  
 Caleb Scattergood  
 Thom<sup>s</sup> Hackney  
 Will<sup>m</sup> french  
 Peter Phillips  
 Sam<sup>l</sup> Shoures  
 Michael Adkinson  
 Will<sup>m</sup> Murrel  
 Thom<sup>s</sup> Budd jun<sup>r</sup>  
 James Pharro  
 Nehemiah Hains  
 Joseph Reaves  
 Sam<sup>l</sup> Woodard  
 Joseph Steward  
 Sam<sup>l</sup> Bunting jun<sup>r</sup>  
 Edm<sup>d</sup> Beaks  
 John Bullock  
 Thomas french  
 Benja<sup>s</sup> Talman  
 Anthony Woodard  
 Will<sup>m</sup> Satterthwait  
 John Hamel  
 Benja<sup>s</sup> field  
 Sam<sup>l</sup> farnsworth  
 John Milburn  
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 Isaac Bolton  
 Joseph Pancost  
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 Thomas Hains  
 Nathan Hains  
 John Roberts  
 Joseph Talman  
 Nicholas Powel  
 James Wells  
 Edw<sup>d</sup> Mullin  
 John Warrin  
 Nathaniel Potts  
 Will<sup>m</sup> Chapman  
 Joseph fenemoor  
 Will<sup>m</sup> Garwood  
 Michael Brannin  
 Robert Ingle  
 Timothy Middleton  
 John Ingle  
 Will<sup>m</sup> Sharp  
 Benja<sup>s</sup> Allin

**Sam'l Wolman**

Thomas Eves Junr  
Thomas Budd  
Thomas Sveve

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3

**Josh'a Wright**

**Wm. Cook**

Benja<sup>a</sup> Scattergood  
Jos<sup>a</sup> Quicksail  
Thomas Wilkins  
Nathaniel Crips  
John Turner  
Will<sup>m</sup> Black  
Sam'l Satterthwaite  
Rob<sup>t</sup> Wright  
Isaac Horner  
John Scholey  
Jonathan Scatter-  
good  
Thomas Earle  
Samuel Embley  
John Butcher junr  
John Pimm—15  
Rob<sup>t</sup> Pearson  
John Thorn  
Joseph Burdin  
Safety Burdin  
James Draper  
Joseph Nicholson  
Jacob Garwood  
Matthew forsythe  
Edw<sup>d</sup> Bolton  
Joseph Sveve  
Sam<sup>l</sup> Adkinson  
Freedom Lipincott  
Gizebert Hendrick-  
son  
Joseph Heritage  
Joseph Gardiner  
Joseph Biddle  
Edwd Slainey  
Jacob Ong  
John Bunting  
Parnel Clayton  
John Antrom  
John Pancost  
Edw<sup>d</sup> Draper  
Joseph Wood  
Will<sup>m</sup> Taler  
Charles Taler  
Joseph Arison  
Joshua Sveve  
Will<sup>m</sup> Davis  
Jen Marshall  
David Sveve  
Will<sup>m</sup> Duckworth X  
Matthias Brackney

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48

**Mal'n Stacy**

Benja<sup>a</sup> Scattergood  
Jos<sup>a</sup> Quicksail  
Natha<sup>l</sup> Crips  
Thomas Bishop  
John Turner  
Will<sup>m</sup> Black  
Sam'l Satterthwaite  
Rob<sup>t</sup> Wright  
Isaac Horner  
Will<sup>m</sup> Austin  
John Scholey  
Jonathan Scatter-  
good  
Thomas Earle  
Samuel Embly  
John Butcher junr  
John Darnelly  
John Pimm—17  
Rob<sup>t</sup> Pearson  
John Thorn  
Joseph Burdin  
Safety Burdin  
James Draper  
Joseph Nicholson  
Phillip Wallis  
Jacob Garwood  
Matthew fforsthe  
Edw<sup>d</sup> Bolton  
Joseph Sveve  
Sam<sup>l</sup> Adkinson  
Freedom Lipincott  
Gizbert Hendrick-  
son  
Joseph Heritage  
Joseph Gardiner  
Joseph Biddle  
Edw<sup>d</sup> Slayney  
Jacob Ong  
John Bunting  
Parnel Clayton  
John Antrom  
John Pancost  
Edw<sup>d</sup> Draper  
Joseph Wood  
Will<sup>m</sup> Taler  
Charles Taler  
Joseph Arison  
Joshua Sveve  
Will<sup>m</sup> Davis  
John Marshal  
David Sveve  
Will<sup>m</sup> Duckworth X  
Matthias Brakney

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51

**Sam'l Wolman**

Dan<sup>l</sup> Smith Sr  
 Edw<sup>d</sup> Weaver  
 Roger Ford  
 Peter Andrews  
 Sam<sup>l</sup> Scattergood  
 Elnathan Stevenson  
 Rob<sup>t</sup> French  
 Revel Elton  
 John Deacon  
 John Hillyard  
 Thomas Webster  
 Thomas Buzby  
 John Pricket  
 Sam<sup>l</sup> Wright—14  
 John Craig  
 Abra<sup>m</sup> Perkins  
 Henry Dill  
 Fretwel Wright  
 Sam<sup>l</sup> Bunting  
 John Chambers  
 John Buzby  
 Francis Dudley  
 Will<sup>m</sup> Norcross  
 Will<sup>m</sup> Peeche  
 Edw<sup>d</sup> Kemble  
 Carlisle Hains  
 Jonath<sup>n</sup> Bordin

—27—

Thomas Knight  
 Rob<sup>t</sup> Jackson  
 John Jackson  
 Joseph Woolston  
 George Brigs  
 Zachary Prichet  
 Abra<sup>m</sup> Hains  
 Rob<sup>t</sup> Hunt  
 John Ward  
 Ezekiel Harding  
 Joseph Claypole  
 Will<sup>m</sup> Hollinshead  
 Jacob Matlock  
 Jacob Pricket  
 James Allin

**Josh'a Wright**

Dan<sup>l</sup> Smith Sr  
 Edw<sup>d</sup> Weaver  
 Roger Ford  
 Peter Andrews  
 Sam<sup>l</sup> Scattergood  
 Elnathan Stevenson  
 Robt French  
 John Deacon  
 Thomas Webster  
 Thomas Buzby  
 Sam<sup>l</sup> Wright—11  
 Thomas Budd

12

**Wm. Cook**

William Pancost  
 John Small  
 John Bunting jun<sup>r</sup>  
 Thomas Grigs  
 Burgiss Hall  
 Isaac Decow Medius  
 Sam<sup>l</sup> Pancost  
 George Duglas  
 Thomas Staples  
 Thomas Buzby  
 Will<sup>m</sup> Hamel—10  
 Thomas Thompson  
 Will<sup>m</sup> Inglish  
 Amos Hains  
 William Troth  
 John Thompson  
 Sam<sup>l</sup> Stokes  
 Jonathan Curtis  
 Joseph Radford  
 Will<sup>m</sup> Evans  
 John Crosher  
 Matthew Allin  
 John fiord  
 Rob<sup>t</sup> Taler  
 Job Talman  
 Jonathan Bertain  
 Jacob Hog  
 Nathan ffollowel  
 Will<sup>m</sup> ffollowel  
 Francis Gibbs  
 Isaac Gibbs jun<sup>r</sup>  
 Water Herbert  
 David Budd  
 Benja<sup>n</sup> Bryan  
 James Shinn  
 Sam<sup>l</sup> Shinn  
 Joseph Stogdon  
 Thomas Smith  
 Francis Shinn  
 Jacob Gaskil  
 John Harvey  
 Joseph Richards  
 Will<sup>m</sup> Stogdon  
 Will<sup>m</sup> Budd  
 Joseph Lamb—44

**Mah'n Stacy.**

Will<sup>m</sup> Pancost  
 John Small  
 John Bunting jun<sup>r</sup>  
 Thomas Grigs  
 Burgis Hall  
 Isaac Decow Medius  
 Sam<sup>l</sup> Pancost  
 George Duglas  
 Thomas Staples  
 Will<sup>m</sup> Hamel  
 John Evans  
 Andrew Conerow—  
 12  
 Thomas Thompson  
 Will<sup>m</sup> Inglish  
 Amos Hains  
 Will<sup>m</sup> Troth  
 John Thompson  
 Sam<sup>l</sup> Stokes  
 Jonathan Curtis  
 Joseph Radford  
 Will<sup>m</sup> Evans  
 John Crosher  
 Matthew Allin  
 John Ford  
 Rob<sup>t</sup> Taler  
 Job Talman  
 Jonath<sup>n</sup> Bertain  
 Jacob Hogg  
 Nathan ffollowel  
 Will<sup>m</sup> ffollowel  
 Francis Gibbs  
 Isaac Gibbs jun<sup>r</sup>  
 Water Herbert  
 David Budd  
 Benja<sup>n</sup> Bryan  
 James Shinn  
 Sam<sup>l</sup> Shinn  
 Joseph Stogdon  
 Thomas Smith  
 Francis Shinn  
 Jacob Gaskil  
 John Harvey  
 Joseph Richards  
 Will<sup>m</sup> Stogdon  
 Will<sup>m</sup> Budd  
 Joseph Lamb  
 Revel Elton  
 John Hillyard  
 John Prickett—49



<b>Sam'l Wolman</b>	<b>Josh'a Wright</b>	<b>Wm. Cook</b>	<b>Mah'n Stacy</b>
Will <sup>m</sup> Buddel	John Van Schiver	Hugh Hutchins J <sup>r</sup>	Will <sup>m</sup> Buddel
John Van Schiver	Will <sup>m</sup> Haith	Sam <sup>l</sup> ffenton	Thomas Reaves
Will <sup>m</sup> Haith	Thomas Rodgers	Jacob Decow	Edw <sup>d</sup> Clemens
Thomas Reaves	Rob <sup>t</sup> Webb	Nathan <sup>l</sup> ffarnsworth	Jacob Lamb
Edw <sup>d</sup> Clemens	Job Ridgway	Mich <sup>l</sup> Newboul	Thom <sup>s</sup> Budd Medius
Jacob Lamb	John ffenemoore	Rowath Beck	Hugh Hutchins J <sup>r</sup>
Thomas Rodgers	Thomas Scattergood	John Beck	Sam <sup>l</sup> ffenton
Rob <sup>t</sup> Webb	Sen <sup>r</sup>	Will <sup>m</sup> Pancost jun <sup>r</sup>	Jacob Decow
Thomas Budd Me-	Dan <sup>l</sup> Toye	Benja <sup>s</sup> Burson	Nath <sup>l</sup> ffarnsworth
dius	Esaiah Toye	John Scholey Sen <sup>r</sup>	Mich <sup>l</sup> Newboul
Job Ridgway	Frederick Toye	Edw <sup>d</sup> Tonkin	Rowath Beck
John ffenemoor	James Lacony	John Middleton jun <sup>r</sup>	John Beck
Tho <sup>s</sup> Scattergood	John Burr	Rob <sup>t</sup> Bradduk	Will <sup>m</sup> Pancost jun <sup>r</sup>
Sen <sup>r</sup>	Abraham Bryan	Felix Leeds	Benja <sup>s</sup> Bursson
Dan <sup>l</sup> Toye	Caleb Raper	Tho <sup>s</sup> Adkinson jun	Jn Scholey Sen <sup>r</sup>
Esaiah Toye	Rob <sup>t</sup> Smith	15	Edw <sup>d</sup> Tonkin
Frederick Toye	Edw <sup>d</sup> Pierce	John Tantum S <sup>c</sup>	Jn Middleton jun
James Lacony	Thomas Scott—17	Preserve Brown S <sup>c</sup>	Sam <sup>l</sup> Brian
Sam <sup>l</sup> Brian	Benja <sup>s</sup> Wheat	John Middleton	Felix Leeds
Rob <sup>t</sup> Bradduk	Obadiah Borton	John Tantum J <sup>r</sup>	Tho <sup>s</sup> Adkinson jun
John Burr	John Briggs	Will <sup>m</sup> Kirby	Thomas Eyrs—21
Abraham Bryan	Edw <sup>d</sup> Hillyard	Jacob Scott	John Tantum S <sup>c</sup>
Caleb Raper	Jonath <sup>s</sup> Lovett	Caleb Sreve Sen <sup>r</sup>	Preserve Brown S <sup>c</sup>
Rob <sup>t</sup> Smith	Sam <sup>l</sup> Woolston	George Taler	John Tantum J <sup>r</sup>
Edw <sup>d</sup> Pierce	Dan <sup>l</sup> Wells	Will <sup>m</sup> Earle	Will <sup>m</sup> Kirby
Thomas Scott	Micajah How	John West	Jacob Scot
Thomas Eyrs—25	Joseph Adkinson	Abra <sup>m</sup> Merriot	John Middleton
Benja <sup>s</sup> Wheat	Dan <sup>l</sup> Bacon	Isaac Ivins	Caleb Sreve Sen <sup>r</sup>
Obadiah Borton	Joshua Barker	Jacob Shinn	George Taler
John Briggs	Joseph Parker	Caleb Shinn	Will <sup>m</sup> Earle
Edw <sup>d</sup> Hillyard	Rich <sup>d</sup> Skirm	Sam <sup>l</sup> Lipincott jun <sup>r</sup>	John West
Jonathan Lovet	James Lipincott	John Gibbs	Abra <sup>m</sup> Merriot
Sam <sup>l</sup> Woolston	Philo Leeds	Thom <sup>s</sup> Staples jun <sup>r</sup>	Isaac Ivins
Dan <sup>l</sup> Wills	Hezekiah Wilson	Dan <sup>l</sup> Zealy	Jacob Shinn
Micajah How	Joseph White	Will <sup>m</sup> Adkinson	Caleb Shinn
Joseph Adkinson	Thom <sup>s</sup> Leeds	James Longstaff	Sam <sup>l</sup> Lipincott jun <sup>r</sup>
Dan <sup>l</sup> Bacon	Rob <sup>t</sup> Lucos	Rich <sup>d</sup> Skirm	John Gibbs
Joshua Barker	Silas Crispin	Isaac Watson	Thom <sup>s</sup> Staples jun <sup>r</sup>
Joseph Parker	Isaac Pearson	Godfrey Beck	Dan <sup>l</sup> Zealy
James Lipincott		John Stevenson	Will <sup>m</sup> Adkinson
Philo Leeds	38	John Sikes	James Longstaff
Joseph White		Benja <sup>s</sup> Jones	Isaac Watson
Thomas Leeds		Hezekiah Wilson	Godfrey Beck
Rob <sup>t</sup> Lucos			John Stevenson
Silas Crispin		42	John Sikes
Isaac Person			Benja <sup>s</sup> Jones

CANDIDATES.

<b>Samuel Wolman</b>	<b>Josh'a Wright</b>	<b>Will'm Cook</b>	<b>Mahlon Stacy</b>
Jonathan Wright	Jonath <sup>a</sup> Wright	Francis Smith	Henry M'Collok
Paul Watkinson	Paul Watkinson	Godfrey Hancock	Godfrey Hancock
Thom <sup>a</sup> Wetheril	Thom <sup>a</sup> Wetheril	Will <sup>m</sup> Hancock	Will <sup>m</sup> Hancock
Jun <sup>r</sup>	Jun <sup>r</sup>	George Morris	Barz <sup>l</sup> Newboults
Henry Scott	Henry Scott	Barzillai Newboults	Joseph Curtis
Joseph Allison	Joseph Allison	Joseph Curtis	—5—
John Gilbert	John Gilbert	6	James Starkey
Francis Smith	Sam <sup>l</sup> Lovitt	James Starkey	Joseph Rogers
Samuel Lovitt	James Verree	Joseph Rogers	John Bouger
James Verree	Thomas Rodman	John Bouger	Will <sup>m</sup> Borton
Thomas Rodman	James Inscip	Jonathan Heusteds	John Hudson
James Inscip	Joseph Heulings	Amos Wilkins	
Joseph Heulings	John Kemble	12	
John Kemble	Anthony Elton		
Anthony Elton	Will <sup>m</sup> Heulings		
Will <sup>m</sup> Heulings	Maun Sudrick		
Henry M'Collok	Jonathan Scott		
Maun Sudrick	Peter Rose		
Jonath <sup>a</sup> Scott	Rich <sup>d</sup> Smith Sr		
Peter Rose	Nicholas Toy		
Rich <sup>d</sup> Smith Sr	Josiah Southwick		
Nicholas Toy	James Southwick		
George Morris	Will <sup>m</sup> Lindon		
Josiah Southwick	John Rogers Sr		
James Southwick	John Rogers Jun		
Will <sup>m</sup> Linden	David Branson		
John Rogers Sr	Rob <sup>t</sup> Sutton		
John Rogers jun <sup>r</sup>	Joseph Thomas		
David Branson	Daniel Hains		
Rob <sup>t</sup> Sutton	Nath <sup>l</sup> Wilkinson		
Joseph Thomas	Benja <sup>a</sup> Kemble		
Daniel Hains	Israel Heulings		
Nathan <sup>l</sup> Wilkinson	Joshua Owin		
Benja <sup>a</sup> Kemble	Joseph Ridgwa		
Israel Heulings	—33—		
Joshua Owin	Nathan Crosby		
Joseph Ridgway	Samuel Garrat		
—36—			
Nathan Crosby	35		
John Rowath			
Rob <sup>t</sup> Stevens			
Will <sup>m</sup> Borton			
Jonathan Heusteds			
John Hudson			
Amos Wilkins			
Samuel Garrat			

CANDIDATES.

Samuel Woolman	Josh'a Wright	Will'm Cook	Mahlon Stacy
Hugh Sharp	Hugh Sharp	John Powel	Will <sup>m</sup> Sharp
Will <sup>m</sup> Sharp	Isaac Antrum	Benja <sup>a</sup> Kirby	John Powel
Isaac Antrum	John Crosby	John Stogdon	Benja <sup>a</sup> Kirby
John Crosby	Aaron Lovitt	J <sup>n</sup> Ridgway	Will <sup>m</sup> Wilkins
Will <sup>m</sup> Wilkins	Christop <sup>r</sup> Wetherill	Hugh Copperthwait	Samuel Gambel
Samuel Gambel	John Watson	D <sup>r</sup> J <sup>n</sup> Rodman	John Stogdon
Aaron Lovitt		Isaac Decow	J <sup>n</sup> Ridgway
D <sup>r</sup> J <sup>n</sup> Rodman	6	Joshua Raper	Hugh Copperth-
Isaac Decow S <sup>r</sup>	Joseph Wright	Rowland Ellis	waite
Joshua Raper	7	Rich <sup>d</sup> Smith J <sup>r</sup>	Amos Sreve
Rowland Ellis		John Hollinshead	John Bennit
Rich <sup>d</sup> Smith J <sup>r</sup>		Dan <sup>l</sup> Smith Jun <sup>r</sup>	Benja <sup>a</sup> Moore J <sup>r</sup>
J <sup>n</sup> Hollinshead		Isaac Conerow	Launce Brown
Dan <sup>l</sup> Smith J <sup>r</sup>		Amos Sreve	Thom <sup>s</sup> Moore
Isaac Conerow		Thom <sup>s</sup> Scattergood	Joseph Indicot
Christop <sup>r</sup> Wetherill		J <sup>r</sup>	Thom <sup>s</sup> Middleton
John Watson		Launce Brown	Levi Shinn
Thom <sup>s</sup> Scattergood		Thom <sup>s</sup> Moore	Jona <sup>s</sup> Gaskil
J <sup>r</sup>		Fretwel Wright	George Matlock
Abra <sup>m</sup> Brown		Sam <sup>l</sup> Bunting	W <sup>m</sup> Hollinshead
John Bennit		John Taler	Jun <sup>r</sup>
Benja <sup>a</sup> Moore J <sup>r</sup>		Joseph Jay	John Taler
Benja <sup>a</sup> Moore S <sup>r</sup>		Abra <sup>m</sup> Tilton	Joseph Jay
Joseph Indicot		—22—	Abra <sup>m</sup> Tilton
Will <sup>m</sup> Borton J <sup>r</sup>		John Arison	Jonathan Burdin
John Woolston		Stephen Wright	23
Thom <sup>s</sup> Middleton		Rich <sup>d</sup> Harrison	John Arison
Thom <sup>s</sup> Kemble		Isaac Horner J <sup>r</sup>	Stephen Wright
J <sup>n</sup> Hollinshead J <sup>r</sup>		James Shinn J <sup>r</sup>	Rich <sup>d</sup> Harrison
J <sup>n</sup> Stokes		Thomas Bevis	Isaac Horner J <sup>r</sup>
Levi Shinn		Joseph Antrum	James Shinn J <sup>r</sup>
Solomon Curtis		Peter Harrison	Thomas Bevis
Jonathan Gaskil		Ananias Gant	Joseph Antrum
James Mason		Thomas Knight	Peter Harrison
Thomas Moore J <sup>r</sup>		Thomas Miller	Ananias Gant
Joseph Moore		Joseph Wright	Thomas Miller—33
Darlin Conerow		Thom <sup>s</sup> Potts J <sup>r</sup>	Thomas Potts J <sup>r</sup>
James Pearson		Benja <sup>a</sup> Sreve	Benja <sup>a</sup> Sreve
Edw <sup>d</sup> Hollinshead		Rob <sup>t</sup> Field	Rob <sup>t</sup> Field
George Matlock		Thomas Sreve	
Josiah White			
Will <sup>m</sup> Hollinshead			
J <sup>r</sup>			
Joseph Heusted			
Will <sup>m</sup> Hains			

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION  
OF THE UNITED STATES BY PENNSYLVANIA IN  
1809.

Growing out of the issues in the case of *Olmsted* and the sloop "Active,"<sup>1</sup> the Assembly of Pennsylvania in 1809, in a series of resolutions, proposed an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, for the establishment of a tribunal to determine disputes between the general and State governments. These resolutions received the approval of Governor Snyder on April 3, 1809, and copies were thereupon transmitted by him to the President of the United States and to the Executives of the several States of the Union. On June 4, President Madison sent them to Congress, where a motion to print was negatived and they were laid on the table. The General Assembly of Virginia considered them, and in February of 1810, Governor Tyler forwarded to the Governor of Pennsylvania its action in the matter. The following are the resolutions of the Assembly of Pennsylvania and those of Virginia on the proposed amendment:

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania &c.* That, as a member of the Federal Union, the Legislature of Pennsylvania acknowledges the supremacy, and will cheerfully submit to the authority of the general government, as far as that authority is delegated by the constitution of the United States. But whilst they yield to this authority, when exercised within constitutional limits, they trust they will not be considered as acting hostile to the general government, when, as *guardians of the State Rights*, they cannot permit an infringement

<sup>1</sup> Refer to "The Case of the Sloop 'Active,'" by Hampton L. Carson, Esq., PENNA. MAG., Vol. XVI. p. 385.



of those rights, by an unconstitutional exercise of power in the United States' courts.

*Resolved,* That in a government like that of the United States, where there are powers granted to the general government, and rights reserved to the states, it is impossible, from the imperfection of language, so to define the limits of each, that difficulties should not sometimes arise, from a collision of powers : And it is to be lamented, that no provision is made in the constitution, for determining disputes between the general and state governments, by an impartial tribunal, when such cases occur.

*Resolved,* That from the construction the United States' courts give to their powers, the harmony of the states, if they resist encroachments on their rights, will frequently be interrupted ; and if, to prevent this evil, they should on all occasions yield to stretches of power, the reserved rights will depend on the arbitrary power of the courts.

*Resolved,* That should the independence of the states, as secured by the constitution, be destroyed, the liberties of the people in so extensive a country, cannot long survive. To suffer the United States' courts to decide on STATE RIGHTS, will from a bias *in favour of power*, necessarily destroy the FEDERAL PART of our government : And whenever the government of the United States becomes consolidated, we may learn from the history of nations, what will be the event. To prevent the balance between the general and state governments from being destroyed, and the harmony of the states from being interrupted,

*Resolved,* That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to use their influence to procure an amendment to the constitution of the United States, that an impartial tribunal may be established, to determine disputes between the general and state governments ; and, that they be further instructed to use their endeavours, that in the meanwhile, such arrangements may be made, between the government of the Union and of this state, as will put an end to existing difficulties.

*Resolved,* That the Governor be requested to transmit a

copy of these resolutions to the Executive of the United States, to be laid before Congress, at their next session. And that he be authorized and directed to correspond with the President on the subject in controversy and to agree to such arrangements as may be in the power of the executive to make, or that Congress may make, either by the appointment of commissioners or otherwise, for settling the difficulties between the two governments.

And, that the Governor be also requested to transmit a copy to the Executives of the several states in the Union, with a request, that the same be laid before their respective legislatures.

RICHMOND, VA. Feby 3d 1810.

SIR.

In pursuance of a resolution of the General Assembly of this Commonwealth, I have the honor to forward inclosed the proceedings of the Legislature of this State, on a proposed amendment of the Constitution of the United States by the Legislature of the State of Pennsylvania; and to request that the same may be laid before the Legislature of the State of Pennsylvania.

I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

JOHN TYLER.

His Excellency the Governor }  
of the State of Pennsylvania. }

*Preamble and Resolutions on the propositions of Pennsylvania to amend the constitution of the United States.*

The committee to whom was referred the communication of the Governor of Pennsylvania, covering certain resolutions of the Legislature of that State, proposing an amendment to the constitution of the United States, by the appointment of an impartial tribunal to decide disputes between the state and federal judiciary, have had the same under their consideration, and are of opinion, that a tribunal is already provided by the constitution of the United States, to wit, the Supreme Court, more eminently qualified from their

habits and duties, from the mode of their selection, and from tenure of their offices, to decide the disputes aforesaid in an enlightened and impartial manner than any other tribunal which could be erected. The members of the Supreme Court are selected from those in the United States, who are most celebrated for virtue and legal learning; not at the will of a single individual, but by the concurrent wishes of the President and Senate of the United States, they will therefore have no local prejudices and partialities.

The duties they have to perform, lead them necessarily to the most enlarged and accurate acquaintance with the jurisdiction of the federal and several State Courts, together, and with the admirable symmetry of our government. The tenure of their offices enables them to pronounce the sound and correct opinions they may have formed, without fear, favor or partiality.

The amendment of the Constitution proposed by Pennsylvania, seems to be founded upon the idea, that the Federal judiciary will, from a lust of power, enlarge their jurisdiction to the total annihilation of the jurisdiction of the state courts; that they will exercise *their will*, instead of the *law* and the *constitution*.

This argument, if it proves anything, could operate more strongly against the tribunal proposed to be created, which promises so little, than against the Supreme Court, which, for the reasons given before, have every thing connected with their appointment calculated to insure confidence. What security have we, were the proposed amendment adopted, that this tribunal would not substitute their *will* and their *pleasure* in place of the law? The judiciary are the weakest of the three departments of government, and least dangerous to the political rights of the constitution: they hold neither the *purse* nor the *sword*, and even to enforce their own judgments and decrees, must ultimately depend upon the executive arm. Should the federal judiciary, however, unmindful of their weakness, unmindful of the duty which they owe to themselves and their country, become corrupt, and transcend the limits of their jurisdiction;

would the proposed amendment oppose even a probable barrier in such an improbable state of things?

The creation of a tribunal such as is proposed by Pennsylvania, so far as we are enabled to form an idea of it, from the description given in the resolutions of the Legislature of that state, would, in the opinion of your committee, tend rather to invite than prevent a collision between the Federal and State courts. It might also become, in process of time, a serious and dangerous embarrassment to the operations of the general government.

*Resolved therefore,* That the Legislature of this State do disapprove of the amendment to the Constitution of the United States, proposed by the Legislature of Pennsylvania.

*Resolved also,* That his Excellency the Governor be, and he is hereby requested to transmit forthwith a copy of the foregoing preamble and resolution to each of the Senators and Representatives of this State in Congress, and to the Executives of the several States in the Union, with a request, that the same be laid before the Legislatures thereof.

January 23d 1810. Agreed to unanimously by the House of Delegates.

January 26th 1810. Agreed to by the Senate unanimously.

ROBERT TAYLOR, *S. S.*

JS. BARBOUR, *S. H. D.*

A copy from the original.

Test. J. PLEASANTS JR. *C. H. D.*



HUGH ROBERTS, OF MERION:

HIS JOURNAL AND A LETTER TO WILLIAM PENN.

[We are indebted to the courtesy of Miss Meta Vaux for "A brief Journal of Hugh Roberts' travels from Pennsylvania to England & Wales," and to Thomas Stewardson, Esq., for the letter to William Penn. The numerous cancellations and interlineations in the original, the initials instead of the full name in the signature, and the absence of a date would seem to indicate that it is the first draft of the letter.

Hugh Roberts, one of the most useful associates of Penn in his new settlement, was "born and bred" at Penllyn, as the Journal states, came to Pennsylvania in 1682, and died and was buried at Merion, 18th of Sixth mo., 1702.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

A BRIEF JOURNAL OF HUGH ROBERTS' TRAVELS FROM PENNSYLVANIA TO ENGLAND & WALES.

In the year 1697, the 15th of y<sup>e</sup> 12<sup>th</sup><sub>mo</sub> I set out from home to visit Friends in England & Wales; Samuel Carpenter & John Ascue accompanying me to Maryland, viz. to Susquehana & From thence to West River, to Mordecai Moore, to New London & Back again to the said Mordecai Moore. From thence to Samuel Galoway—From thence to Richard Harrisons—From thence to Herring Creek to a Burial where we had a Meeting. From thence to Potuxen to David Rawlins where we had a precious Meeting at their Meeting House<sup>1</sup> Here I parted w<sup>th</sup> my Dear Friend Samuel Car-

<sup>1</sup> Letter dated "Potuxen the 28th of y<sup>e</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> mo 1696/7."

DEAR CHILDREN . . .

Sixthly I desire of you to take the advise of them I left Guardians over you (in every thing you do) within and without & that you do nothing without their council who are Robt. Owen, John Roberts Cadwalader Morgan & Robert Jones, who I know will be ready to give you the best advise, who love the truth, love you and whom I chose of all my friends in whom is my trust . . . Be tender and loving towards your grandmother who hath not been short in takeing care for you and be it that you can do anything for her do it willingly, for it is your duty . . .

HUGH ROBERTS.

penter. From thence Friends sent a man & a couple of Horses to set me over Potuxon & so to Potomock, to one Widdow Blackstone who was no Friend where I have been very kindly Entertained for two days and two nights waiting for a Conveniency to pass over that Great River, being six miles broad. After they set me over refusing to take anything for their trouble I laid there The people being very kind, but could not hire me a horse to go to ye next River Rapahanock, so I went thro ye woods alone & came to one Capt. Taylor, who was very kind to me, not only in giving me good meat & Drink, But also setting me over y<sup>e</sup> river, three miles broad, where I stay'd that night y<sup>e</sup> people being kind. Next morning ye man in whose house I lodged put me on my way, and Directed me to one that would hire a horse, and so he did & came w<sup>th</sup> me about 14 miles. From thence I went afoot that night about 6 miles To a friend George Willson, a place where I had been before: and here I had a very open Meeting amongst ye people of ye world. From thence I went to New Kent where there is a meeting of Friends. Next day there was a Monthly Meeting at Curles at James River, to which I went along w<sup>th</sup> Friends. And here I had a good service, afterwards going back again to New Kent I there met dear James Dickinson & w<sup>th</sup> him went back to Curles where we had a good meeting and after meeting we returned to New Kent that night. I had one Meeting there before I met them, and one w<sup>th</sup> them. So we parted, they going to Mataponij from whence I came.

And I went to Edward Thomas at James River. Charles Fleming coming along w<sup>th</sup> me. Next day we went from thence to a Quarterly Meeting at Tenbigh where we had a blessed meeting, & after meeting that same day we came to Alexander Llywelyn. We traveled that same day 46 miles besides keeping ye Meeting, & it was not hard for us to do it because of ye Melting love & power of God was set over all. From thence we went to Edward Thomas again, where James Dickinson & J. H's & we appointed a Meeting to meet again w<sup>ch</sup> was very good, we appointed another at

Alexander Llywelyns w<sup>ch</sup> also was a precious Meeting. Here I parted with them they going toward ye ship & I over James River to Walter Bartlets & so to Sevenech, where I had a good meeting at the Meeting house. Thence I went back again to Henry Wiges, to a meeting of William Cooks & back to Henry Wiges, where I had a sweet opportunity amongst them. From thence to Richard Ratliff, where I had a good open meeting, so to Daniel Sanburn & to John Coopland. From thence to ye meeting at Chuckatuck, where I had a good & large meeting, so back again to J. C & R. R. where I had another open good meeting; thence to Chuckatuck again, where there was abundance of Friends & others. Met at their Meeting house, a good & blessed meeting we had. From thence to William Scot at Brance, where I had a great & open good meeting. From thence to Leven Buffstins where I had a precious Meeting at which there were many Friends & many of the World's people. From thence I went to a meeting at Elizabeth Gallowell's w<sup>ch</sup> was a good meeting, from thence to John Coopland & to Daniel Sanburn & back again to J. C. where I met James Dickinson & Jacob F. again. From thence we went to a Meeting at Elizabeth Hollowell, a very good meeting. From thence to John Coopland & to Daniel Sanburn, & back again to a Meeting at Eliz: Hollowell where we had a precious Meeting. From thence on board y<sup>e</sup> ship, which was to ye mouth of James River, where ye Fleet mett, we stayed on board 15 days before we sailed & had several meetings from ship to ship to ye great comfort & Satisfaction of our Souls, & upon ye 7<sup>th</sup> day of ye 3d month we sailed out of ye Capes of Virginia. Many brave and precious meetings we had aboard.

Upon ye 14<sup>th</sup> day of the 4<sup>th</sup> Month we struck ground at 85 fathom watter and on ye 17<sup>th</sup> Day we saw ye Land old England, in ye 22<sup>d</sup> of ye said month we arrived at Plymouth; and had there a meeting next day & a precious meeting it was, to ye great comfort of many. From thence we passed to Exiter & from thence to Topsham where we had a meeting; from thence I went to Exiter again & thence to a



Quarterly Meeting at Colomton, It being upon the first day where I have had a blessed meeting, & tho' I never had seen any of ye faces that were there, nor they mine, yet were we made very near and dear one to another. That night James & Jacob came to me, so we went on to Turston, & so to John Kancks, where we were received w<sup>th</sup> much love. From thence we passed to Bristol, where we have had a precious meeting the power of ye Lord being over all. Here we met our dear friend William Penn & were not a little glad to see one another. We stayed but one meeting tho' Friends were very unwilling we should go so soon, yet we all parted James went homewards; Jacob towards London, and I passed to Monmouthshire in Wales. The weight of my service drawing me mostly that way. So I passed over to Panlymoyl, where there was a great meeting & I had a good service for ye Lord; From thence I went to Pant where I had a very open meeting, From thence to a Quarterly Meeting at John Meirick's where I had a good service; From thence to Castletown where there was a great tenderness & brokenness amongst Friends & ye World's people & some presbiterians, one of them being convinced. From thence I went to Cardiff within a mile of ye Town, & thence to Frefrug where John Bevan liveth, & glad we were to meet one another. There away I had several good meetings; From thence I passed to Swansea a great town in Wales. Here I had a hard meeting, many of them having made a profession of truth for many years, but did not possess it as they ought. From thence I went to Pembrookshire to Rediston & had a very precious meeting there. From thence I went to Haverford west, where I had several blessed meetings, to ye great comfort & satisfaction of Friends. From thence I went to Naish where I had a meeting; From thence to Rediston again where I had a very good meeting at James Lewis's & from thence to Lackarn where I had a little meeting. From thence I passed to Carmarthin another great town, where I had a good service amongst ye World's people, being but few Friends here. From thence I went to Owen Bowen & from thence



to James Preece's to ye meeting at City Boom & back again; here I had a good meeting. From thence to Hwgfan, where I had a good sweet meeting; thus far John Bevan accompanied me, from his own being & so returned home. From thence I went to Radneshire to Lanole, where I had a little meeting, so I passed to Roger Hughes, where I had a good open meeting, so I went to Lanthdu where I met many Friends & abundance of ye World's people. So to Edward Jones where we had a little meeting. From thence to David Powel's where there was a great meeting. From thence I passed to Thomas Goodin's where I had a blessed meeting, from thence I went to Muchunlleh where I had a meeting amongst ye World's people, who at first were very rude, especially ye young ones. But after a while they were like other people, very attentive & modest, & many of them tender & broken so that Truth went over them all. This was in side of North Wales. From this place I returned back to Cardiganshire w<sup>th</sup> is upon ye seaside in South Wales at a town called Aberystreith I had a great meeting mostly of World's people. From this place I passed towards North Wales again & came to Meirionethshire to Lwyndu where I had a good meeting, from thence to Lewis Owen near Dollegelley where I had a very good tender meeting. To the great comfort & edification of Friends. From this place I went to Balaa & Penllyn where I was born & bred. It was upon ye 6th day of ye week, so notice was given for a meeting to be at Cittalgarth ye First day & w<sup>th</sup> all I desired Friends to give notice to as many of my old acquaintance & relations as they could, that I did not intend to stay there but that day & so to go on my way. I knew abundance would be willing to see me & I was more desirous to see them at a meeting than any other place, for I had some secret hope that some of them would be reached, & so it was. Abundance of people came to ye meeting, there had been great meetings formerly, but never so many together before. After this meeting I went away as I said but they thought when they heard of it that I would come no more, but I did not intend it, I did it purposely to get

them together that I might clear myself of my service. So I passed to Montgomeryshire to Lanwoddun where I had a good service; so to Dolobran where I received abundance of love from Charles Lloyd, his wife and friends; here I had a precious meeting, went on to Cloddiccochion, where I likewise had a good meeting. Hence I returned to Charles Lloyd, & so to Penllyn again, where I had a meeting at Robert Voghan's, which was bigger than that I had before. There was neither house nor barn that could contain the people, so that we were forced to keep several meetings out of doors. From thence I went to Denbyshire & meeting at Demightown & came back to Penllyn where I had a meeting Lwyn y branez, ye meeting house being too little we went to a great house that was hard by, but this was likewise too little by a great deal. A glorious meeting it was. I left Penllyn & went to Denbyshire & Wrecsam where I had a good meeting, from thence to John Merricks, so to Newtown—here I had a good open meeting & met old Isaac Asten, who accompanied me to Vock Savage, to Peter Prickles house, from thence to Feanly meeting where I had a great meeting. From thence went to Tho<sup>s</sup> Williamsons at Crawton, from thence to tareploy to Samuel Trafford, from thence to a meeting at Gilbert Woolsons. From thence to Middlewitch and after to Congtergen where I found a good meeting, & lodged at Tho<sup>s</sup> Welch. From thence to John Melor & so to a meeting at Lecke where I saw my dear & ancient friend John ab John. From thence I passed to Maxfield to John Hughes and thence to the meeting house near Whansley, where I had a good meeting and met Benjamin Banks. So I passed into Manchester where I had a meeting, & so to Warrington & to ye meeting at Lanckey w<sup>ch</sup> was very large and precious. From thence I went to Wrecsam & so to Penllyn, where I had another heavenly meeting—it was as large or larger than any before. From thence I went to Dolgelle to a Quarterly meeting where I met many friends from many places, and back again to Penllyn. I passed then to Montgomeryshire to a Quarterly Meeting held at Charles Lloyd's, where I had a

good meeting & back again to Penllyn to a meeting at Robert Voughans. At this meeting I was to take my leave of ye people as I thought of who came there in abundance, so that after we began ye meeting at ye house, which was one of the greatest in ye country, it could not contain one-half of ye people, so we kept it out of doors & a blessed meeting it was—there were people from seven parishes. I appointed another meeting at Cilltalgarth to take leave of friends, and the day following at Robert Voughans, which I thought then should be ye last meeting in Penllyn, From thence I went to ye monthly meeting at Lewis Owen's, where we had a parting meeting, in which there was great tenderness, & love to truth & one to another.

## A LETTER FROM HUGH ROBERTS TO WILLIAM PENN.

MY DEAR FFRD W. P.

I am greatly trubled with many more that thee hast lost the government of this cuntry, I can truley say it is a great disappointment unto us, (I mean y<sup>e</sup> Welch) for I can truley say that many of us had never cam here, but becaus of the love & unity & confidence we had in thee, not questioning but the Lord god had an eminent hand in ordering thee this cuntry, & yet I doe not question but it was so, though som may now thinke otherwise dear ffrd we have wanted thee here very much, for great hath been the truble & exersise of many of us, upon the acount of the devision & separation that hath hapned amongst us which was jefley ocationed by G. K: well Let me & others writ unto thee w<sup>t</sup> we will, I think thee canst hardly belive that he is gon as bad as he is I need not mention many of his actions, for I do belive thee hast heard a great-el alreedy, but this I can truley afirm thee (whether thee willt belive soe or no) that I never so a man (under any profesion) in mor pasion & bitternes of spirit and mor redy to carp & to discover the weakness of ffrds, than he is & not onely so but he will endeavour to put many things to frds charg, when they are very clear, & truley at first this gave me good satisfaction that he was not gided by



the spryt of the Lord. I heard him in a meeting of sevrall hundred of ffrds & others, calling ffrds blood thyrsty hounts and that I belive ten times over & that in great rage & pasion, & not only so but with abundance of such bad language, which I am loath to mention here to truble thee withall, this I am trubled at so here that thee canst hardly belive us thy frds about this unruly man and som others that is joynd with him, and that thee shouldest writ something of an incoragement to him to goe one in his prinsiples & plattonic beysdydy, which certainly did strengthen his hands, at this I say I was not litle concernd, for he doth bouldly report that thee art for him & against frds with this thing he prswaded many to have beter thoughts of him, but I hop beter things of thee as I ever did but this I doe afirme thee that he is gon out of the bounds of truth & that he is become a great adversary to ffrds, and it is my belief that he is & will be as great oposer of truth as ever apeard amongst frds, it may be thee wilt looke upon me two rash in my judgment if so I cannot help it, it is my sencre belife.

And further my dear frds, it is well known unto thee that many of our ffrds in England, had hard thoughts of thee & we, because of our removal from that to this cuntry and I doe not thinke but they had som cause, for here cam som peopel that had not a right end in their removals som for fere of persecution some that were discontented with their brethren where they were, and others that promised to themselves to be great in the world I belive all these meet with great disappointments & som of them cam back unto England, others of you did send very bad reports, both of the cuntry & ffrds, for they were not contented with ffrds here, no more than they were in their native Land, & so when som ffrds in England heard & perceived these things, some were redy to conclud that they had not mist in their first thoughts of us, but for all this I know here is many hundreds that cam here in the integrety of their harts & in a true sence of what they did, and never to this day had cause to repent nor repin, though they were very hard put to in the outward, & not oneley so, thorow the great good-



nes of the Lord our god have kept our places in the truth hitherto, blessed be his worthy nam sayth my soul.

Now my ffrd this I doe understand, by the two epistles that is send to us from the two wekes meeting in London, that they have great jealousy that we have not kept our places, but have been two hasty in judging G : K : & others, which I belive is a great mistake in you all, for I am sure he have had full gosbel order, but it is true if you will belive him, it is not much that you mae have hard thoughts of us, for I shall tell thee plaenly that the sprit that G : K : is of is not oneley a tering devouring sprit but a cursed leing sprit also and this troubles me greatly if you our brethren in London doth decern w<sup>t</sup> spirit this man is of having seen som of its fruts for if you doe desern it why doe you then belive it & if against your brethren, whom I know is faithfull & have been to their places, though I belive som of you thinkes otherwise but unto him y<sup>t</sup> knows y<sup>e</sup> hearts of all we shall willingly apeal, And further my frd I shall tell thee, y<sup>t</sup> it is those peopele y<sup>t</sup> I hinted before y<sup>t</sup> were never right neither in England nor here & hath caused bad reports both of y<sup>e</sup> cuntry & ffrds & caused also two many ffrds in som parts of England to loge hard thought of most of us if not all it is y<sup>m</sup> y<sup>t</sup> hath joyned with this unruly man, I doe very well know y<sup>t</sup> som of our ffrds in some places in England but more esbesially in London had not very good thoughts of us in this cuntry befor they heard of this separation some exberense I have had of it when I was in London, and I believe this bianche being upon som befor hand, makes you to have more ieaousie of us then they ought to have, therefor I would to god y<sup>t</sup> you did rightly understand w<sup>t</sup> we are, & then I know you would not bear so hard upon us, I desir thee to speake with our ffaithfull & worthy ffrds To : W & James P. & see their judgment about us, I hop you cannot but belive [*illegible*] of y<sup>e</sup> great power of god y<sup>t</sup> is upon you, I would not have thee to thinke y<sup>t</sup> I or any of us, are ofended with our brethren at London no god knows our hearts, you are near & dear unto us, but this I must tell thee y<sup>t</sup> your great ieaousie of us have aded

to our exercise, & further I must tell thee y<sup>t</sup> faithfull frds in other parts of England is not of your minds they have not good thoughts of G K they doe not nor cannot call him their frd & brother & they doe not loge hard thoughts of us, & beside our ffrds in barbados Virginia Maryland est & west iersy long & road Island have given their judgment against G K & his spirit & som eminent ffrds from all these parts cam here to visit ffrds & all of you did hear their testimony against G K & his spirit & not oneley so but all of you did hear their testimoney also of their great unity with ffrds & y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>o</sup> power & presence of god was richly manyfested amongst us to their great ioy & satisfaction, but G: K: runs out against you as bad as he did against us & so he doth against our worthy ffrds Tho. W. & S: D: & will doe so against you if you dare be plaen with him as I believe you must for I understand of som ffrds in England y<sup>t</sup> hath writ unto him of late to blam him for w<sup>t</sup> he did & he renders you as bad as he doth us, he also takes great advantage y<sup>t</sup> G W and other ffrds ar in unity with him & truly it is much to me how can any sensible man y<sup>t</sup> have seen his bookes & y<sup>o</sup> tendancey of y<sup>m</sup> & also understands of his seperation & sever tretments to ffrds can call him their ffrd & brother for y<sup>t</sup> is very plaen (as he himselfe afirms it) it signifies their unity with him. I know this hath strenghtned his hands & soe bringst mor truble upon us who have judged & disowned him which I know all y<sup>o</sup> faithfull amongst you will be forced to doe as we did at last for he is a man y<sup>t</sup> is gon from truth doe you thinke of him w<sup>t</sup> you will but at Last you will find it so my dear frd there another thing y<sup>t</sup> troubles me very much y<sup>t</sup> is in one of y<sup>o</sup> two epistles y<sup>t</sup> cam from y<sup>o</sup> two weekes meeting in London, if I doe not mistake they writ as if y<sup>o</sup> difrence or falling out was between y<sup>o</sup> two scolars & all y<sup>o</sup> rest but parties of both sids, if you judge so I tell thee you judge hard of all, and you are in a great mistake for I know to the contrary for Tho Ll: was not concernd a long time after he broke out & I know he did endeavour to prswayd both frds & to gain upon him as much as any man amongst us, and for a long tim y<sup>o</sup> difrence did not at all

apear between Tho Ll and he, but at Last when he could not be pervaild upon but he rund frds down at strainst rate becaus they refusd to subscribe his creed with many other things of his [*illegible*] which frds could not joyn withall, it is true Tho Ll. was forced to apear, but as soon as he apeard though very meeke Loving & tender he began to be mor eger at him then any, for he thought if he could but run him down he could deal well inufe with the rest, and after this it is true Tho was forced to stand in y<sup>e</sup> front, being beter quarif [*torn*] amongst us, this I do believe y<sup>t</sup> ther is not a man amongst us y<sup>t</sup> can truley lay to his charg not as much as a hasty word or unsavry word in all y<sup>e</sup> discours y<sup>t</sup> he had with him from first to Last but always cald him his ffrd G K but I have heard many a time G K abusing him calling him a pope a hyppocrit an impudent man with abundance of such unsavrey exbressions, and as concerning y<sup>e</sup> judgment y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> 28 passed upon him if we did miss at all we did it becaus we had not pas it y<sup>e</sup> sooner, for he was so busey traveling abroad indeavouring to get a party to himselfe and perswaiding y<sup>e</sup> people y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> most of these 28 with many mor were for him & in one place he was afirming y<sup>t</sup> he had hundred for one & this did pervail much upon many simpil hart having good thoughts of ffrds & mor esbesially of y<sup>e</sup> most part of y<sup>e</sup> 28 but after y<sup>e</sup> judgment was given fourth got but few proselits & truley y<sup>e</sup> judgment of those of other parts caused many to leve him and to give larg testi-money [*torn*] spirit and if ffrds in London had don so it had been of mor service for truth in these parts then endeavouring reconcilation being y<sup>e</sup> thing has gon so far as it is, for w<sup>t</sup> signifies if we did writ to y<sup>m</sup> to be reconsild with y<sup>e</sup> spirit of S : W : & J : S : would not they looke upon us very simple and unwise, & how doe they think y<sup>t</sup> ffrds can be reconsild with this spirit which is alltogether as bad as was theirs & as hard or harder to be pervaild upon it mae be they can hardly bel [*torn*] this but if ever he comes amongst you I queston not but they shall have two deep exberience of it so my dear ffrd I thought it my place & my duty to writ these things unto thee being one y<sup>t</sup> had real love for

thee since y<sup>o</sup> first time y<sup>t</sup> I ever was acquainted with thy nam, much mor since I have had a little acquaintance with thee I can truley say y<sup>t</sup> many hath ben my prayers & sub-  
 lications yea & my ters also unto y<sup>o</sup> Lord in thy behalfe y<sup>t</sup>  
 he might bear up thy head over all thy treials & exercise  
 both within & without to y<sup>o</sup> honour and prayes of his eternal  
 everlasting nam & to y<sup>o</sup> joy & comfort of thy own soul & y<sup>o</sup>  
 souls of all y<sup>m</sup> y<sup>t</sup> loves y<sup>o</sup> truth,

thy ffrd in y<sup>o</sup> truth

H R —

I can truly say y<sup>t</sup> I doe not know of any outward thing  
 y<sup>t</sup> is so desirable unto me then thy company here, if thou  
 be y<sup>o</sup> sam man as thou wast but if thou be w<sup>t</sup> G K afirms  
 thee to be I with many mor are of a contrary mind.



GOVERNOR THOMAS POWNALL'S DESCRIPTION OF  
THE STREETS AND THE MAIN ROADS ABOUT  
PHILADELPHIA, 1754.

[The following description of the streets and main roads leading out of Philadelphia in 1754 are extracted from "Governor Thomas Pownall's Journal" printed in "The Remembrancer, or Impartial Repository of Public Events for the Year 1777." London, 1778.]

*Road from Philadelphia to Wright's Ferry, on the River  
Susquehanna, 1754.*

From Philadelphia to Coaltus-ferry, over the Schuylkill, one mile three quarters and fifty two perches.

All the plans of Philadelphia represent it as extending from the River Delaware to the Schuylkill. This was indeed the original plan laid down on paper, and held out to the first settlers; and it is said, that Mr. Penn sold many of the lots on the banks of the Schuylkill almost as dear as those on the Banks of the River Delaware. That this town should ever have such extent is almost impossible; it does not extend one third of the way: those, therefore, who bought these lots on a speculation were much deceived.

Another idea in the plan of this town was, that Front-street, next the Delaware, should have no houses immediately on the bank, but a parapet: the banks are pretty high, and had a large beach at the foot of them. After the first settlers had bought these lots on Front-street, it was found more convenient for the merchants and traders to build their warehouses, and even dwellings-houses, on the beach below, which they wharfed out. This part of the soil was not sold; several took long leases; and this became a street of the dwelling-houses, &c. of all the principal merchants and rich men of business, and was called Water-street—A prodigious advantage arose to Mr. Penn's estate upon the old long leases falling in. The street on the top of the bank, however,

keeps its original name, and is called Front-street. The street behind it, running parallel to it, is called Second-street; the next, Third-street, and so on. The streets, which run across these, at right angles, take their names from different trees, as Pine-street, Chestnut-street, and so on. At this day there are remaining in some of the streets, the stumps or roots of some of the original Pine-trees. Front-street stretches further along the banks of the Delaware than as designed by the original plan, as the other streets are more and more defalcated of their length, so that the shape of the town at present is that of a semi-oval. It is built upon a point of land formed by the confluence of the Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers, and stands a few miles above that confluence, and the site of it is that of a dead flat. The two rivers have formed, by the soil which they bring down mixing with the silt which the tide brings up, a low swampy island, called Mud Island, at their confluence. The number of inhabitants in Philadelphia now, 1755, about 20,000.

The houses are all of brick; the fronts of them precisely such as those in Cheapside, London; a pent over the base story, and shops, and a little flip of a window to light a closet by the side of the chimnies. On each side the streets there is a trottoir paved with brick: the streets are not yet paved, but formed with gravel, as were the great streets of London about 200 years ago.

The ferry-boats at Schuylkill, (about a mile and three quarters from Philadelphia,) are the most convenient I ever saw; and the oars with which they are rowed over, rigged out in a manner the most handy that can be devised; they are fixed in an iron fork, so as to have a perpendicular motion, and they are loaded towards the hand, so as to be nearly ballanced, leaving, however, the feather of the oar rather the more heavy; this fork is fixed on a pivot, in the gunwale of the boat, by which the oar has free horizontal motion. By this simple contrivance of mechanism, a very flight boy can manage a pair of large heavy oars, and row over a large ferry-boat.

From Coultus-ferry.

Shadling, to the Black Horse, four miles and a quarter, and twenty-one perches.

Richard Hughs, the Three Tuns, two miles and a half, and fifty-three perches.

Ann Millar's, the Buck, one mile and sixty-two perches.

Richard Berry's, the Plough, two miles and three quarters, and six perches.

The Bull, — Byer's, five miles and a half, and twenty-nine perches.

The Vernon, G. Ashton's, three miles and a quarter, and sixty perches.

At the Plough is a new tavern just set up the Unicorn. A mile west of this the road runs up the fourth mountain of the valley, and goes along the ridge of it until it descends into the valley at the Vernon's Head. The road from the ferry to the Vernon runs incessantly up hill and down, and through woods (Oak, Hickory, Chestnut) all the way, except here and there a plantation, and the beginnings of others. The whole land here is possessed by settlers, but not fully cultivated, because the settlers have all bought large tracts on speculation; the soil light, and rather stony; the face of the country like a large rolling sea.

To the White Horse, Hambright's, two miles and three quarters, and seventy-two perches.

To the Ship, Thomas Parks, eight miles and a quarter, and twelve perches.

At the Vernon's,<sup>1</sup> or Warren's, Head the road descends the fourth mountain into the valley, and then runs along the valley W, a little southerly twelve miles. This is a narrow valley but a most pleasing landscape; a little brook runs through it, which falls into the Schuylkill at Swede's-ford. The valley, fully settled and cultivated, every farmer has a lime-kiln for manure, or dressing, to his land; they raise chiefly wheat—The farm-houses all with sash-windows, and busked up on each side with peach and apple orchards, and surrounded on all sides with every thing that looks like a

<sup>1</sup> This sign was originally that of Admiral Vernon, but hath been regenerated, and is now the Admiral Warren.

man's own buiness being done there. The farms are such as yeomanry, not tenants, dwell in. The lands fell in the farm at about £.5 per acre for the freehold: lands on the west side of the North Mountain of this valley, fell at about £.3 per acre in the farm. Except around the houses in the bosom of the vale, the settlements not well cleared; the cause is, broken land, and large tracts. The sides of the two mountains, which enclose this vale, are covered with woods. The species as before.

To the Waggon, James Way's, six miles and a half, and twelve perches.

From the Ship to the Tun, by the Waggon Tavern, the road passes over the North Mountain of the valley, N. W. it rises by three ridges, between each of which there is a valley, each having a run of water through it. [To the Tun, John Millar's, six miles, and sixty-four perches.] The first ridge is the least; the second and third, each bigger than the former: broken land, oak, chestnut, and hickory. The road does not get quite clear of the mountain till it comes to the Sun. [To the Hat, Widow Caldwell's, six miles and a quarter, and twelve perches.] I could not ride this last thirteen miles with ease under three hours. I experienced the same on my return as in going. The road runs thence westerly over very hilly land to the Widow Caldwell's, at the Hat: yet all this hilly country is but a vale enclosed by the valley mountain on the left, and the Welch mountains on the right, but widens to the west. From hence to Conestoga-creek, pretty level, and so to Lancaster.

To the Red Lion, Joseph Steers, six miles and a half, and fifty-four perches.

To Conestoga-creek, four miles.

To Lancaster, one mile and three quarters, and thirty perches.

Lancaster, a pretty considerable town, encreasing fast, and growing rich; a manufactory here of saddles and pack-saddles, also of guns; a very considerable stage-town, in the way, by two roads, to the back-road and Indian Country; about 500 houses.



To Mr. Wright's Ferry, at the Susquahanna River, ten miles.  
The river wide, one mile and twelve perches.

Between Lancaster and Mr. Wright's, I saw one of the finest farms one can conceive, and in the highest culture, particularly one that was the estate of a Switzer. Here it was that I first saw the method of watering a whole range of pastures and meadows, on a hill side, by little troughs cut in the side of the hill, along which the water, from springs, was conducted, so as that when the out-let of those troughs were stopped at the end, the water ran over the sides, and watered all the ground between that and the trough next below it. I dare say this method may be in use in England, I never saw it there, but saw it here first.

At Lancaster the road divides. There is another road which goes by Harris's Ferry over the same river, but much higher to the northward.

To Scott's, nine miles.

At about three miles, the road crosses Little Conestoga-creek; and about four more, goes over a steep sharp ridge. Hence, between Hughes and Sample's the road passes over a sharp high ridge, on the N. W. side of which at the foot, runs S. W. the Conewago-creek. Between these ridges, the land very hilly.

To Bayley's, three miles.

To Hughes's, four miles.

To Sample's, four miles.

To the Swatara-Creek, three miles.

To Taylor's, three miles.

To Harris's Ferry, eight miles.

There is another great road, which goes from Philadelphia to the same ferry, but keeps on the N. E. side of the Schuylkill, and runs through German-town, &c. to Reading; but in this road I have not yet gone upon further than Norrington. There is a cross road on the N. W. side of the Welch Mountains, the Flying and Oley Hills, which going from Lancaster to Reading, chiefly through the vale of Conestoga-creek, opens a communication between those two great roads. The stages of which are,

From Reading to Sinking-spring, four miles.

To Coccofing-creek, a small branch, three miles.

To main branch, one mile.

To Kiffinger's, three miles.

Here the road goes over high ridges.

To Cocôlico-creek, one mile.

To Donker's-town, Eprata, at the mill, seven miles—

This is a branch of the great Coneftoga-creek.

These people, called Donker's, Doopers, or Domplers, are a strange set of Protestant regulars.

To Biar's mill, five miles.

To Landis's, three miles.

To the Three Tuns, three miles.

This stands on a branch of the Coneftoga, called Middle-creek.

Here the road coming from Lancafter divides into three.

To Lancafter, two miles.

*Road from Philadelphia through the Lower Counties, and Maryland to Alexandria, on the Potômack River, in Virginia.*

To the Lower Ferry, over the Schuylkill, four miles.

To Derby, three miles.

Derby looks very pretty, seen from off any of the hills round about it, for it stands in a bottom, surrounded with hills. The houses, built in one street, all stand in this bottom, and the sides of the hills are covered with houses and farms.

To Chester, nine miles.

Some very good farms betwixt this and Chester. Chester stands close upon the Delaware; employs nothing but some fhalloops and a schooner or two.

To Chichester and Marcus-hook, three miles.

A good pretty village; a place famous for cyder, as the country people say.

To Wilmington, eleven miles.

Wilmington is built on the side of a hill on Chiftina-creek, and was, when first settled by the Swedes, called Christina.

It is a regular well built town ; but not trade enough here to draw together a sufficient number of people to compleat it to its plan. It forms a very delightful prospect, seen from the opposite side of the river ; the streets lying in parallel lines, one below another, on the descent of the hill. Ships and large vessels come up to the town ; shalloops, &c. as high as Christina-bridge ; a ferry here.

The lands lying near the Delaware River, and on the banks of the rivers and creeks, are very fine meadow lands. The lands between these, hilly, gullied all the way, and in some places very stony.

To Newcastle, six miles.

From hence to Newcastle more level.

To Weatherpools, 20 miles.

In Maryland, level land all the way.

To Frederick's town, twelve miles.

On Sassafras River, level.

To New-town or Chester, eighteen miles.

The country well settled, and excellent farms all the way.

To Docking Tavern, eighteen or twenty miles.

This lies on the east side of Chesapeake-bay.

To the Bay-side or ferry, 14 miles.

This is called the Narrows.—Here begins the plantations of Tobacco.

Across Kent Island, seven miles.

This is all a flat, chiefly pine-lands.

Across the Bay, a ferry to Annapolis, twelve miles.

From Annapolis to Queen Ann's-town, on the river Patuxent, thirteen miles.

To Mr. Rofier's, on the banks of the River Potômack, between twenty and thirty miles.

Annapolis is the metropolis of Maryland ; it is situated on the side of a sandy hill, in a little bay, within the main bay. It is said, that the original plan of the town was laid in circular streets, with cross streets running from the centre like radii. The State House, Governor's House, Assembly, Courts, &c. were to have formed the centre, at the top of the hill, with concentric streets going round the hill ; but the

town is far from being compleat, nor do the traces of such a plan appear in what is built; it makes a very irregular appearance, and is in size and form but a very poor town. In short, both Maryland and Virginia are so cut by creeks and rivers, that almost every farm lies on some creek, or on the bay, with water carriage even for ships up its yard. In consequence of this, there is not, nor ever will be, in those parts, any one considerable port or town, but numbers of little ones, unless Alexandria, which has been settled about two years, and is situated at the feet of the great falls of Potômack River, at the head of Marine Navigation, up to which a twenty gun ship of war may come, (there are now two there) should upon the settling of the back countries, become a barcadore and port to them. Alexandria has at present one exceeding good house of Lord Fairfax's, and about sixty or seventy others; it has also a Court House.



## LETTERS OF BENJAMIN WEST.

CONTRIBUTED BY THOMAS STEWARDSON.

DEAR JONATHAN

Our worthy Friend Tho<sup>s</sup> Goodwin being just about to embark on his returne to North America I could not lett so favourable an oppertunity Pass without returning you my thanks for your kind favour to me by Tho<sup>s</sup> Carrington. By him I intended to have answered it but his leving this Place without giving me the least notice of his returne (which he reather promised me he would before his departure) has been the ocasion of this omission, which I hope my dear Friend will not think an neglect. As I can asssure him his letter gave me that pleasure which may be felt on the meeting of long absent Friends, for such was your letter to me. It revived fresh to my memory as tho I had been in the actual enjoymnt of the many Pleasing and happy hours I have spent with you in those Rural and inocent Juvenal amusements with which America alone abounds my Sighs are often intruding and vainely wishing again for those past pleasures which I have there so often axperiance in those Solitary retreats, or what they People of this side the water call the wilds of America and which is I think a true Image of the following celebrated lines—

“O Solitude; blest state of life below—  
Friend to our thoughts and balm to all our woe  
Where lust no object for his fires can gain  
And Pride wants gazers, to admire her train  
Where want no craveing feels no insults bear  
Kind Lethe of our Passions and our cear  
Far from the Burse, from Corts and levees far  
The crowded Theatre and wrangling Bar  
O! far from cities my abode remove  
To realms of Innocence and Pace and love.”

My haveing had an oppertunity for the last ten years of my life from the vast Towre I have made in visiting the great

Capitals in Europe of forming and enlarging my knowledge of Both the world and man and thereby know that true value of America and the Boundless blessings which its inhabitation enjoy. For without this opportunity I might have remained in Ignorance of the real Blessings they Enjoy and the state of happiness that subsists between them. For it's by comparison we learn to know the true value of all things. And from thence arises its real worth and esteem.

As this is the part of the world my department in life has fixed me, I have endeavoured to accommodate and settle myself in a domestick life with my little Family which consists of my Dear Betsey her little Boy, a Servant or two—one house in the country four miles distance from Town where Betsey and her little Boy stays Eight months in the year and another in London where I carry on my Paintings. And by that I gett exercise of coming into Town and going out to them every day. By which I secure my health in a good state, which otherways would be impossible by reason of my close application to studies.

My Father lives the chief of his time with his sister in Oxfordshire he is in extraordinary health for a man at his time in life, and has given over all intentions of ever returning to America.

I hope this will find your family and friends in health. I begg my kind love may be given to them all, and to all my relations and Friends, that you may meet with. And be assured Dear Jonathan I ever remain yours and their ever affectionate Friend

BENJ<sup>N</sup> WEST

LONDON July 25<sup>th</sup> 1769.

LONDON NEWMAN STREET July 20<sup>th</sup>. 1798.

DEAR SIR

By the care of our friend W<sup>m</sup> Savery, I had the satisfaction of receiving your letter; it was truly acceptable to me; for I know no higher gratification than that which arises from the intercourse with those, for which we have an esteem. And such was the receipt of your letter, as it

vivified in my recollection that delight which a retrospect of early life is sure to produce on the human mind, and it called into existence a friend, which the laps of eight and thirty years had as it were placed among the non existing. For that letter, and for the account it contained of my former friends, yourself and family, I return you my sincere thanks.

By the departure of W<sup>m</sup> Savery for America, I embrace with pleasure the opportunity to give you this letter as a token, that the space of time above mentioned has not diminished that attachment I feel to early friendship; or that delight which you, in your letter revived in me, of the morning of my life, when innocently sporting on the Banks of those refreshing streams which lie in the shady Groves, that are in the neighbourhood of Newtown. That period when viewed with my present situation, presents an extensive scale in human progress; and I believe the single instance of one man participating in the amusements of the Wigwoms of American savages, and the refinements of the Royal Palaces of Europe. Early habits my friend make lasting impressions on our minds, and I am prosuaded were I to revisit those abodes, I should feel a greater joy then those felt by D<sup>r</sup> Johnson (that great luminary in the lettered world) whom I heard say at his Club, when a friend asked the D<sup>r</sup> then just returned from visiting the place of his Nativity after a space of 40 years absence, what gave him the greatest delight when there? Why Sir replied the D<sup>r</sup> it was to jump over that Style when 70 years of age, which I had been accustom to jump over when I was a Boy going to the day school. From my feelings at the recollection of my juvinal footsteps, I am prosuaded the D<sup>r</sup> spoke the dictates of his heart. So much for my feelings on this subject.

I must now my dear Sir before I close this letter, thank you for the knowledge of the Bearer. He is a man possessed of a benevolent mind towards his fellow men, and I believe no country but Pennsylvania could have cultivated such a mind, for there the mind is free, and by that freedom

capable of receiving the dictates of reason without that bigotry and superstition which the artfull systemiseing policy of the old countries has clouded and bound the human mind by. The human mind is there bold in the investigation of first causes, and of things, by that capable of removing what is wrong, and receiving what is right, both in civil, and religious duties. Such a man is W<sup>m</sup> Savery.

Whenever an opportunity presents itself to give me a few lines do not omit the conveyence; it will afford me great pleasure at all times to hear from you, and of my former acquaintance.

My two sons and their Mother are well, and I hope no change may have taken place in your family since you wrote me, that should occasion anxiety. My love to all, and be assured that I have a great satisfaction in declaring that I am

Dear sir, with friendship and regard

your much obliged

BENJ<sup>N</sup>. WEST

D<sup>R</sup> JONATHAN MORRIS



A CONTRIBUTION TO A CATALOGUE OF THE  
ENGRAVED WORKS OF DAVID EDWIN.

BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

(Continued from page 118.)

WILLIAM PITT.

Bust, to left, nearly full face. Under: *The R: Hon<sup>ble</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Pitt Engrav'd by D. Edwin for Watts's Edition.* H. 3 8-16 inches: W. 3 3-16 inches. Vignette.

Id.

Bust, to left, nearly full face. Under: *D. Edwin sc. The R: Hon<sup>ble</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Pitt* H. 3 6-16 inches: W. 2 11-16 inches. Oval.

I. As described.

II. With the addition of a rectangular frame engraved in line. Under: *Edwin Sc. The R: Hon<sup>ble</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Pitt* H. 3 13-16 inches: W. 3 2-16 inches. Oval in a rectangle.

ALEXANDER POPE.

Full length, in profile, to right. Under: *Edwin. Alexander Pope Esq: from an original drawing.* H. 3 9-16 inches: W. 2 4-16 inches. Vignette within a rectangular frame.

DAVID PORTER.

Bust, in uniform, to left, nearly full face. Under: *Wood Pinxt. Edwin sc. David Porter Esq: of the United States Navy Engraved for Analectic Magazine Published by M. Thomas.* H. 3 14-16 inches: W. 3 3-16 inches. Rectangle.

I. As described.

II. The names of the magazine and publisher erased.

EDWARD PREBLE.

Bust, in uniform, in profile, to left. Under: *Edwin sc.* [Reverse of the medal: engraved by Lawson.] *Copy of the*

*Medal presented by Congress to Commodore Preble.* Diameter 2 9-16 inches. Circle.

#### THE PRESIDENTS.

Four ovals on a tablet, which is draped with ribbon and roses, surmounted by books, an inkstand with quill pen, a serpent, etc. The uppermost oval Washington, after Stuart, bust, to left; to left of centre John Adams, after Stuart, bust, to left; to right of centre Jefferson, after Stuart, bust, to left; undermost oval Madison, after Stuart, bust, to right. Under: *D. Edwin & G. Murray. Washington Adams Jefferson Madison* H. 6 6-16 inches: W. 3 15-16 inches. Vignette.

I. As described.

II. With the addition at the base of two ovals. Monroe, after Otis, bust, to left, and John Quincy Adams, after Stuart, bust, to left. The latter is probably not Edwin's work. Under: *Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Adams.* H. 6 7-16 inches: W. 4 1-16 inches.

[NOTE.—There is copied from the first state of this plate a print from the work of some other engraver with five of the Presidents,—viz., Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and Madison, after Edwin's ovals, and Monroe, after Vanderlyn. The emblems at the top, the mass of roses in the centre, and the base of the tablet are entirely different from the Edwin print. Mr. W. J. Campbell informs me that he had obtained a note of another state of one of these plates from Mr. William S. Baker. It contains, in addition to the portraits mentioned, one of Jackson.]

#### FRANCIS QUARLES.

Half length, to right, right hand holding a pen, tips of fingers of left hand pressed against his chest. Coat of arms in upper left-hand corner. In the upper half of the right, through a window or embrasure on part of which appears *Ætatis Suxæ 52*, can be seen the ruins of a palace(?); in the background a cottage at the base of a hill, behind which is the setting sun; from the clouds above projects an arm holding a wreath, under which is *Effigies Francisci Quarles*. Under: *Edwin sc. Francis Quarles.* [five lines]. H. 4 inches: W. 3 4-16 inches. Rectangle.

## JOHN RANDOLPH.

Full half length, seated. Under: *Edwin sc. John Randolph Esq.* H. 3 10-16 inches: W. 2 13-16 inches. Rectangle.

## DAVID RITTENHOUSE.

Full bust. Under: *D. Edwin sc. David Rittenhouse. Born April 8<sup>th</sup> 1732. Died June 26<sup>th</sup> 1796.* H. 3 10-16 inches: W. 2 13-16 inches. Vignette.

Id.

Bust, to left. Under: *C. W. Peale pinx 1772. D. Edwin Sculp. David Rittenhouse. Ann. Ætat. 40. From an original Picture in the possession of Mr. Sergeant.* H. 3 15-16 inches: W. 3 3-16 inches. Rectangle.

I. As described.

II. A modern restrike.

## JOHN RODGERS.

Full bust, in uniform, slightly to left. Under: *Jarvis Pinx. Edwin sc. John Rodgers Esq. of the United States Navy Engraved for the Analectic Magazine Published by M. Thomas.* H. 3 13-16 inches: W. 3 3-16 inches Rectangle.

I. As described.

II. A modern restrike, with the number 32 added at the upper right-hand corner.

## ELIZABETH SINGER ROWE.

Full bust, head slightly to left. Under: *Edwin sc. Mrs. Rowe. Published by R. Johnson.* H. 3 1-16 inches: W. 2 7-16 inches. Oval.

Id.

Full bust, head slightly to left. Under: *Edwin sc. Mrs. Rowe* H. 2 15-16 inches: W. 2 5-16 inches. Oval.

## BENJAMIN RUSH.

Nearly half length, to right, seated at a table. Under: *Painted by Sully. Publish'd by Joseph Delaplaine S. W. Cor-*

ner of Chestnut & Seventh S<sup>ts</sup> Philad<sup>a</sup> 1813. Engraved by Edwin. Benjamin Rush M.D. H. 5 inches: W. 4 2-16 inches. Rectangle.

I. As described.

II. The publisher's name erased.

III. With *Published by S. C. Atkinson for the Casket* under the name.

Id.

Bust, to right. Under: *Edwin sc<sup>t</sup> Rush*. H. 2 7-16 inches. W. 1 14-16 inches. Vignette.

#### RAPHAEL SANZIO.

Head, to left. Under: *D. Edwin sc. Raffaello D' Urbino*. H. 4 12-16 inches: W. 3 14-16 inches. Vignette.

#### SIR WALTER SCOTT.

Full bust, head slightly to left. Under: *D. Edwin sc. Walter Scott Esq<sup>r</sup>*. H. 3 inches: W. 2 6-16 inches. Vignette.

Id.

Full bust, head slightly to left. Under: *Edwin sc. Walter Scott Esq. Publish'd by J. Cushing Baltimore*. H. 2 5-16 inches: W. 1 13-16 inches. Oval.

#### WINFIELD SCOTT.

Bust, to right. Under: *Wood Pinx<sup>t</sup>. Edwin sc. Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Winfield Scott, of the United States Army. Engraved for the Analectic Magazine Published by M. Thomas. Entered according to Act of Congress 25 Oct 1814*. H. 3 14-16 inches: W. 3 3-16 inches. Rectangle.

I. As described.

II. The names of the magazine and publisher and copyright erased.

#### WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

Bust, to right. Under: *Zoust pinxit. Edwin sc. Shakespear*. H. 3 4-16 inches: W. 2 8-16 inches. Oval.



## WILLIAM SHENSTONE.

Full bust, slightly to right. Under: *D. Edwin sc. W. Shenstone Esq.* H. 3 6-16 inches: W. 3 2-16 inches. Oval.

- I. As described.
- II. A restrike.

## RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN.

Bust, to left. Under: *Edwin sc. Richard B. Sheridan Esq.* Printed by C. P. Harrison. H. 3 6-16 inches: W. 2 11-16 inches. Oval.

- I. As described.
- II. With the addition of a rectangular frame engraved in line.

## EDWARD SHIPPEN.

Bust, to left. Under: *G. Stuart Pinx. D. Edwin sculp. Edward Shippen, LL.D. Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, Æ. 74.* H. 4 15-16 inches: W. 4 inches. Rectangle.

## SARAH KEMBLE SIDDONS.

Full bust. Under: *Edwin sc. M<sup>rs</sup> Siddons.* H. 3 13-16 inches: W. 3 1-16 inches. Oval.

- I. As described.
- II. A modern restrike.

## ISAAC SMITH.

Bust, to right. Under: *Edwin sc. Isaac Smith Esq. Ætat 56.* H. 4 6-16 inches: W. 3 11-16 inches. Oval.

## REV. JOHN B. SMITH.

Full bust, in gown, slightly to right. Over: *The Evangelical Intelligencer.* Under: *D. Edwin Sculp. John B. Smith. DD.* H. 3 2-16 inches: W. 2 9-16 inches. Vignette within an oval line.

## REV. WILLIAM SMITH.

Full bust, in robes, to left. Under: *G. Stuart Pinx. D. Edwin sc. William Smith D.D. Æt: 75.* H. 5 2-16 inches: W. 4 inches. Rectangle.

## SIMON SNYDER.

Nearly half length, seated, to right. Under: *Sully Pinxt. Edwin sculp. Simon [arms of Pennsylvania] Snyder Governor of the State of Pennsylvania To the People of Pennsylvania this Portrait of the Man of their Choice,—Is respectfully dedicated by their Fellow-Citizen John Binns. Philad. Pub. July 1809. H. 8 10–16 inches: W. 7 5–16 inches. Rectangle.*

I. As described.

II. With *Printed in Colours* by . . . . Freeman added between the painter's and engraver's names, and after the date *Republished by T. W. Freeman. August 1<sup>st</sup> 1812.*

## REV. THOMAS SPENCER.

Full bust, to right, seated. Under: *Edwin sc. Tho<sup>s</sup> Spencer Drowned August 5<sup>th</sup> 1811 Aged 20 years & six months. H. 3 6–16 inches: W. 2 12–16 inches. Rectangle.*

## REV. EZRA STILES.

Bust, in gown, to left. Over: *The Evangelical Intelligencer*  
Under: *D Edwin Sculp Ezra Stiles STD. LLD. Engraved for W P Farrand & C<sup>o</sup> N<sup>o</sup> 185 Market Street Philadelphia. H. 3 2–16 inches: W. 2 7–16 inches. Oval.*

## CALEB STRONG.

Bust, to right. Under: *Coles Pinxt. Edwin Sc. Caleb Strong Esq<sup>r</sup>. L.L.D. H. 3 inches: W. 2 7–16 inches. Oval.*

## GILBERT CHARLES STUART.

Nearly half length, to left. Under: *Engraved by D. Edwin from the original Picture by John Neagle. Gilbert Stuart Aetat. 72. Duffee Printer Proof. H. 5 2–16 inches: W. 4 2–16 inches. Rectangle.*

I. As described.

II. The printer's name erased.

[NOTE.—Edwin's last work. See "Lives of Eminent Philadelphians now Deceased."]

## REV. GILBERT TENNENT.

Full bust, slightly to right. Over: *The Evangelical Intelligencer*. Under: *D. Edwin Sculp. Rev. Gilbert. Tennent. Engraved for W. P. Ferrand & C<sup>o</sup> N<sup>o</sup> 170 Market Street Philadelphia.* H. 3 4-16 inches: W. 2 11-16 inches. Oval.

## A. LOUIS TOUSARD.

Bust, in uniform, to right. In a panel: *A. L. Tousard.* Under: *Malbon pinx. D. Edwin sc.* H. 5 10-16 inches: W 3 14-16 inches. Oval in a rectangle.

## THOMAS TRUXTUN.

Bust, in uniform, in profile, to left. Over: *A representation of the Medal presented by the United States to Thomas Truxtun Esquire, and a copy of the Resolution of Congress. The lower circle is the Obverse side of the Medal.* Under: *D. Edwin sc.* The obverse was engraved by Lawson. Diameter 2 9-16 inches. Circle.

## UNKNOWN.

Bust, to right, nearly full face. Portrait of a man wearing his own hair parted in the middle, eyes turned towards the left, very high collar, lapel of vest protruding on the right, costume of the early part of the present century. An oval, 3 1-16 inches high by 2 7-16 inches wide in an oval frame half an inch wide. Under: *Edwin sc.* H. 4 1-16 inches: W. 3 7-16 inches. Oval.

## Id.

Half length, seated, to right, right arm resting on back of chair. Head and background finished, coat, arm, etc., in outline in imitation of a pencil drawing. Under: *Edwin sc.* H. 4 inches: W. 3 8-16 inches. Rectangle.

[NOTE.—Mr. Hart's copy, the only one seen, is closely cut. The plate probably bore a name.]

## JOHN WALKER.

Full bust, to left. Under: *Edwin Sc. John Walker. Engraved for D. Mallory & C<sup>o</sup> Boston.* H. 3 6-16 inches: W. 2 9-16 inches. Oval.

## NICHOLAS WALN.

Half length, in profile, to left, wearing a hat and holding a cane in right hand. Under: *Edwin sc. Nicholas Waln. Nat. 1741.—Ob. 1813.* H. 4 15–16 inches: W. 4 2–16 inches. Oval.

I. As described.

II. A modern restrike.

## ANNE BRUNTON WARREN.

Half length, seated, to left, nearly full face, in hat with large feathers. Under: *Edwin sc. M<sup>rs</sup> Warren.* H. 4 2–16 inches: W. 3 8–16 inches. Oval.

I. As described.

II. A modern restrike.

## JOSEPH WARREN.

See *American Generals*, supra.

## WILLIAM WARREN.

Bust, to right. Under: *Sully Edwin M<sup>r</sup>. Warren.* H. 3 13–16 inches: W. 3 1–16 inches. Oval.

I. As described.

II. A modern restrike.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON.

After Birch.

An oval, with emblems of war at the base, flags and branches of laurel at the sides, surmounted by an eagle (holding a laurel wreath in its beak), over which is a semi-circle of thirteen stars, the whole enclosed in a plain border in the upper part of a rectangle, in the part of which in a panel: *Geo: Washington.* Under: *Edwin sc.* H. 6 7–16 inches: W. 3 13–16 inches. Oval in a rectangle. Baker, No. 385.

Id.

After Rembrandt Peale.

Bust, to left. Under: *R Peale Pinx. D Edwin sc. General George Washington, Born Feb. 22, 1732 in Westmoreland*



County Virginia, and Died Dec. 14, 1799 at Mount Vernon. Published by J. Savage, 1800. H. 11 14–16 inches: W. 9 inches. Rectangle. Baker, Nos. 9 and 10.

I. As described.

II. The same, the publisher's name having been erased.

III. With the addition of a border. Under: *R. Peale Pinx<sup>t</sup>. D. Edwin Sculp<sup>t</sup>. Printed in Colours by H. Charles. Published by H. S. Tanner Philadelphia.* H. 13 2–16 inches: W. 10 4–16 inches. Rectangle. There are uncolored impressions of this state. Baker, Nos. 9 and 10. Mr. Baker thinks this engraving is “really after one of Charles Willson Peale's later portraits.”

Id.

After Savage.

Washington, full length, in uniform, seated, to right, right arm resting on shoulder of a boy, George Washington Parke Custis, standing in profile to right, whose right hand, holding a pair of calipers, rests on a geographical globe; left hand (W.'s) resting on a plan of the city of Washington, overlaying a book upon a table, on which are also his dress sword and three-cornered hat with large rosette, in the left; Mrs. Washington, full length, seated, to left, left hand holding the plan, a closed fan in her right hand; to her right, standing, holding the plan with both hands, Nellie Custis, and standing behind her Washington's negro Billy Lee, a curtain drawn aside at the rear showing a view of the Potomac.

Under: *Painted & Engraved by E: Savage. The Washington Family. | George Washington his Lady, and her two Grandchildren by the name of Custis. | La Famille de Washington. | George Washington Son Epouse et Ses deux petits Enfants du Nom de Custis. | Philadelphia. Publish'd March 10<sup>th</sup> 1798, by E: Savage & Rob<sup>t</sup> Wilkinson N<sup>o</sup> 58 Cornhill London.* H. 18 6–16 inches: W. 24 6–16 inches. Baker, No. 120.

[NOTE.—This plate is said to have been the work of Edwin, in the notice of him in “Lives of Eminent Philadelphians now Deceased.”]

Id.

After Stuart.

Bust, to left. Under: *Engraved from an Original Picture by D. Edwin. T. B. Freeman Excudit. George Washington Esq<sup>r</sup>. Published by T. B. Freeman May 1<sup>st</sup> 1798. H. 5 14-16 inches: W. 4 12-16 inches. Oval. Baker, No. 208.*

I. As described.

II. "Entirely worked over, the address and 'T. B. Freeman Excudit' . . . erased." Under the title: *Born Feb<sup>y</sup> 22, 1732, took command of the American Army 1775. elected President of the United States April 30<sup>th</sup> 1789. resign'd 1796. Died Dec<sup>r</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> 1799. Published by J. Scoles New York.*

III. The same. The publisher's name erased.

Id.

Bust, to left. Under, within the encircling line: *D. Edwin. Fecit. Philadelphia Published Jany 1<sup>st</sup> 1800 by A. Dickens. H. 5 2-16 inches: W. 4 7-16 inches. Oval. Baker, No. 209.*

I. As described.

II. With the address erased.

III. Under: *D. Edwin Fecit. The Immortal Washington Let us emulate his virtues whose loss we deplore.*

IV. Over: Scroll-work and *First in war first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen.* Under: *D. Edwin Fecit.*

Id.

Bust, to left. Under: *Edwin Sculp Geo Washington. H. 4 27-32 inches: W. 3 30-32 inches. Rectangle.*

[NOTE.—One of a number of plates made for Marshall's "Life of Washington," all of which closely resemble each other. This plate is easily distinguished by the difference in the lettering, being the only one with *sculp* and no point after *Geo*. In all the plates here described, besides the variations in size, the ribbon of the queue presents marked variations. One of the copper plates is in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and another is in the possession of Mr. Ferdinand J. Dreer. This and the four following prints are covered by Baker's No. 210.]

Id.

Bust, to left. Under: *D. Edwin sc. Geo. Washington.*  
H. 4 26-32 inches: W. 3 30-32 inches. Rectangle.

Id.

Bust, to left. Under: *D. Edwin Sc. Geo. Washington.*  
H. 26-32 inches: W. 3 29-32 inches. Rectangle.

[NOTE.—Distinguishable by the capital in *Sc.*]

Id.

Bust, to left. Under: *D. Edwin sc. Geo. Washington.*  
H. 4 24-32 inches: W. 3 29-30 inches. Rectangle.

I. As described.

II. A line ruled around; the engraver's name erased;  
relettered *George Washington.*

Id.

Bust, to left. Under: *D. Edwin fc. Geo. Washington.*  
H. 4 24-32 inches. W. 3 29-32 inches. Rectangle.

[NOTE.—Distinguishable by the long *f* in *sc*, by the title being in smaller letters than on any of the others, and by the triangular patch of light in the background.]

Id.

Bust, to right, in a frame engraved in line. Between the portrait and the lower part of the frame: *Engraved from Stuart's Painting.* In the lower part of the frame: *Washington.* Under: *Philad<sup>a</sup> Published by Joseph Parker.* H. (without the frame) 4 11-32 inches: W. 3 26-32 inches. H. (including the frame) 8 2-16 inches: W. 5 6-16 inches. Rectangle. Baker, No. 211.

I. As described.

II. The publisher's name erased and *Philad<sup>a</sup> Published by M. A. Millette 320 Chestnut St.* substituted.

[NOTE.—This looks as if it had been one of the plates engraved by Edwin for Marshall's "Life of Washington."

Id.

Bust, to right. Under: *Edwin sc. George Washington General and Commander in chief of the American Revolutionary Army, and first President of the United States.* H. 4 4-16 inches: W. 3 9-16 inches. Oval. Baker, No. 213.

Id.

Bust, to left. Under: *Edwin sc. Washington A Nations Joy.* H. 2 15-16 inches: W. 2 15-16 inches. Oval. Baker, Nos. 213 and 214.

I. As described.

[NOTE.—Engraved for “The New American Biographical Dictionary, . . . By J. Kingston, Baltimore: 1810.”]

II. Plate reduced; engraver’s name erased and relettered. Over: A star and *Centenary Anniversary.* Under: *Feb. 22. 1832. We Perpetuate the Fine Arts. Printed during the Procession by the Association of Copper-plate Printers. Pub. by R. H. Hobson 147 Chest. St.* H. 2 8-16 inches: W. 1 14-16 inches. Oval.

Id.

Bust, to left. Over: A Star and *Centenary* [sic] *Anniversary.* Under: *Feb. 22. 1832. We Perpetuate the Fine Arts. Printed during the Procession by the Association of Copper-plate Printers.* H. 2 8-16 inches: W. 1 14-16 inches. Baker, No. 214.

Id.

Bust, to left. Under: *Edwin sc. Washington. “Take him for all in all, We ne’er shall look upon his like again.”* H. 2 4-16 inches: W. 1 14-16 inches. Vignette. Baker, No. 215.

Id.

Half length, in uniform, seated, to right. Baker, Nos. 216 and 217.

I. As described.

II. With the addition of a frame and a base containing a memorial design. On a panel in the upper bar of the frame: *Washington. Sacred to Memory.* In the lower



bar : *F. Bartoli Pinx<sup>t</sup>. D. Edwin Sc.* The memorial design consists of a funeral urn supported by two female figures, surrounded by war emblems and surmounted by a sword and field-glass crossed. In a circular tablet on the urn *Ob. Dec. 14, 1799, Æt. 69.* Under : *Revised by I. J. Barralet. Published by D. Kennedy 228 Market St. Philad<sup>a</sup>. Revised by I. J. Barralet.* [sic]. H. 14 5-16 inches : W. 10 2-16 inches.

[NOTE.—Mr. Baker, in describing a copy of this print by J. Galland (Baker, No. 228), says, "This appears to be the same Plate as Edwin, No. 216, with parts worked over." The Galland print is from an entirely re-engraved plate.]

Id.

See the Presidents, *supra*.

Id.

Full length, in gown, with robe falling loosely over his knees, seated upon clouds, right hand upon his heart, left arm and hand extended. Over the figure, to the left, a cherub holding a wreath, to the right two figures partly hidden by clouds. In the lower right-hand corner a view of Mount Vernon. Under : *Painted by R. Peal. Published by S. Kennedy N<sup>o</sup>. 129 Chestnut Street, corner of 4<sup>th</sup> Philadelphia. Engrav'd by Edwin. Apotheosis of Washington.* H. 21 2-16 inches : W. 14 14-16 inches. Baker, No. 402.

#### ANTHONY WAYNE.

Full bust, in uniform, to right. Under : *Edwin sc. Gen. Anth<sup>y</sup>. Wayne.* H. 2 14-16 inches : W. 2 8-16 inches. Vignette.

I. As described.

II. With the addition of a rectangular frame.

#### BENJAMIN WEST.

Full bust, slightly to left. Under : *Edwin sc. Benj<sup>n</sup>. West Esq<sup>r</sup>.* H. 3 6-16 inches : W. 2 12-16 inches. Vignette.

I. As described.

II. Enclosed in a rectangular line. H. 3 11-16 inches : W. 3 2-16 inches. Rectangle.

**REV. GEORGE WHITEFIELD.**

Half length, in robes, uplifted hands, to right. Under *Edwin sc. George Whitefield M.A.* H. 3 15-16 inches: W. 3 2-16 inches. Oval.

**ANNE BRUNTON WIGNELL.**

Bust, to right. Under: *W. Dunlap pinxt. D. Edwin sculp. Mrs. Wignell.* H. 3 inches: W. 2 9-16 inches. Oval.

I. As described.

II. A modern restrike.

**ALEXANDER WILSON.**

Full bust, to left. Under: *Peale Pinxt. D. Edwin Sc. Alexander Wilson Author of the American Ornithology.* H. 3 14-16 inches: W. 3 3-16 inches. Oval.

**JAMES WILSON.**

Bust, to right. Under: *D. Edwin sc. Hon. James Wilson L.L.D.* H. 2 14-16 inches: W. 1 14-16 inches. Oval.

**REV. JOHN WITHERSPOON.**

Full bust, in gown, slightly to right. Over: *The Evangelical Intelligencer.* Under: *D. Edwin sculp. Doct. J. Witherspoon. Engraved for W. P. Farrand & Co: N<sup>o</sup>. 185 Market Street Philadelphia. Page 17.* H. 3 3-16 inches: W. 2 10-16 inches. Oval.

**JULIANA WESTRAY WOOD.**

Full bust, in low-necked dress, head to right. Under: *R. Peale Pinxt. Edwin sc. Mrs. Wood.* H. 3 11-16 inches: W. 3 1-16 inches. Oval.

I. As described.

II. A modern restrike.

**WILLIAM B. WOOD.**

Nearly half length, in military? costume, to left. Under: *T. Sully Pinxt. D. Edwin sc. Mr. Wood.* H. 4 inches: W. 3 14-16 inches. Vignette.

I. As described.

II. A modern restrike.

EDWARD YOUNG.

Full bust, in robes, head slightly to left. Under: *D. Edwin sc<sup>t</sup>. Edward Young, D.D. Publish'd by B. J. R. Johnson 1805.* H. 3 1-16 inches: W. 2 7-16 inches. Oval.

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ADDITIONS.

The following additions and corrections are mostly derived from an inspection of the collection of the engraved works of Edwin, formed by Charles Henry Hart, Esq.

JOHN ADAMS.

See the Presidents, *supra*.

SIR WILLIAM BLACKSTONE.

Add: *Pub. by T. B. Wait & C<sup>o</sup>. Portland.*

EDMUND BURKE.

- I. As described.
- II. The printer's name erased.
- III. With the addition of a rectangular frame engraved in line.

DAVID COBB.

- I. As described.
- II. A modern restrike.

WILLIAM COWPER.

Full bust, head to left. Under: *Edwin sc. W. Cowper.* H. 3 7-16 inches: W. 2 11-16 inches. Oval.

SOLOMON GESSNER.

- I. As described.
- II. The publisher's name erased.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Full bust.

- I. As described.
- II. *President of the United States.*

## ANTOINE LAURENT LAVOISIER.

I. Without *Pub<sup>d</sup>* by *Joseph Delaplaine* south-west corner of 7<sup>th</sup> & Chestnut St<sup>s</sup> Philad<sup>a</sup> 1813.

II. As described.

## ELIZABETH ROBINSON MONTAGU.

Full bust, head to left. Under: *Edwin sc. M<sup>rs</sup> Montagu.*  
H. 1 15-16 inches: W. 1 9-16 inches. Oval.

## HARRIET ATWOOD NEWELL.

Nearly half length, to right. Under: *W. Doyle pinx<sup>t</sup> D. Edwin sc. M<sup>rs</sup> Harriet Newell. Published by Samuel T. Armstrong Printer and Bookseller N<sup>o</sup> 50 Cornhill Boston.* H. 3 5-16 inches: W. 2 10-16 inches. Oval.

## MISS P—.

Mr. Hart's copy has marked upon it in lead-pencil "Ann Parsons."

## WILLIAM PENN.

Half length, to right. Under: *Engraved by Edwin from a bust by Sylvanus Bevan. William Penn. B. 1644, D. 1718.*  
H. 4 14-16 inches: W. 3 14-16 inches. Rectangle.

[NOTE.—There are two plates closely resembling this, one engraved by Kneass, Young & Co., and the other by J. B. Longacre, from a drawing by Mr. Edwin.]



WILLIAMS FAMILY RECORD.

CONTRIBUTED BY HOWARD WILLIAMS LLOYD.

[As many of the descendants of Thomas Williams, of St. Austell, Cornwall, afterwards of Philadelphia, are now residing in or near the latter-named city, the following record, copied from the family Bible now in the possession of a descendant in Cincinnati, Ohio, may be of interest.]

MARRIAGES.

THOMAS WILLIAMS son of Andrew of the parish of Mevan, of the parish of Austle, serge maker to Mary Reed of Menhennet, all of the County of Cornwall at Austle, in Friends' Meeting House 5<sup>th</sup> mo 2<sup>nd</sup> 1722.

THOMAS WILLIAMS son of Thomas of the City of Philadelphia, in the province of Pennsylvania, cordwainer, to Rachel Warner daughter of John Warner of the township of Blockley in the county of Philadelphia in Friends' Meeting at Merion 14<sup>th</sup> of 10<sup>th</sup> mo. 1750.

John Litle to Mary Williams daughter of Thomas 3<sup>rd</sup> mo 24<sup>th</sup> day. 1774

Abraham Smith to Esther Williams daughter of Thomas in Friends' Meeting House High St 5<sup>th</sup> day of the 5<sup>th</sup> mo: 1798.

THOMAS WILLIAMS son of Thomas to Rachel Dubre daughter of James in Wrightstown. — mo — 1801.

BENJAMIN WILLIAMS son of Thomas to Esther Dubre daughter of James in Friends' North Meeting House 3<sup>rd</sup> day 6 mo 14—1808.

Isaac Wainwright to Matilda Williams daughter of Thomas.

Simeon Pownal to Sarah Williams daughter of Thomas in Friends' Meeting House, Arch St or Mulberry St.

THOMAS WILLIAMS son of Samuel and Ann to Isabella Howard in Friends' Meeting House 5 mo 9—1787, and Hannah Tompkins his 2<sup>nd</sup> wife in Friends' North Meeting House.

SAMUEL WILLIAMS son of Samuel and Ann, to Sarah Poultney in Friends' Meeting House, North High St.

James Poultney to Letitia Williams daughter of Samuel and Ann, in Friends' Meeting House North High St 5<sup>th</sup> day 2 mo 7—1793.

ARTHUR HOWELL WILLIAMS son of Benjamin and Esther (Dubre) to Emma Elizabeth Warner daughter of William and Catharine Warner, by Rev John L. Grant July 23—1844 Philad<sup>a</sup> Pa.

William Cameron to Rachel Williams daughter of Benjamin & Esther (Dubre) Williams by Rev Cookman, June 26 1832 in Philad<sup>a</sup> Pa.

## BIRTHS.

THOMAS WILLIAMS son of Thomas and Mary (Reed) Williams, Cornwall, near Austle, Great Britain on the 17<sup>th</sup> of 10<sup>th</sup> mo, December 1724. Came with his parents and three brothers Joseph, Samuel and Andrew to Philad<sup>a</sup> Nov 19. 1733.

## Children of Thomas Williams and Rachel Warner.

Mary, Dec : 28—1751	Esther Sep 22 1763
Sarah, June 4. 1754	Rachel Feb 9 1765
Joseph Dec 31. 1755	Matilda Aug 28 1766
Elizabeth Mar 19. 1757	Hannah Nov 13 1768
Thomas Jan 22 1759	Joseph April 6 1770
Samuel Jan 10 1761	Thomas May. 16. 1771
(still born Oct 5 1762)	Benjamin Oct 27. 1774

## Children of Samuel and Ann (Thomas) Williams.

Thomas	Joseph
Elizabeth	Martha
Samuel	Reed
Letitia	Charles.

Children of John and Mary (Williams) Litle.

Robert	Litle	4 mo 22.	1775
Edmund	"	12 mo 1—	1776
Thomas	"	10 mo 3—	1778
James	"	8 mo 9—	1780

Children of Abraham and Esther (Williams) Smith.

Howard, Sarah Williams, Matilda.

Children of Thomas and Rachel (Dubre) Williams.

Warner, Charles, James, Joseph,  
Sarah, Esther, Matilda, William,  
Samuel, Thomas.

Children of Thomas Williams and Isabella (Howard) Williams.

Howard,<sup>1</sup> Ann, Samuel, Thomas R.

Children of Thomas and Hannah (Tomkins) Williams his 2<sup>nd</sup> wife.

Ann, Isabella, Mary, Elizabeth,  
Jacob, Hannah.

RACHEL WILLIAMS daughter of Benjamin and Esther (Dubre) Williams was born in the house #100 Sassafras or Race St on the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of the week at half past 12 oclock noon 5<sup>th</sup> mo May 30<sup>th</sup> 1809.

MARY WILLIAMS daughter of Benjamin and Esther (Dubre) Williams was born in the house #100 Sassafras or Race St on the 2<sup>nd</sup> day of the week at half past 3 oclock A. M 10 mo 5 day 1810.

BENJAMIN WILLIAMS son of Benjamin and Esther (Dubre) Williams was born in the house #309 North 3<sup>rd</sup> St, N. E. cor, of 3<sup>rd</sup> and Tammany St on the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of the week at 11 oclock A. M. 6<sup>th</sup> mo June 15, 1813.

<sup>1</sup> [Howard Williams was born Sixth month 25, 1788; died Ninth month 16, 1875; married Fifth month 6, 1813, at Darby, Pennsylvania, Ann Heacock, and had five children, four of whom married and left issue,—viz., 1. Reed Augustus to Elizabeth English. 2. Annabella to Henry Paschall Lloyd. 3. Joseph Jonathan to Martha P. Shoemaker. 4. Mary Howard to Franklin Shoemaker.]

ARTHUR HOWELL WILLIAMS son of Benjamin and Esther (Dubre) Williams was born in the house #101 St John St at midnight of the 1<sup>st</sup> day of the week 1<sup>st</sup> mo Jan 28. 1816.

ELIZABETH WILLIAMS daughter of Benjamin and Esther (Dubre) Williams was born in the house #186 North Front St on the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of the week at 9 oclock A. M. 9<sup>th</sup> mo Sep<sup>t</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> 1818.

EDWARD WILLIAMS, son of Benjamin and Esther (Dubre) Williams was born in the house 186 North Front St on Feb. 2 mo 27 day 1821.

FRANCIS WILLIAMS son of Benjamin and Esther (Dubre) Williams was born in the house 186 North Front St on the 7<sup>th</sup> day of the week at 7 oclock P. M. 1<sup>st</sup> mo Jan : 4<sup>th</sup> 1823.

ESTHER LACY WILLIAMS daughter of Benjamin and Esther (Dubre) Williams was born at the country seat of James Moyse Roxborough on the 2<sup>nd</sup> day of the week at 11 oclock P. M. 6 mo June 7<sup>th</sup> 1824.

ELLEN PARISH WILLIAMS daughter of Benjamin and Esther (Dubre) Williams was born at the S. E. cor of 6<sup>th</sup> and Noble Sts 6<sup>th</sup> day of the week at 10 minutes after 3 A. M. 2 mo Feb 8. 1828.

EMMA LOUISA WILLIAMS daughter of Arthur H. Williams and Emma Warner Williams and grand daughter of Benjamin & Esther (Dubre) Williams was born at the N. E. cor of 12<sup>th</sup> & Wood Sts, April 4<sup>th</sup> 1845 at 12.45 A. M.

#### DEATHS.

Thomas Williams Oct. 1734.

Mary Reed Williams Sep 10. 1767.

Children of Thomas and Rachel (Warner) Williams.

Joseph May 5, 1756

Elizabeth Dec 31, 1760

Thomas Dec 5, 1762

Samuel June 8, 1763

Rachel Aug 2 1766

Hannah Feb 4. 1769

Joseph May 13. 1776.



Rachel (Warner) Williams April 20 1776 aged 44 years.

Thomas Williams, June 24, 1783, 59 years.

Mary Litle daughter of Thomas and Rachel drowned in Delaware [River] Feb 10, 1782.

Edward son of Benjamin and Esther Nov 11. 1821.

Francis son of Benjamin and Esther April 6 1823 aged 3 mo 2 days.

Sarah Pownal daughter of Thomas and Rachel Williams died in Solebury Beech, C. T. Feb 14 1824 age 69 years 8 mo 10 days.

Rachel (Dubre) Williams July 1823 age 43 years 8 mo 16 days.

Ann (Thomas) Williams wife of Samuel 6 mo 7—1809.

Samuel Williams son of Thomas and Mary Reed [Williams].

Charles son of Samuel and Ann Williams.

Reed son of Samuel and Ann [Williams].

Samuel son of Samuel and Ann [Williams].

Robert Litle son of John and Mary (Williams) Litle 8 mo 13—1776.

James son of John & Mary Litle 1833.

Thomas “ “ “ “

Edmund “ “ “ “ 3. 19. 1818.

Howard son of Abraham and Esther (Williams) Smith.

Matilda daughter of Abraham and Esther (Williams) Smith.

John Litle at Washington City.

Isabella Howard Williams.

Joseph son of Samuel and Ann Williams July 16 1826 age 53.

Esther wife of Benjamin [Williams]. Mar 3. 1828 age 43 years 7 mo 16 days.

Ellen Parrish Williams daughter of Benj: and Esther 8 mo 30. 1828 age 6 mo 3 weeks.

Esther Lacey Williams daughter of Benj and Esther 8 mo 6. 1834 age 10 years 2 mo.

Esther Williams daughter of Thomas and Rachel Dec 6. 1845 age 83 years 2 mo 14 days.

## PHILADELPHIA IN 1698.

[The original of the following letter is in the possession of a valued correspondent of mine, Mr. Thomas Elias, of Denbighshire, North Wales, who has kindly consented to allow this copy to be printed. Unfortunately, through the wear and tear of time, a part is missing, and with it the signature of the writer. A memorandum made on it, however, states that it was written "to Robert Johnson, minister of St. Illyd, near Dôlgellau from his father-in-law at Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, April ye 1<sup>st</sup> 1698."

Llanyltyd, or Llanelltyd [St. Illyd], is a parish in the union of Dôlgelly, hundred of Ardudwy, county of Merioneth, North Wales, two miles northwest from Dôlgelly, on the road leading to Barmouth. From this neighborhood there was a large emigration to the colony of Pennsylvania between the years 1682 and 1725, most of the emigrants being members of the Society of Friends, or Quakers. About the year 1680 there was residing at Bryn-Mawr, Rowland Ellis (this place is situated less than a mile south of Dôlgelly; near by are Bryn-rhug and Tyddyndu), who was born about the year 1650, and at the age of twenty-two had become a follower of George Fox. In 1686 he came to the colony that Penn had established, but only remained a short time. In June, 1697, however, he returned to Philadelphia, and finally settled on his estate about a mile north of the present Bryn-Mawr Station on the Pennsylvania Railroad. He had been married twice. His first wife was Margaret, daughter of Ellis Morris; his second, Margaret, daughter of Robert Owen ap Lewis. He died in September of 1729, at the house of his son-in-law, John Evans, and was buried in the grounds belonging to Plymouth Friends' Meeting. By his first wife he had a daughter and heiress, Ann, who remained in Wales, where she married a curate by the name of Johnson, or Johnston, who was located near Dôlgelly.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In *Y Geninen (The Leek)* for April, 1890, there is an article on "Crynwyr Cymreig Ardaloedd Dôlgellau" by E. Griffith, Springfield, Dôlgelly. He is a descendant of Rowland Ellis by the marriage referred to. He states that the curate Johnson lived at Doluwchowgryd. This is an old family estate in the parish of Llanelltyd. It was originally erected by one of the Nanney family of Nannau, but has been rebuilt, and a stone, on which is the inscription "Non Domus Dominum, sed Dominus Domum," was transferred from the old building to the front wall of the new.—See "Lewis's Topographical Dictionary of Wales."

From this it seems very probable that Rowland Ellis was the writer of this interesting letter, telling of the condition of the country near Philadelphia in 1698. HOWARD WILLIAMS LLOYD.]

As for ye account of our passage I think I have been something large in my last w<sup>ch</sup> I hope came to thy hands, least it came not, we have had a good passage in six weeks time from land to land, none died in ye ship but one old woman, one other woman was brought to bed; she & her child did very well, so we kept our numbers through the mercy of God. We had our health very well only sea sickness and as for ye country I like it very well; we had a very cold winter, such another people here cannot remember, hard frost, & deep snow, which continued untill ye beginning of this month; we bore it I think as well as most; we had an indifferent good house; very good & large chimney; we made fire night & day. Our house lies under ye Cold N. W. wind & just to the South Sun, in a very warm bottom near a stream of very good water. We have cleared about this run ab<sup>t</sup> 10 or 12 Acres for meadow land, very good soil, black mould moist over. I do think for ye most part, if not all ye river will soon overflow it, which runs through it, it being set thick of [thorn] bryars, & small scrubbs; a man upon horse could not ride through it. We hope to mow ye next harvest store of hay; we have as much more such ground for meadow, when we may have to enclose it. Few or none among our countrymen have the like conveniency of Meadow land. We have above 6 acres of wheat sown in good order, & an *accer* & half of ye last summer fallow for Barley. We now begin to clear in order for to sow Oats, if ye Lord gives us life & health, if we can between this & the beginning of May, & about 6 accers, & for Indian Corn as much as we can. We are about to enclose with rail fence by ye latter end of spring above 40 acres. Our *Accer*<sup>s</sup> of land is 40 Perch in length & 4 in breadth. Our Perch is 16 ft & half, an *accere* of land containing about 76 Roods at least. Ye Rood wh<sup>ch</sup> is ye common measure of land with you near Dôlgeley is 6 yards



square, by this thee mayest compute measures together. We have a good soil under a very rough coat; many things sown bring good increase. Ye country grass is very rough & Course in hand as most things by nature, but as it be naturalized, we hope it will prove better; yt wh is good for Winter fodder. Our land generally is dry, and some places strong; some places very level, but ours hereaway, little rising grounds, few hills, fine springs, & running streams of as good water as any I saw; good stately Oaks several sorts of Poplars & great many kinds of trees, also black & white Walnut, Cipresse, Pine, & Cedar in some places grow plentifully. They begin now to build the houses with Stone, & many with brick, wh<sup>ch</sup> may be made in any place here. There is Limestone within, 3 little miles to my house. English hay does very kindly, especially white honey suckle (Dutch Clover?), where yt take root it mightily increases, & kills all wild roots (as they say) where it so takes. Ye red clover does well. There are but few of the natives now. Not 1 to 10 as was formerly. As many as there is, are very quiet a new comer may supply himself with horses, cows or sheep, as many as he wants; good horse £4. with you, may cost £8. more or less, Good Cow here £5 or £6., beef ye last fall 2½ per pound, pork 3<sup>d</sup>, cheese 7<sup>d</sup> butter 10<sup>d</sup> to 1/- per pound mutton 5<sup>d</sup> also, wheat 8/ Rye 6/ Malt 6/ ye bushell. All other things are very dear, accordingly all things, whether foreign or country commodities will fall. We hear of ye peace concluded between England and France. It has been very sickly season here ye last fall & winter; severall died of our Countrymen; the Lord hath preserved us hitherto. Since I began to write this letter my wife had ye distemper, now she is recovered very well, blessed be God. If I live to receive a few lines from thee when opportunity p'sents, I hope if all things be well to return to the a few other acct<sup>s</sup> how we do. Also of any other things if worth sending and I desire y<sup>t</sup> none may take occasion by any word yt discovers, nor suppose if I do nor did repent of my coming, for be it far from me from encouraging any to venture y<sup>m</sup>selves, & what they have, furtherly they

live comfortable in their native country to ye danger of ye seas and many more inconvenience yt may happen & on ye other hand discourage any yt hath any real inclinations to transport themselves into ye hands of providence. Some came here might have better staid in their own country, & it is my thought yt great many more would have done better here yt ever they are like to do in their own country.



One of the colonial flags of the Pennsylvania "Associators," 1747.  
Designed by Benjamin Franklin.

## THE PROVINCIAL OR COLONIAL FLAG OF PENNSYLVANIA.

BY FRANCIS OLCOTT ALLEN.

Much interest attaches to the question of the existence at any time prior to the Revolutionary period of a flag corresponding in its use and associations, as emblematic of local sentiment, with the New England standard used in King Philip's war in 1675. Much research has been bestowed on the matter; but as the early history of Pennsylvania lacked the movement and incident of that of New England, the peaceful epoch did not produce many such evidences of independent thought and action. In fact, not one has been discovered entirely up to this date, so far as I can find. Upon

searching the voluminous writings of Franklin, however, it is discovered that in 1747, during the "War of the Spanish Succession," in which England, Spain, and finally France were involved, there arose an emergency which evolved a provincial flag, if not *the* provincial flag, which answers in all its characteristics the most severe definition of that term. The warfare consisted largely of reprisals on the vessels of the nations involved, and consequently the colonies and dependencies were in constant alarm. The Spaniards came up the Delaware as far as New Castle and seized a boat. Consternation spread through Pennsylvania. Citizens appealed to the Assembly for the organization of means of defence; but that body being largely composed of Friends, or influenced by their views, the appeal was vain. At this juncture Dr. Benjamin Franklin was moved to write his famous article on "Plain Truth," which aroused the citizens to their defenceless condition. Being the editor and publisher of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, the stirring appeal had wide circulation and immediate effect. A meeting was called at the Coffee-House, blank sheets with a printed pledge at the top, agreeing to associate themselves into military companies, were put in convenient places, and after speeches and discussion, the meeting adjourned after twelve hundred names had been signed. Other papers sent into adjacent counties secured over ten thousand "Associators." The town was excited, the wives and daughters caught the spirit, and by subscription among themselves, bought officers' half-pikes, spontoons, halberds, drums, and silk for flags. Dr. Franklin tells us in his autobiography that he furnished the designs for these flags, which were presented to the "Associators." The first design mentioned, an account of which is published in Franklin's *Gazette* of April, 1748, was "a lion erect, a naked scimitar in one paw, the other holding the Pennsylvania escutcheon; motto *Patria*." The other nineteen devices mentioned had no reference to Pennsylvania, but would have answered as well for Connecticut. Had he gone further in his newspaper, and mentioned the color of the silk upon which this design was



painted, I should claim that we had an authoritative description of the flag we are seeking for the following reasons :

*First.* It will be observed that the "Pennsylvania escutcheon" is the shield of the Penn arms. The Penn family motto used on the same shield is *Dum clarum rectum tenent* (usually found without "rectum"). The provincial authorities used the same shield officially, but changed the motto to "Mercy and justice," which is found in provincial papers; but here was an entirely new motto, "Patria," ignoring both the others and appealing at once to the local sentiment.

*Secondly.* There was in all these movements the dawn of a spirit of independence of the British influence, of which this flag, with its new motto, was the symbol; for we read in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of December 12, 1747, that when a great body of "Associators" met and marched to the Court-House on Market Street, with drums beating and colors flying (both being the gifts of the women, and proving that the above-named device was carried through Philadelphia streets), for the further perfection of their organization, His Honor the President and several of the gentlemen of the Council being present, the Secretary, by order, acquainted the "Associators" that the proceedings were *not disapproved* by the government. These words are significant, for had the organization, equipment, and efficient drill of these men been the act of the government, or *had its sympathy*, what need existed for such assurances? If, without the motion of any existing government, ten thousand of its citizens organize into companies and regiments, adopt articles, equip themselves, and drill to a high state of efficiency, and, *above all*, adopt a flag distinctive and different from the government flag, is it not an evidence of the dawn of an independent spirit? But,—

*Thirdly.* The official correspondence of the time between the Province and the Proprietaries is full of the alarm of the latter at the boldness of the citizens, and fully justifies the view assumed. For them to enter upon all this military preparation without having previously obtained the sanc-

tion of the government was a precedent full of danger. Without quoting to weariness, the correspondence from England might well serve for the beginning of the Revolutionary period. Mr. Peters, Secretary of the Province, was able, however, to soften this resentment; and as the preliminaries of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle were signed on the following April 30, 1748, and the occasion and stimulus to this independent military ardor passed away, the Province subsided into peaceful acquiescence for twenty-eight years. But who can measure now the influence of this movement, which our flag symbolizes, upon the inhabitants of Pennsylvania when the shots fired at Lexington reverberated on the Delaware? By a happy coincidence, Judge S. W. Pennypacker has found in his library an original pamphlet copy of "Plain Truth," yellow with age. On the fly-leaf at the back, in a handwriting and spelling which indicate the penman to have been contemporary with the events, is a statement of the organization of the "Associators" and a description of the above-mentioned device, varying only in the motto, which is "Pro Patria;" but, as Franklin's own newspaper, the *Gazette*, gives "Patria," and as he was the designer, the newspaper is indisputable.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## Notes.

THOMPSON—LEWES.—On the fly-leaf of a copy of Penn's and Pennington's "Primitive Christianity" the following genealogical data were found:

John Thompson Decided the 4<sup>th</sup> of Febauary in the (*sic*) of our Lord 1813 on tuesday Betewenn the our of Tweleve o cock and one.

July the 7<sup>th</sup> Roxsana Lewes was Born in The yeare of our Lord 1811 on Sunday Morning at Six A Clock.

Henry Lewes was Born the 20<sup>th</sup> day of March in the Year of our Lord 1815.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ORDERLY-BOOK OF CAPTAIN SAMUEL MOORE, Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion, Colonel Anthony Wayne.

*June 29 1776.*—According to Orders embarked for Albany at 2 o'clock p.m., with a good southerly wind and sailed as far as Tappan by Dobb's Ferry against night.

*June 30.*—Against morning found ourselves at Teller's Point at Hav-erstraw, and wind and tide not suiting cast anchor. At seven o'clock weighed anchor, wind and tide suiting. Entered the Highlands—about four miles from the narrow entrance stands a fort called Fort Montgomery, on the west side of the river; about six miles above, on the east side of the river, is Fort Constitution, at a place called West Point. It is very strongly built of stone and commands the river, and about one hundred yards in front of it a strong redoubt. Here we went ashore for water in a canoe, when a smart gale sprung up and the sloop had to put off. Cast anchor above Newburg. At 8 p.m. weighed anchor.

*July 1.*—Found ourselves about 14 miles above Newburg; about noon passed Esopus Creek; at 3 o'clock off Col. Hoffman's at Red Hook; Livingston's Manor and the Catskills, Kinderhook and other places passed.

*July 2.*—Arrived at Albany at 8 a.m., and there went into barracks.

*July 3.*—Got our arms for the first time.

*July 4.*—Marched from Albany at 12 o'clock, went five miles up the River, (west side), then crossed to east side.

*July 5.*—Marched at 9 a.m. twelve miles to Still Water; there encamped on a high bank where we found the remains of an old fort.

*July 6.*—Marched from Stillwater to General Schuyler's Dwelling at Saratoga, and there eat dinner. At Schuyler's there is 100 acres of meadow land in one body, with grist mill and saw mill with thirteen saws—the dwellings extraordinary. Thirteen miles above crossed the ferry to east side of the river, marched one mile and encamped by Fort Edward, which appears to have been a very strong fort.

*July 7.*—Sunday morning, marched from Fort Edward at 6 a.m., to Lake George and there encamped between Fort George and Fort William Henry, (Fort William Henry is decayed, Fort George is now being repaired), the old lines of the last war are still seen.

*July 8.*—Lay in camp.

*July 10.*—Embarked on board sixteen batteaux at 6 a.m., and arrived at Ticonderoga Landing at 4 p.m.

*July 11.*—Remained encamped—it rained.

*July 12.*—At noon marched to Ticonderoga, three miles from the Landing, and there encamped between the fort and the lake.

*July 13.*—Viewed the old fort which stands on a high bank on the west side of the lake, and appears to have been a strong fortification, built partly of stone and wood, with two redoubts, one on the south the other on the west side, with large lines half a mile from the fort on the south side.

HEAD QUARTERS TICONDEROGA,  
Aug. 19, 1776.

The Commanding officers of Regiments & Corps are to be answerable that every officer, non commissioned officer & Soldier who shall hereafter be Infected with the Small Pox be immediately sent to the General Hospital at Lake George, but previous to their being sent, they are to make Oath as followeth :

I. A. B. Swear Solemnly by the Ever Living God, that I have not Recev<sup>d</sup> the Infection of the Small Pox by Inoculation or any other Operation internal or external, but have taken the same in a manner unknown to me & I firmly believe by the Oath that I have now taken in the Natural way and no other—So help me God.

In case any man refuses to make the above Oath his conscience accusing him that it would be perjury so to do he is to Declare the name of the Person who Inoculated him & the place where it was done, that the perpetrator of so villainous an act may immediately be brought to Condign Punishment.

INSCRIPTIONS IN CHRIST CHURCH, SHREWSBURY, NEW JERSEY.—These stones were placed in the floor of the church at the time it was built in 1769, the graves being under the church.

During repairs made in the autumn of 1893 the large stones were moved a few inches to the centre of the aisle and a small one which was under the pews was placed in the platform of the chancel, and all were framed in oak.

Here [NORTH AISLE.]  
Lies Intarr'd the Body  
of Elizabeth Ashfield wife  
of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Lewis Morris  
Ashfield Died Nov<sup>r</sup> 30<sup>th</sup>  
1762 aged 38 Years  
2 Months & 16 Days.

Here lyeth the Body of [SOUTH AISLE.]  
Theodosius Bartow  
Who departed this life the 5<sup>th</sup> of Oct<sup>r</sup> 1746  
Aged 34 Years 7 Months & 9 Days

In Memory of [CHANCEL.]  
Henry son of  
Henry & Enthamica  
Arabella Leonard  
who died April 10  
1761  
Aged 5 years and 5  
Months.



MRS. JAMES MADISON.—The following charming description refers to Mrs. Madison, and is extracted from a letter dated October 12, 1810:

"I was last Wednesday at the palace. Your Quaker Queen does the honors with great grace and dignity, she has departed a little, to be sure, from the simplicity of your costume, she was habited in a seeded muslin morning dress trimmed all round, a double ruff for her neck, a fine French cap of lace, and a rose-colour and white silk scarf thrown over her shoulders and reaching to her feet.

"This I write to let you know how the Friends dress in Washington; in case you chuse to adopt the modes practised in the Capital. Time, that rough engraver, seems to respect Nature's beautiful workmanship in her countenance, and touches not that which could scarcely be altered but for the worse; her graces, her smiles and dimples still retain all the witchery of fascination. She has long said that nothing spoils a face so soon as ill nature, and therefore made it a point never to scold. . . .

"I was at Calorama, Mr. Barlow's seat, yesterday; the place has great capabilities, and is already lovely, under the influence of taste; his lady is sick, and he, poor man, has a most unhappy countenance—there is nothing poetic in it, in spite of the Columbiad." T. S.

KNOWLES.—John and Francis Knowles, with their sister Hannah, were immigrants to Pennsylvania, evidently from Berkshire, England. Elizabeth Knowles, perhaps their mother, was a witness to the will of John Busby, of Philadelphia, Eighth month 3, 1699, and was married a few months later to Thomas Griffith, cordwainer, who in his will, Twelfth month 22, 1726, appointed John Knowles, of Oxford Township, carpenter, Francis Knowles, of Philadelphia city, shopkeeper, and Hannah Knowles, of the same, spinster, to be his executors, and to whom he devised all his real estate, but without designating any relationship.

John Knowles married, in 1705, Ann Paul, daughter of Joseph and Margaret Paul, and had children: Sarah, married John Shallcross and John Buckingham; Elizabeth, married William Oborn, of Concord, and Evan Jones; Ann, married Nathan Garrett, of Darby; Margaret, married Robert Jones, of Merion; Martha, married Thomas Livezey; Hannah, married Amos Lewis, of Haverford; and John, married Elizabeth Tatnall, and afterwards lived in Ridley Township.

John Knowles died in 1743, and in his will mentions his late uncle, Edmund Orpwood; also his brother Francis Knowles and sister Hannah, wife of Thomas Gilpin.

Francis Knowles, who is also styled "bookbinder," married, First month 10, 1714/15, Sarah Lee, by whom he had a daughter Sarah, who died in her minority.

Among the Friends in Berkshire who suffered persecutions were Humphrey Knowles, 1660; John and Francis Knowles, of Chalow, 1677, 1683, 1684, 1685, 1686, 1687, 1688; also Edmund and William Orpwood, 1683.

Edmund Orpwood came to Pennsylvania and died in Oxford Township, Philadelphia County, in 1728. Thomas Chalkley, in his journal, mentions being at his funeral, Eleventh month 19, 1728. He was in the eighty-fifth year of his age. He devised various legacies to his Knowles "cousins," £100 to his brother William Orpwood, and £50 to the use of Oxford Meeting and graveyard.

By deed of December 19, 1720, Edmund Orpwood, of Oxford Township, yeoman, and Joan his wife, for natural love and affection and the sum of £200, conveyed to John Knowles, of the city of Philadelphia, nephew of the said Joan, four tracts of land in Oxford Township, containing in

all 547½ acres. The first tract, 247½ acres, was purchased from Robert Ewer, of Philadelphia, merchant, by deed of Tenth month 6, 1694; three other tracts of 100 acres each by deeds respectively from Richard Busby, of Oxford, First month 1, 1698; from same, Twelfth month 21, 1702-3; and from Evan Powel, of Oxford, weaver, Third month 7, 1705. A life-interest was reserved in the said lands. GILBERT COPE.

A QUAKER MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE OF 1667.—Robert Barclay, in his "Anarchy of the Ranters," reproves "such Slavish and Ignoble Spirits" as should, "through Fear, Interest, or Prejudice to the Truth," bow, as he expresses it, to the image of "assumed Authority and Power," on the part of the priests, to join persons in marriage;<sup>1</sup> but it must have required a good deal of boldness, even before the passage of Lord Hardwicke's act in 1753, to dispense with the intervention of a person in orders, and to carry into actual practice the doctrine of the law of England, that marriage, so far as its validity is concerned, is merely a civil contract. The wording of the earliest marriage certificates of the sect to which Barclay belonged betrays, I think, something of this "fear," or, to speak more justly, a sense of the fitness of some justification of a novel procedure that must have shocked the prejudices of the greater part of the community.

In default of a clergyman's certificate, the Friends made one for themselves. William Caton, who was married at Amsterdam in 1662, wrote, "all the men Friends that were then and there present at the meeting, did subscribe their names to a certificate, which for the future was for such as might desire to have an account of the matter for their satisfaction and information."<sup>2</sup> A few years later women as well as men sign, as witnesses, the certificate of William Dewsbury. The editor of his "Life," after speaking of Dewsbury's first marriage, adds, in a note, "The Editor has since ascertained, by a copy of W. D.'s marriage certificate, in the possession of a Friend, that he was married a second time in the year 1667."<sup>3</sup> He does not give us the text of this document, nor have I been able to find it in print. As I happen to possess a copy, made probably about a century and a quarter ago, I venture to think it of sufficient interest to make it worth publishing *in extenso*. It seems to me to illustrate the half-defensive attitude alluded to; but whether this be so or not, it will give an idea of the freedom of phraseology permitted before the stereotyped form now in use had become fixed. The practice of calling the months by numerical names would seem not to have become universal in the Society at that time. Here is the copy:

"These are to certifie all whom the same may concern, that whereas the agreement of marriage betwixt William Dewsbury of Durker<sup>4</sup> in the County of York & Alice Meades<sup>5</sup> of the Borough of Warwick & in the County of Warwick single woman, hath been published in the respective churches amongst which they have had their conversations, according to the order of the Spirit of the Lord, for the satisfaction of the Children of Light, who rest satisfied & have unity with them in their proceedings & coming together—Know ye therefore, that upon the seventeenth day of the month called May in the year of our Lord one Thousand six hundred sixty & seven, they the said William & Alice did openly & solemnly as in the presence of the Lord & before his people give up themselves

<sup>1</sup> Barclay's Works, London, 1692, fol., p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> "Life of W. Caton," London, 1839, second edition, p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> "Life of W. Dewsbury," London, 1836, p. 188.

<sup>4</sup> "Dukes" in the "Life,"

<sup>5</sup> "Reads or Meads" in the "Life."



in the holy Covenant of God, & did take each other in marriage to live together according to God's holy ordinance & appointment. Gen: Ch. 2<sup>d</sup>, Ver: 24th & Ch. 24th, Ver. 14th to the end of the chapter.

"And that they were this day openly & solemnly married according to the order of the Church of Christ & the good examples of God's peoples in times past mentioned in the Holy Scriptures 1st Tim. Ch. 5th Ver. 14th, Corinth: Ch. 7th, Ver. 2nd, Ruth Ch. 24th, Gen: Ch. 24th Exod: Ch. 2d, Ver. 1st.

"And now we whose names are here underwritten being eye & ear witnesses of the Marriage aforesaid & having unity with them in the light & Truth of God do hereby give in our testimonies for them & with them, to remain upon record unto future posterities, as witnesses for God & his people against all the works of darkness & such as go together therein; out of which God hath called us to bear witness of 'his everlasting light & Truth upon the earth; in which stands the honourable marriage, whereunto we bear record for the full satisfaction of all people, that in any wise may be concerned therein.'

"(Signed) Henry Jackson, George Haris, Thomas Whitehead, Patrick Livingstone, William Lucas, William Corkbill, Nathaniel Newton, John Wall, Joseph Webling, Samuel Lucas, John Shepherd, Richard Lucas, Thomas Goodaire, Thomas Cooke, Hannah Whitehead, Mary Medes, Isabel Walker, H: Dunkers, Catharine Jackson, Jane Goodaire, Bridget Nichols, Esther Dolphin, Hannah Whitehead, Mary Haris."

Noticeable in the above are the retention of at least one phrase from the church service, the use of the appellation "Children of Light," and the absence of that of "Friends."

The book from which I copy was given, in 1787, by "A. Shackleton," of the well-known family of Ballytore, Ireland, to a personal friend, from whom it has descended to me. It is inscribed "Curious Manuscripts," but it hardly fulfils the promise of its title. A copy of a letter from Oliver Cromwell to his daughter, dated at London, 25th October, 1646, may have a certain value from the attestation accompanying it,—to wit, "I copied the above from the original Manuscript (with due regard to the spelling & stops) y<sup>e</sup> 28 October 1742." But it can hardly have escaped the eye of an editor, and has probably appeared somewhere in print. It speaks of "your sister Clapole," and sends "service and deere affections to the Generall & generaleesse."

A letter from one David Hall, dated at Newport, Isle of Wight, 1738, mentions divers individuals and is otherwise interesting. It tells of the "confluence of brave tradesmen both inland and outland" at London, and of the "great plenty of curious cambrick, fine English cloth, Holland cloth, Irish cloth, so that I exposed my brown linen but twice in that Metropolis, for what signifies lighting a small candle in the sunshine." Two letters from Robert Barrow describing George Fox's funeral have doubtless been published. There is also an extract from a Londonderry paper—Owen's *Weekly Chronicle* of June 1, 1784—giving an account of the remarkable performances of "an eminent Philadelphia Quaker" in the streets of that town, and "what makes it extraordinary," adds the reporter, "is, that those who conversed with the quaker have found him a remarkable intelligent person of extensive information, and entirely remote from every symptom of insanity." The copyist gives his name, which does not appear in the newspaper. T. S.

FROM AN ACCOUNT-BOOK, much the worse for wear, in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, we have selected some of the items of stores recovered from the British men-of-war "Augusta" and

"Merlin," lost in the attack on the defences of Philadelphia below Fort Mifflin. The account is headed: "Invoice of sundry articals saved out of the Augusta and Marlan, ships of war that burnt." "1 Uniform coat: 49 Red Coats, 6 Blue coats, 164 Jackets, 1 pair Velvet Bretches, 154 Round Shot, 24s., Sundry Surgical instruments, 2 Ensigns, 1 Union Jack, 30 pairs of Bretches, in addition to stockings, cravats, canes, gun barrels, brass, copper, canvas &c." The names of those credited with securing these articles are Captains John Mitchell, William Watkins, Hugh Montgomery, and Martin Vert, Thomas Townsend, Joseph Best, Hugh Stewart, Richard Eyre, Thomas Moore, Nathan Boyer, William Potts, and Thomas Huston, and crew of commodore's barge. It also appears, that a large proportion of these goods were forwarded to Burlington, New Jersey, for storage.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE JUSTICES AND FREEHOLDERS FOR THE COUNTY OF BURLINGTON IN Y<sup>E</sup> YEAR 1742.—At a Board of the Justices &c. in Conjunction with the Freeholders Chosen to Serve in the Current Year for each respective Township of this County of Burlington . . . At the House of Joseph Rockhill in Burlington, the Nineteenth day of May, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred & Forty two . . . Samuel Scattergood, Thomas Potts Junior and Benjamin Brian Commissioners of the Loan Office for the County of Burlington, having . . . Exhibited to this Board, in proclamation money the Sum of Three hundred and Eight pounds and fifteen shillings . . . being such part of the said Twenty Thousand pounds, as is the Quota of the said County of Burlington appointed to be Sunk, Cancelled and Destroyed in the present year . . . Which said Bills . . . having been first carefully Examined Inspected and Counted Cut Cancelled Tyed up Seald and Bundles Endorsed in due form of Law, and the Tryangl pieces Cut out Burnt and Destroyed in the presence of this Board—In Testimony Whereof the Justices and Freeholders present have to this Certificate Set their hands the 19<sup>th</sup> day of May anno Domini one thousand, Seven hundred and Forty Two. (Signed)

Revell Elton—Daniel Smith Jun<sup>r</sup>. } Esquires  
Rob<sup>t</sup>. Smith—Samuel Woolman } Justices

*Freeholders present.*

Robert Poorson — Marmaduke Watson — William Pancoast — Isaac Ivins—John Fenimore—Jos: Biddle—John Steward—Samuel Wright—James Wills—John Bunting—Joseph fenimore—James Pearson—Isaac Pearson—James Eldridge—Joseph Stoaks—Thomas Hackney—

CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF THE BUILDING OF FORT DEFIANCE,  
OHIO, BY GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE:

The city of Defiance, Ohio, is beautifully situated on both sides of the Auglaize and Maumee Rivers, the business centre being but a few squares from their confluence and the commanding point between them where General Anthony Wayne, of Pennsylvania, established Fort Defiance, August 8, 1794. This was a favorite resort of the Indians. The rivers were their highways; the region about produced much of their corn, and important councils were here held. Hence Fort Defiance at once



became an important point in the Indian wars, and also in the War of 1812.

Preparations are maturing for a suitable celebration of the centennial anniversary of the founding of the fort, to continue three days, August 7, 8, and 9, 1894. The pioneer societies of the Maumee Valley will participate, and it is desired to enlist the sympathy of all persons interested in the earlier history of the Northwest Territory. The governors of several States and many other prominent men of Ohio and other States have written, promising to be present. Permit us, through your Magazine, to extend a general invitation.

Yours very truly,  
CHARLES E. SLOCUM, M.D.,  
*Of the Committee on Invitation.*

NAMES OF FOREIGNERS WHO TOOK THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO PENNSYLVANIA, 1727-1808.—Dr. William Henry Egle, Librarian of the State Library of Pennsylvania, writes to the editor of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, "Recently some complaints have been made in regard to the orthography of the names in the list of emigrants into Pennsylvania, as published in the 'Pennsylvania Archives,' Volume XVII., Second Series. I wish that in the coming number of the Magazine you would make the statement that *all the names were printed from the originals and the orthography preserved therein.* It was not the province of the editor of the 'Archives' to make any changes. Very few persons descended from those early immigrants—German and Swiss—spell their names alike. In the work edited by the late Mr. Rupp, entitled 'Thirty Thousand Names,' etc., wherein he printed about one-half of the records in existence, and contained in Volume XVII. of the 'Archives,' he changed the orthography of the names of those familiar to him. In some instances two and three lists of names are in existence, as given in the volume referred to. It will be seen by comparison with the spelling of the names of those who took the oath of allegiance that the orthography is widely different from the lists furnished by the captain of the vessel. I think that some such statement is due, so that people may rightly understand that the records have not been tampered with and that the names are given as spelled."

S. WHARTON TO ABEL JAMES.—Colonel Scot & the H'ble Mr. Sutherland who arrived last night from New York dine with me today. Gov<sup>r</sup> F. writes me He is a member of Parliament of as much Interest as any in England and as I am acquainted with Him, strongly presses That I should improve my Interest with Him.

I have asked several of our F<sup>rds</sup> to be of the Company & I shall be greatly obliged to you if you will make one of us.

Y<sup>r</sup> affectionate F<sup>rd</sup>  
S. WHARTON.

Decr. 16, 1768.

[NOTE.—In the above "you" is written over "thee" and "Y" over "Thy."—S.]

A NEW JERSEY FIGHTING QUAKER.—The following letter of Isaac Collins, the well-known printer and Quaker, recommending Sheppard Kollock for a commission in the Continental service, was copied from the original in the possession of the late Stacy B. Collins, Esq., of New York. In 1776, Kollock was commissioned a lieutenant of militia, and

January 1, 1777, a first lieutenant in the Second Regiment Continental Artillery. He resigned January 3, 1779, and died July 28, 1839.

BURLINGTON 12<sup>th</sup> mo. 27. 1775.

The bearer, Sheppard Kollock, is a candidate for a Captain or Lieutenant's Commission in the Continental service, & would willingly serve in one of those Regiments to be raised in this Province. From a long acquaintance I believe him to be a young fellow of good principles and resolution, and he appears to be hearty in the American Cause.

As such I recommend him to thy particular notice. If thou canst serve him, the obligation will be as gratefully acknowledged as tho' it was immediately conferred upon

Thy very respectful Friend

ISAAC COLLINS.

P.S.—This is the first time perhaps that ever a person of my Profession recommended a Man for such an Office. But such is the Idea I have of *Publick Justice & self Defense*.

I. C.

To JOHN POPE, Merch<sup>t</sup>, Mansfield.

LETTER OF HENRY DRINKER TO ABEL JAMES, 1768.—

BETHLEHEM, Sep<sup>r</sup>. 11<sup>th</sup>. 1768.

DEAR PARTNER

Last evening I reach'd Hugh McHenry's a little after Sun set and in very good Time, there I found tolerable Lodgings,—it was past 11 O'Clock when we got to the Tavern in this place, where J. Okely was sitting, he received me in his usual, kind way,—and informs me that Henshaw was here yesterday, to whom he paid Twenty pounds for the Horse bought by thee—J. F. Oberlin furnish'd the money & I have repaid that sum to him. Our friend Oakley was inform'd by Henshaw, that Vannetta's Horse, lent to Farmer to come down here, had got founder'd, which disagreeable piece of intelligence must be attended to by me, so as to keep J. Vannetta our Friend &c. J. Oakley will be quite prepared at my Return, to inform me as to a Trusty & capable person, as well to superintend as to clear a quantity of the Showhollock Lands this Winter, if that should seem best upon my return to him.

I proceed further from Home, much easier in my mind than I should do had I not thy kind promise, to send off a messenger if either of my dear Children shou'd be much more indisposed than when I left them.

From the small Tryal we have made of our Horses, it seems probable they will perform the Journey w<sup>th</sup> dispatch & good spirits—tho' Adam's Hackney kicks the Horses full often.

Pray give my kind Love to my wife, sister & Children & pass a large quantity to thy self Wife & Children from thy

Loving Friend

HENRY DRINKER.

4 O'Clock just setting out for Nazareth.

ABEL JAMES.

This comes by Tim<sup>o</sup> M'Carty, and if Pleased, can Direct by the same an Answer, which shall be carefully forward<sup>d</sup>—by y<sup>rs</sup>.

J. F. OBERLIN.

PRESTON.—To Friends in Pennsylvania . . . Whereas the bearer hereof William Preston a Member of our Monthly Meeting hath . . . a concerne . . . to remove with his Wife and family and settle with you . . . we do recommend them to you . . . with desires the Lord may Preserve them in his Fear where ever they go . . . From our Monthly

Meeting of Brighthouse held at Harwoodwell near Halifax in the County of York in England the 31<sup>st</sup> day of the Eleventh m<sup>o</sup>. A.D. 1717. Signed at the said Meeting by John Brook, W<sup>m</sup> Greenwood, John Milton, John Haigh, Robert Walker, Thomas Cowper, John Yates, Mary Green, Mary Marshall & 22 others.

REES.—*Indenture of Apprenticeship*.—3<sup>d</sup> June 1768—Adam Rees apprenticed by the overseers of the Poor, of Philad<sup>a</sup>, to serve Abel James for 7 years & 7 months, “to be taught to Read Write Cypher & farming to have an English Guinea when free.” Signed by Isaac Jones, Mayor, & Sam<sup>l</sup> Shoemaker, Alderman.

FITZPATRICK.—*Indenture*—13<sup>th</sup> October 1768—Bryan Fitzpatrick “In Consideration of twelve pounds p<sup>d</sup> for his passage from Bristol by his master Henry Drinker,” bound as servant to said Drinker for four years from 3<sup>d</sup> Sept. last.

MARYLAND TOBACCO-GROWERS, 1784.—Notes made by Richard Pensonby, Bladensburg, Maryland, 30th April, 1784, on an Account for 507 hogsheads of tobacco shipped by sundry persons to Oxley & Hancock, London, per the “Peace & Plenty,” Captain Lyonel Bradstreet, the Brigantine “Two Friends,” Capt. Thomas Christian, the Snow “Ann,” Capt. Joseph Rudd, the Brigantine “Ann,” Cap. Jackson, and the Ship “Two Friends,” Cap. Joseph Street, from Patowmack River, in Oct., Nov., and Dec., 1783, and Jan. and March 1784.

By whom shipped—Absalom Beddo . . . He ships from Patapso—a very good Planter—in favourable circumstances possessing Land & Negro's . . . Benjamin Berry . . . a good Planter & in affluent circumstances—makes much tobacco . . . Zachariah Berry—do . . . William Berry . . . brother to William & Zachariah Berry . . . he is wealthy . . . John Berry . . . an excellent planter—in good circumstances . . . Samuel Bonnafield . . . a good Planter & safe man, poss<sup>s</sup> Land & Neg<sup>s</sup> . . . Archibald Beall, Captain Samuell Beall, Peter Brown, Christopher Beanes, Benjamin Belt Jun<sup>r</sup>, Edward Beall, Walter Beall, Col: George Beall, the same, John Baynes, Merchant at Piscataway, who has goods from you, Thomas Cecill, a good Planter, independent in his circumstances, . . . Thomas Cramphin, in affluent circumstances, and a most deserving young man, partner in the house of Allen Bowie & Co., . . . Overton Carr, a man of fortune & amiable character, . . . Alexander Catlett a good planter in easy circumstances, . . . Alexander Cowan, a Merchant in Philadelphia, say Baltimore, . . . Peter Carns, an Attorney at Law residing in Bladensburgh, a safe man, . . . William Dunn, a good planter and safe man, . . . Bryan Daily, . . . do., . . . Thomas Hewitt, Merchant in Bladensburgh, who imports Goods from you, . . . Joseph White Harrison, of Alexandria Merchant—lately embarked for England, . . . James Higgins, a very good planter, in competent circumstances, . . . Hunter, Allison & Company, merchants of good repute in Alexandria, whose Correspondence I wish you to cultivate by every method in your power, . . . Herbert & Potts, . . . do: . . . Edward Jones, esteemed one of the best Planters in Maryland—in very good circumstances, . . . David Jackson, Edward King, Michael Litton, Robert Lazenby, Thomas Lansdale, Robert Lyle, all recommended, Nathan Magruder, a man of fortune & a good planter, he makes much tob<sup>o</sup> annually, . . . has much influence in his neigh'd . . . George Moore, a good planter & safe man, . . . Jeremiah Moore, . . . do., . . . Laurence O'Neal, one of the representatives of this State, . . . James Pearre, a



good Planter & a safe & good man in easy circumstances, . . . Joseph Perry, . . . do., . . . Richard Ponsonby, . . . Walter Prather, . . . a good planter & safe man, . . . William Pearce, Joseph Pope, Nathaniel Pope, do. Sarah Paull, of Piscataway, . . . she is in very good circumstances and has the command of great quantities of Tobacco, . . . John Rumney, Merchant in high repute in Alexandria, . . . William Smith, a very good Planter, . . . Samuel Shekell, . . . do., . . . William & Charles Sydebotham, . . . W<sup>m</sup> a Merchant in Bladensburgh, & Ch<sup>a</sup> in Liverpool, . . . William Tannehill, a good Planter & safe man . . . Samuel Turner of Shadrach, . . . do., . . . Watson & Tandy, Merch<sup>s</sup> of good repute in Alex<sup>a</sup>, do a great deal of business, . . . James Wilson, a wealthy man . . . a most valuable Correspondent, more especially as he never requires any advance on his Tobacco, . . . Col<sup>o</sup> Thomas Williams, Sheriff of Prince George's County, a man of good character, possesses Land & Negro's, . . . Jesse Wilcoxon, a good Planter & very safe man, . . . Alexander Whitaker . . . do., . . . Thomas Owen Williams, a man of fortune and influence—he makes much Tobacco, . . . John Jesse Wilcoxon, . . . do., and is a desirable correspondent.

THE RECORDS OF THE UNITED STATES BANK.—Conflicting stories as to what became of the records of the old United States Bank are put at rest by the following, which has the air of being authentic. It is, however, possible that some of these papers may have been preserved by Trenton antiquaries.

W. J. POTTS.

*The West Jerseyman* of April 29, 1857, a respectable paper published at Camden, New Jersey, says, "The *Trenton American* states that the books, papers, drafts, notes of hand, &c., of the United States Bank, to the amount of forty tons, have been purchased by Messrs. Bottom & Co., of that city, and will be remade into paper. Ten tons of this vast amount is of correspondence, autograph letters of the first statesmen, politicians, and financial men of this and other countries. Drafts upon Rothschilds for hundreds of thousands of dollars, certificates of stock transferred to leading bankers in Europe, checks and drafts from Clay, Webster, Adams, Calhoun, Houston, Crockett, Cass, &c. &c. all lie scattered, ready for the important transformation into clean, unsullied white paper. From this large mass of papers some idea may be formed of the business of this institution, which once occupied such a prominent position."

ABSTRACT OF THE MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE OF CHRISTOPHER BASTIAN.—Christopher Bastian of German Township in the County of Philadelphia and Ann Rup, of township aforesaid, were married June 10, 1734.

Edward Roberts.

Bernhard Reeser  
Max \_\_\_\_\_  
Hugh Roberts  
— Wüster

Christopher Bastian.

the mark of  
Ann X Bastian.  
John Cunrads,  
Caspar Leitbecker,  
Caspar Wistar,  
Catherine Wistar,  
John Näglee  
Caspar Ullrik  
Abraham Kintzing

LINEN MANUFACTORY, 1764.—WHEREAS Isaac Norris, Benjamin Franklin, Joseph Fox, Joseph Richardson, Abel James, William Brown,



Peter Reeve, John Mifflin, Thomas Wharton, Charles Thomson, Samuel Mifflin, Samuel Rhoads, William Plumsted, John Meas two shares for himself & William Allen, William Logan, Baynton & Wharton, William Fisher, Samuel Preston Moore, Isaac Greenleaf, Richard Wistar, Jacob Lewis, Daniel Roberdeau, John Redman, William Morris Jun., Charles Coxe, Reuben Haines, Thomas Montgomery, John Hughes, and Philip Syng have entered into an agreement of Copartnership, for erecting and carrying on a LINEN MANUFACTORY, in or near the City of *Philadelphia*; this is to certify that Reuben Haines hath subscribed, and by his Note of Hand engaged to pay *Two Hundred and Fifty Pounds* towards the joint Stock of the said Company, whereby he the said Reuben Haines is entitled to his share of the Stock, and a Proportion of all the Profits arising from the said Manufactory. Witness my Hand, this 19th Day of September 1764. SAM: PRESTON MOORE.

## SOME NAMES OF PENNAMITES, 1770.—

SHAWHOLLOCK August 30<sup>th</sup> 1770

FRIEND [JOHN OKELY].

We have been sadly alarmed here last first day by a parcel of Pennamites who took me and my wife prisoners at the next House for only entertaining the New England people but on my giving security they let us go but not contented with that they came here afterwards the same day and forcibly enter'd the House and abused both me and my wife in a very gross manner took me again prisoner and dragged me out of the House, but they did not detain me long, they stole seven Deer skins, six of which was found by chance next morning hid out in the woods, they stole a collar and Bell from here some time before that of which they bragg'd after they got down among the Inhabitants. You would oblige me very much if you would acquaint friend Drinker with this affair as soon as possible for we are in continual dread and fear of those outrageous fellows—no more at present from your Friend JOHN WARE

The Names of the Pennamites :

Daniel Shoemaker Aaron Vancamp Nathan Ogden David Ogden John Ogden Alexander Pattison Jacob Sneider John Murphy Ben. Yemundan John Solomon Joshua Still — Dolson — Osborne — Seers

ABRAHAM SIMMONS, OF PENNSYLVANIA.—Bond of Thomas Cole, Taylor, and William Webber, Yeoman, both of the City of Bristol, to John Simmons of Winsly in the parish of Bradford in the County of Wilts, Broadweaver, for £10,000, 3rd May, 1775, reciting that it is apprehended that said Simmons, as being the nephew and heir at law of Abraham Simmons, late of the province of Pennsylvania in America, deceased, is entitled to the freehold estates of the said Abraham, but being of himself unable to recover them, have requested the said Cole and Webber, who are now going to America, to assist him, and hath for that purpose given them Letters of attorney, the condition of the bond is that if the obligors account properly to Simmons, after deducting certain sums for their trouble, the obligation shall be void.

LETTER OF J. N. BARKER, MAYOR OF PHILADELPHIA, 1820.—

There are, strictly speaking, no *grog shops* licenced in the City or County of Philadelphia. The public houses of entertainment which receive licence to sell spirituous liquors in less measure than a quart, are either Inns or taverns, that is, if they have not stabling for the reception of the horses of travellers or country people, they, at least, have accommoda-

tions for boarders and lodgers. . . . Mere boarding-houses, confectioners, &c., do not receive licences.

There are, in the City of Philadelphia, Two hundred and twenty Inns, or taverns, licenced to sell spirituous liquors by less measure than a quart.

In the Northern Liberties there are one hundred and ninety three. And in the District of Southwark, there are one hundred & sixty seven houses of the same character.

The price paid for the licence is, in the City, Sixteen dollars, & in the Northern Liberties and Southwark, eight dollars per annum.

SLAVERY IN PENNSYLVANIA, 1816.—Letter from a Quaker lady, Philadelphia, Eighth month 1, 1816.

. . . Your John returned from Norristown yesterday, lodged here last night, and is now gone to look for a place. One reason for leaving there is that he is a Slave; belonged to a person in New York who resided in Chapel Street, No. 20, and was engaged in the Custom House. His name is William Sickle, it is near Five years since he left there, speaks well of his Master, but his Mistress was a high spirited Woman, and struck him with a Candlestick, and other ways ill treated him, which, he says, induced him to run away. He was then turned of one & twenty, and is afraid to travel, as they were to have gone to N. Y. and Balston. He wishes me to ask thy advice what to do. He says he is willing for thee or some friend of thine, to offer one Hundred dollars for his time, but no more, and he will repay thee ten Dollars every month. But not to mention that he is in this City, but is gone to sea. If thee thinks it best to say anything about it, do so, or don't appear thyself, in the Business, but get W. Slocum or R. Bowne to do it. He has given me 20 Dollars to keep for him.

ARMY DECORATIONS DURING THE REVOLUTION.—In an article in *Harper's Weekly* for May 2, 1891,—“The Army Roll of Honor,”—it is stated that “it was not until July 12, 1862, that Congress authorized a medal of honor.” There had been none before that date, but “Washington, in General Orders, permitted the soldiers of the Revolution who had distinguished themselves by long and meritorious service to wear a narrow piece of white cloth, angular in form, upon the sleeve of the coat, and those who performed meritorious single acts were permitted to wear a heart in purple cloth or silk, edged with narrow lace or binding, and he pronounced scathing words of rebuke against any persons who should venture to wear either of these decorations without authority or right.”

That the subject of decorations was discussed at this period we have no doubt, and in this connection the following extract is interesting, though the so-called news is entirely fictitious. The *London Chronicle* of March 15-18, 1777, states, “Arrived the Hellespont, from New York . . . The Hellespont also brings the following advices: The Continental Congress have established an order called the Order of Independence; the badge is a green ribbon with a star of six points, and America making offering to the shrine of Liberty . . .” However, we hear of a medal said to have been generally used as a decoration, attributed to Congress shortly before this time, as quoted by Nathaniel Stickney, of Salem, Massachusetts, in a communication to the *American Journal of Numismatics* for July, 1836. He states, “The following is a newspaper [name not given] account of it, printed August 12, 1776: ‘Congress have struck a number of silver and copper medals which are

distributed among the officers of the Army, who wear them constantly. On one side are two vases swimming on the water, with the motto *Frangimur si Collidemur*; on the other is an emblematical device, four hands clinched together and a dove over them; beneath them is a serpent cut to pieces. These medals were designed or executed by P. E. Dusimitière." Mr. Stickney then quotes the Journals of Congress, November 29, 1776, "Paid P. E. Dusimitière for designing, making drawing a medal for General Washington \$32."

It is an error to suppose that this entry refers to the above medal, for by referring to Mr. William S. Baker's paper in the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. XIII. p. 482, it is clearly shown that it was the "Washington-before-Boston Medal" designed by Du Simitière.

The design of the floating vases is to be found in one of the sixteenth-century emblem books, but in our opinion this does not in the least interfere with the statement that such a medal was designed in 1776, for from these ancient sources were adapted many of the devices used during our war for independence. In fact, Pennsylvania drew upon this source as early as 1747, in the designs for the regimental flags of the "Associators." The serpent-cut-in-pieces emblem is, however, distinctively American. Du Simitière, who recorded much of the work done by him in drawing, painting, and designing, does not mention the medal with the floating vase design. The motto *Frangimur si Collidemur*, is indicative of some regimental device, and their issue, if a fact, the result of individual enterprise.

WILLIAM JOHN POTTS.

LETTER OF COLONELS FINNEY AND COOCH TO BENJAMIN CHEW, 1758.—The original of the following letter is in the possession of Register of Wills Couch, of Wilmington, Delaware:

To BENJAMIN CHEW ESQUIRE  
Philadelphia.

SIR—

Yours by Major Shippen is now before Us. We are much obliged to you for the pains you have taken with the General to relieve Us from the heavy burthen of supporting our new raised Forces, they are very fine Fellows, in high Spirrits, and quite ready & impatient to March.

You very well know the Bounty Cloathing & subsisting our Troops hath already drained us of great part of our Cash, & that an additional number of Officers must run us much in Debt, You well know the risq that We as acting Commissioners would run by exceeding our Power, for this Reason we hope his Honor the Governor will excuse us.

We are very willing Major Shippen should have an additional allowance for what Services he may do our Companies this Campain, & We shall Use our Interest with the next Assembly to allow him what may give satisfaction—

His Honor signified as his opinion (when at New Castle) that each Captain should pay their own Men, and as that trouble will be but little & will please the Men, We think that an Officer For the purpose would be an additional charge & without advantage, therefore We hope his Hon. will not insist.

We for the same Reason Judge one of the Liuetenants or Ensigns, may answer the end of Quarter Master & Adjutant without further expence, or any disadvantage—

We have provided a Chest of Medicines & We shall be obliged to you if you will take the charge of Ordering Drums & Colours to be sent to Lancaster.



We doubt not that you will use your best Offices with the General & Governor in behalf of this small Government Your Interest & inclination will induce you to do Us all the good Offices in your Power, which will give us great pleasure And much Oblige

Sir

Your most Obedient Humbl Servts

JNO FINNEY  
THOS COOCH

NEW CASTLE May 23d 1758.

ABSTRACTS OF MARRIAGE CERTIFICATES.—We are indebted to Mr. Charles Morton Smith for the abstracts of the marriage certificates of George Painter, George Calvert, and John Smith.

Marriage certificate of George Paynter of Broomhill in ye parish of Dale and County of Pembroke yeoman and Elinor Musgrave of the town & County of Haverfordwest, spinster

thirteenth day of the Sixth month called August, one thousand six hundred and eighty . . . at their (Assembly of people of God called Quakers) usual meeting place in the town & county of Haverfordwest.

George Painter  
Elinor Painter

[Some of the witnesses.]

Elizabeth Allen  
Joan Howard  
M. Howard  
Elizabeth Hawkins  
27 others.

Francis Hawkins  
Susanna Hawkins  
David Painter  
Peregrine Musgrave  
Mar: Hunt  
ffrancis LLOYD.

George Calvert of the City of Philad<sup>a</sup> &c. and Mary Wilson of the said City—Tenth day of the twelfth month one thousand seven hundred and eight [nine] publick meeting at Philad<sup>a</sup>

Griffith Owen  
Nicholas Walln  
Antho Morris.  
& others

Naomi Gray  
Hannah Carpenter

George Calvert  
Mary Calvert  
Joseph Fell  
Tho<sup>a</sup> Graham

Whereas John Smith of the City of Philad<sup>a</sup> in the Province of Penna merchant Son of Richard Smith Junior of Burlington in the province of New Jersey and Hannah Logan daug of James Logan of Stenton in the C<sup>o</sup> of Phila & province of Penna, “7<sup>th</sup> day of 10<sup>th</sup> mo 1748.” at Germantown

Sam Noble  
John Smith minor  
James Logan minor  
Israel Pemberton  
Rachel Pemberton  
Isr Pemberton jun  
Mary Pemberton  
Mary Emlen  
Kath Callender  
& others

John Smith  
Hannah Smith  
Sarah Logan  
Sam Smith  
Elizabeth Smith  
Richard Smith, minimi  
Will<sup>m</sup> Logan  
James Logan Jun  
Hannah Logan

DEATH OF PROFESSOR SCHEFFER, OF AMSTERDAM.—We regret to announce the death, on December 31, 1893, of Professor T. G. De Hoop



Scheffer, Theological Doctor, late professor at the Mennonite College and of the University of Amsterdam. Professor Scheffer was elected a member of the Historical Society, February 27, 1882.

FRAGMENT OF LETTER FROM GEORGE FOX (copied from the original). —“ & on the 26 day of the 11 : mo : a horpuscorpus came down from the chefiustus from london to woster to remove mee & the sreave did accept it & on the 29 day the sreave let mee goe up from the gale at woster to london & many people in woster was very loving & glad of it & the galer said that never came such men into his hous & was with the preseners tender & som cryd at ouer goeing from them & soe wee came to london on the 2 of 12 month tho the wayes was deep & the waters out & thomas louer was made the sreaves debety of woster sher & he aquent them that i was com to the toune & on the 4 day of the 12 mo : i did aper in the cort at the kinges bench be for judge whild & he & the lawers was pretty sivell & the . . . ”

## LETTERS OF JOHN OKELY TO ABEL JAMES.

BETHLEHEM, 21<sup>st</sup> June 1765.

ESTEEMED FRIEND :

Yours of the 6<sup>th</sup> Instant, by W<sup>m</sup> Scull I duly rec<sup>d</sup> & as he is now about to return, I shall endeavour to give you the best answer I am able.

I imediatly set out with him over the Blue Mountain to view the large Tract of 770<sup>a</sup>. It lies ab<sup>t</sup> 5 miles from Rob<sup>t</sup> Severs's new Mill & 4 from the late Daniel Brodhead's Plantation, Northward, a Tract of 1500<sup>a</sup> belonging to the Proprietaries, lying between. It is likewise about as many miles from Depuy's Plantation & the River Delaware.

The Streams of Water laid down in the Draughts are but small and in the Tract of George Boone unite & afterwards run into a larger Creek called Brodhead's Creek, at no great distance. There is no Settlement nearer to the Land than Brodhead's & Severs's which, probably, the Indian War has prevented. The land in itself is but middling, generally pretty stony, much meadow may be made on it & has plough Land & Timber sufficient to accommodate it. The Range for Cattle is extraordinary. On the upper Part of the Tract there is good Land belonging to W<sup>m</sup> Craig. There are several Springs of good Water on the Tract, one in particular on Boon's Part, where there has formerly been an Improvement, is excellent. I judge the Whole may conveniently be divided into three Plantations but no more.

If Peace continues with the Indians & the great scarcity of money does not too much sink the Value of Land, I apprehend you are safe in purchasing it at the Price proposed, & the more so as I imagine it will be no difficult matter to purchase the other moiety on reasonable Terms, on which account it may be prudent, perhaps, not to let it be known what you give Billy for his share & Interest.

After viewing this Tract we came down again on this side the Mountain to view what I call Craig's Swamp, which I did with a great deal of care, in regard to the possibility of draining it, on which it's Value almost intirely depends. It lies about 5 miles from Nazareth, near the Foot of the Mountain & about 4 miles from the Wind-Gap. The Swamp is formed by the conflux of a vast number of Springs from the Mountain, which issue again out of it in one small united Stream & is one of the many Branches of the Lehithan or Bush Kill Creek that runs into Delaware by Easton. The whole Tract is, as it were, in-

viron'd with Rocks & Stones & I hardly think it possible to find 5<sup>a</sup> of up-Land, in any one spot, fit for clearing, so that whoever improves it, must depend upon the meadow alone. One can't, I believe, ride across any Part of the Swamp without the utmost danger of sinking. As there is no Brush or Timber upon any Part of the Swamp the Neighbours usually come & mow the Grass in the Summer. William Craig has sold this Land to an old man out of the Jerseys (whether his part only I am not able to determine) for £230, of which £130 part is already paid. The man now lives on it & is building himself a pretty large Block-House. He thinks it will not be so difficult a matter to drain this Land as is generally thought & that the expence will not exceed £100. How this may turn out Time will best manifest. The Price above given will in some measure enable you to judge of the Value. For my part I know not how to estimate it, until I see what success attends the draining. Certain it is, if that were done & the whole Swamp bro't into Tame-Grass, it co<sup>d</sup> not easily be overrated.

From hence we travelled round, on acc<sup>t</sup> of there being no direct Road, 'till we came within four miles of the Water-Gap, where the Delaware issues thro' the Mountain. Here we found the Tract of Land on Cobus's Creek, in a pretty thick settled Part of the Country. On this Land there is a valuable Improvement possessed by one Elias Dieterich, who bought of a certain Jacob Meiner for £107. How this Meiner became intitled does not appear. Billy Scull tells me no conveyance has ever been made nor the Land contracted for with anyone. The Soil of this Land is strong & good, but stony, it is well wooded & water'd, some meadow is made & more may be made & I verily believe it is, at all adventures, not overrated at 20/  $\text{p}$  acre. Respecting the Improvement, it ought perhaps to be previously settled to prevent any Out-Cry of Injustice ag<sup>t</sup> the Purchaser.

In regard to Title or Conveyance I forbear saying any Thing, not being a matter committed to me; yet it may not be amiss to observe, that Difficulties may probably arise in procuring a Patent from the Heirs of Geo: Boone for the 100<sup>a</sup>.

As soon as my Time will permit I shall go & view the Lands on Lizard Creek & give you my Opinion of them. Should I have been defective in any Part of foregoing information please to advise me of it & I shall endeavour to give you all the further satisfaction in my Power either by Letter or when I may have the Pleasure of seeing you in Town.

I am, in much sincerity,

Thy affect<sup>o</sup> Friend & Serv<sup>t</sup>

To M<sup>r</sup> ABEL JAMES.

J: OKELY

RESPECTED FRIEND:

. . . The present Possessor of the 114<sup>a</sup> Tract gave £110 & not 107, as I wrote you. One Miner, who sold to him, purchased, as is said, of James Scull, for a small sum of money, which however never being paid, no Title to it was made. This will naturally cause a ferment. Elias Dieterich, the Possessor, having paid great part of the consideration money & much improved the Land, will press hard upon Miner, & Miner will seek further. Miner, I fear, will neither be able to make him a Title, nor refund him his money; so that Dieterich, who I take to be a very honest industrious man, is like to come into a bad Box & others, perhaps, into Blame. The Land is indisputably worth a good deal more money than Dieterich has given for it. . . .

BETH: 24<sup>th</sup> June 1765—

J: OKELY

To M<sup>r</sup> ABEL JAMES Merch<sup>t</sup>, in Philadelphia—

### Queries.

GOODWIN—REES—FISHER—DAVIS—IDDINGS—ROBERTS—MILLER—WILES—MCKINLEY—KEELY—SCHNELLEN.—John S. Goodwin, 1141 The Rookery, Chicago, Illinois, requests genealogical data relating to the above-named families:

THOMAS GOODWIN was born 1730-40. He lived near the Atlantic coast between South Carolina and New Jersey. He was a slave-owner. He was twice married; had no children by his second wife. He was a Quaker. He had several children by his first wife, of whom James and Thomas, Jr. (born April 27, 1767), are known. Both these went West, James in 1815 visiting Thomas, Jr., at Franklin, Ohio. He married Catherine Rees about 1788, and they moved to Fayette County, Pennsylvania. Catherine Rees was daughter of David and Lydia Rees, of Wales. Had brothers Hezekiah and David and sisters Lydia and Lucretia, who married a Mr. Alexander, and had son Samuel; also other sisters from whom she inherited some table silver with monograms A. F. and I. H. D. Wherever this Rees family lived there the Goodwin family lived, for Catherine knew her husband's father and step-mother, but not his own mother. Tradition gives Lancaster, Pennsylvania, as the place of marriage or else of Catherine's birth, if she was not born in Wales (she was born October 7, 1767). The Rees family were Presbyterian. Thomas, Jr., settled in Brookville, Indiana, where his eldest son Samuel had lived since 1816. He died in Brookville in 1848. In what family did Thomas, Sen., belong, and what became of the son James, who was married and living as late as 1815, and of the other children? Information also wanted about Virginia Goodwins.

FISHER.—Fisher is said to have settled near Philadelphia (Germantown). Among other children was Peter, who married and lived in York County, Pennsylvania. Peter had children, Jacob, William, Peter, John, Adam (Sen.), Frederick (born December 22, 1778), and Elizabeth. After Peter's death his widow married Rev. Philip Young, a Lutheran minister, and removed to Martinsburg, Virginia. I have a complete record of the family of Frederick, but nothing concerning his brothers, and will be obliged for any data concerning the first, second, and third generations.

DAVIS.—Davis and wife removed from Virginia to Carlisle (?), Pennsylvania, in 1750-80, taking with them twenty slaves, who were afterwards freed by law. They had two children, born, probably, near Carlisle. The oldest child was Lydia, born December 25, 1760; married John Richey. She lived in Perryopolis, Fayette County, Pennsylvania, where she died s. p. I have her family Bible. The other child was Joseph, who married Ellen —, and removed to Steubenville, Ohio, where he died, and his widow married Thomas (or Robert) Willis. The data to complete my record is desired.

IDDINGS.—When and from where did Richard and Sarah Iddings come to Pennsylvania? They settled in Nantmeal Township, Chester County. What was Sarah's maiden name?

ROBERTS.—Roberts (and perhaps a brother) came from Pennsylvania to Martinsburg, Virginia. He had children: 1. John; 2. Thomas, born 1775; 3. Elizabeth; 4. James; 5. George; 6. William; 7. Nancy; 8. Ruth. I think he was one of the sons of Thomas Roberts, Jr., who was a son of Thomas and Eleanor (Potts) Roberts.

MILLER.—Jacob Miller removed from near East Berlin, York (now



Adams) County, Pennsylvania, to Martinsburg, West Virginia. Children: 1. John, married ——— and remained in Martinsburg. Had Michael and Joseph and perhaps others. 2. Jacob, married Mary May De Ford, and died s. p. 3. Benjamin, married, and removed to Chillicothe, Ohio, and thence north. Had son Harvey, probably others. 4. Susanna, born February 19, 1773; married Frederick Fisher, and removed to Chillicothe. 5. Anna, married Michael Byerly, and removed to Chillicothe, Ohio. What was the name of Jacob's wife, and who were his parents?

WILES.—John Wiles is said to have been born in England; to have settled in Pennsylvania; to have married, probably an Aiken; to have been killed in the Revolutionary War, leaving an only child, John Wiles, Jr., who married Eleanor McKinley, and emigrated to Kentucky, and thence to Ohio. I have complete data concerning descendants of John Wiles, Jr., except son James. In Volume X. of PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, "Mr. Wiles" is mentioned as living at Sideling Hill, Fulton County, Pennsylvania. Robert Wiles is mentioned in Hottén. Rev. John Wiles was in Virginia about 1670. Information concerning the Wiles family is requested.

McKINLEY.—James McKinley was born in Ireland in 1708. His wife's name is said to have been Shaw. He had a daughter Eleanor, who married John Wiles, Jr., and one son was John Shaw, and his descendants furnish the statement that Shaw was his grandmother's maiden name. John and Eleanor McKinley Wiles had a daughter Eleanor, born in Baltimore in 1789, "while Eleanor McK. Wiles was visiting her people." This daughter and a younger sister are authority for saying that James McKinley had a son David, the great-grandfather of Hon. William McKinley. James died, aged one hundred and four, at the home of his granddaughter Eleanor (Wiles) Goodwin, in Lebanon, Ohio. He is believed to have been a son of James McKinley "the Trooper," who settled in Northern Ireland after the battle of the Boyne, a son of Daniel, a son of John MacKinlay of the Annie, Perthshire, Scotland. Any MacKinlay records will be acceptable.

KEELY.—Sebastian or Bastian (?) Kiele and wife Susan Smale (Schmäll?) came from Germany to Pennsylvania about 1748 or 1749. They brought three children: John, born April 1, 1742, Mariah, and a daughter. Sebastian and wife died of ship's fever in Philadelphia (?) within ten days after landing. Mariah died unmarried. No knowledge of other daughter. John Keely married, first, Anna Maria Barbara Schnellen; second, Susan Schnellen, sister to his first wife. John named his first son John Jacob, but he was called Jacob. This son married and had a son John, who went to Cincinnati. Jacob remained in Pennsylvania. I can get no trace of his other descendants. John Keely had also Anna Maria Barbara and Anna Margareta by his first wife. No records of them. By his second wife he had first son named Michael. I have complete records of all children by second marriage, one of whom (William) died a few years ago in Indianapolis, aged ninety-four, and from him the above outline was obtained. I have John Keely's family Bible, with data from 1766. John Keely is stated in it to have taken part in the battle of the Brandywine. Rupp says Michael Kiele landed in Philadelphia in 1749, on the "Chesterfield." Michael is a family name; Sebastian is not. Perhaps the emigrant was Michael. John Keely died at Oxford, Ohio, as did also his son John (by second wife) and his grandson John. John Keely, of the fourth generation, lives in Oxford. Information is desired concerning the emigrant and also con-



cerning the family of John Jacob (born 1767). Data is also asked for concerning the Schnellens.

LISTS OF MEMBERS OF THE CABINET AND LEGISLATIVE BODIES OF VIRGINIA.—I have now a list of the members of the Cabinet and of the legislative bodies of Virginia from its settlement to the present day, gathered from lists printed and in manuscript and almanacs for the following dates: 1607, 1619, 1629, 1629-30, 1639, 1642, 1642-43, 1657-58, 1658-59, 1659-60, 1660-61, 1661-62, 1663, 1666, 1674, 1675-76, 1676-77, 1677, 1679, 1705, 1718, 1723, 1726, 1736, 1749, 1751, 1752, 1753, 1754, 1755, 1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, 1773, 1774, 1775, 1776, 1778, 1780, 1784, 1786, 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1797, 1798, and all subsequent years except 1799, 1800, 1801, 1803, 1804, 1811, 1820, 1824, 1828, 1829, and 1835. A complete list of the executive and legislative bodies of Virginia for historical and genealogical purposes cannot be overestimated. I would be obliged for any lists not comprehended above, or would be glad to copy any list in almanacs loaned to me.

Richmond, Virginia.

R. A. BROCK.

BIDDLE—COLE—FIMPLE.—There is recorded at Old Swedes Church, on 25th November, 1793, a double marriage,—viz., Barbara Biddle to John Cole, and Keziah Cole to John Biddle. Three days before, on the 22d November, Ann Biddle was married to John Fimple, at the same church.

Nothing is known of the parentage of any of these parties, nor of their descendants. Any information about them would be gladly received by

HENRY D. BIDDLE.

ABRAMS—JONES.—Genealogical data is requested relating to the families of Abrams and Jones, who are supposed to have settled on the Welsh Tract near Radnor and Merion. In later years they were connected with the Great Valley Baptist Church.

EMILY WILDER LEAVITT.

CHEWS OF CHEW'S LANDING.—I desire genealogical information of Jeffrey Chew and his wife Ann, and will be glad to correspond with members of the family.

MRS. MARY C. ALLAN.

131 Pike Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

PORTRAITS OF COLONELS MENTGES AND BUTLER.—Any person who can give information as to where portraits may be found of Colonel Francis Mentges and Colonel Edward Butler, of Pennsylvania, both of whom were officers and inspectors in the Revolutionary War, and afterwards in the present United States army, will confer a great favor by communicating such intelligence to

MAJOR J. P. SANGER,

*Inspector-General.*

Inspector-General's Office, Washington, D.C.

ALLEN.—Can any one give the date of marriage, maiden name of wife, and date of death of Thomas Allen, of Sidney, Kennebec County, Maine? He was born March 28, 1740, at Braintree, Massachusetts, son of Thomas and Mary (Hunt) Allen, and was living in 1790. V.

THE PROVINCIAL FLAG OF PENNSYLVANIA.—The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of January 12 and April 16, 1748, gives a description of devices which Dr. Benjamin Franklin says (in his Autobiography) that he furnished for flags for the "Associators" of 1747, in Philadelphia. (*Vide* Sparks's "Franklin," p. 146, for details.) No mention is made in either issue of the color of the silks upon which these devices were painted. Can you, or any reader, put me in the way of finding out the color of the silk, especially that of the flag with device No. 1, "a lion erect, a naked scimitar in one paw, the other holding the Pennsylvania escutcheon; motto *Patria*"?

FRANCIS OLCOTT ALLEN.

314 Walnut Street, Philadelphia.

ANTHRACITE-COAL-BURNING LOCOMOTIVE.—Where can I find the facts and results of the trial of the Garrett anthracite-coal-burning locomotive? I have been told that it was made about the date of the annexed resolution, and that the locomotive gave out or broke down near Paoli.

HARRISBURG  
CANAL ROOM NOV. 8, 1838

It was resolved:

That Philip Garrett of the city of Philadelphia, be permitted to place an engine of his construction adapted to the use of anthracite coal upon the Phila & Col RR., under the direction of the Sup<sup>t</sup> of said road, who is hereby directed to afford to the said Garrett the facilities necessary to the use of the same; Provided: That it shall not interfere with the transportation on said road.

Ext from the Journal of the Board of C. C.

Endorsed,

PHILIP GARRETT, Engine builder  
Philadelphia.

W. C. MCPHERSON *Secy.*

### Replies.

BIDDLE—COLE (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XVIII. p. 126).—The only Revolutionary naval officer named Biddle was Captain Nicholas Biddle, who commanded the frigate "Randolph," and perished when that vessel blew up in action with the British frigate "Yarmouth" on the 7th March, 1778. He was then only twenty-seven years old, and was unmarried.

HENRY D. BIDDLE.

### Book Notices.

MEMORANDA RELATING TO THE ANCESTRY AND FAMILY OF HON. LEVI PARSONS MORTON, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (1889-1893). By Josiah Granville Leach. Cambridge, 1894, 191 pp.

The compiler of this attractive volume is well and favorably known in genealogical circles, and we were not unprepared to find that he has well traced the Morton and allied families of Hartpence, Hopkins, Stetson, Parsons, Strong, Stebbins, Sheldon, Frairy, Clapp, Holton, Hinsdale, Dickinson, Barnard, Marshfield, Foster, and Reyner, and besides gathered much interesting and valuable matter relating to them. Mr. Morton is descended from at least eighty ancestors whose arrival antedates the year 1650, two of whom were passengers on the "Mayflower." The book is brought out in a handsome style, and is embellished with a chart, coats of arms, and etchings of old homesteads. An appendix and a good index are valuable additions.





*Silas Deane*



THE  
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE  
OF  
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

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VOL. XVIII.

1894.

No. 3.

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SILAS DEANE, DIPLOMATIST OF THE  
REVOLUTION.<sup>1</sup>

BY CHARLES J. STILLÉ.

Two men in the history of the American Revolution are alike conspicuous for the services which they rendered to their country during the struggle and for the ignominious end which they reached. They were both among the most active and useful of our public servants during the darkest days of the struggle, but they are remembered now only as outcasts and traitors to the cause which, in their earlier days, they upheld with so much zeal and courage. Their services in their better days are either forgotten or ignored, and their memory is kept alive in the present generation only because history has branded their names with indelible infamy.

One of these discredited personages was in the army and the other in the diplomatic service of the country. The one was Benedict Arnold and the other was Silas Deane.

<sup>1</sup> A paper read before the Society of the Colonial Dames of Pennsylvania.

They were both born in the same State,—Connecticut. During the first four years of the war they were both (as I have said) among the most active and intelligent supporters of the independence of the country; they both claim to have been driven at last into disaffection and disloyalty by the unjust and ungrateful neglect of their public services by the Continental Congress; they are both supposed to have betrayed their public trust through a love of money; they were both unsuccessful in materially aiding the enemy's cause and of reaping the hoped-for reward of their iniquity; and they have both shared the common fate of traitors by the final decree of that "high court of errors and appeals which men call posterity."

Of Arnold I shall say nothing, but pass at once to a review of the career of Silas Deane, whose treasonable conduct, so far as its motives and objects were concerned, is not so well known as that of his fellow-traitor.

In all civil wars there are many persons of the unsuccessful party who are called by the victors traitors simply because they have been unable to take the same part in promoting the objects of the war, or in the mode of carrying it on, as their opponents. Treason, however, is a definite crime. It commonly involves the betrayal of public trust, usually for the sake of money. It is the highest crime, in a legal sense, in the calendar. Men who may be conscientiously opposed to waging war for any reason, or who think it more expedient to be quiet and neutral in revolutionary times, although they may be regarded justly as unpatriotic, or disaffected, or even as disloyal, are not to be classed in history as traitors, unless by what the law calls an overt act they aid and comfort the enemies of the country under whose protection they live. A double-dyed traitor is one who, having served his own country in a military or civil office, deserts it in the hour of its need, in return for a bribe, and makes use of any power or influence he may have acquired in its service to aid its enemy in the conflict. We had not many traitors of this kind during the Revolution,—men who abused the confidence placed in them to betray their

country,—but of traitors such as these, Benedict Arnold and Silas Deane were shining examples. They were both bribed by the enemy to injure us, and they did all they could to earn their reward. They stand in history, in this respect, with some of the greatest warriors and statesmen the world has ever known, men who were none the less traitors because they were once patriots; with Montrose, for instance, who abandoned the cause of the Presbyterians, in arms for a “persecuted Kirk and a broken Covenant,” and sought the service of Charles I. to destroy the power of his former followers; or with Marlborough, whose whole life was a career of unexampled selfishness, and who, although the greatest general in English history, became faithless in the hour of peril to James II., deserting him to aid William of Orange, and afterwards abandoning the cause of the Revolution, offered again his polluted loyalty in the service of his first master. In the same case was D'umouriez, the most distinguished of the French generals in the early history of the Revolution; the man, indeed, who first taught the French army how to win victory at the battle of Jemappes. He having offended the Convention, and having to choose between the guillotine and desertion to the Austrians, not only chose the latter alternative, but became the military adviser of the enemies of his country during the Revolutionary wars.

These are but a few instances of that form of treachery which bears in history a bad pre-eminence. The curious thing about the career of such men is that their biographies, albeit those of traitors, are among the most interesting and attractive of any with which history furnishes us. They are full of that dramatic interest which always appeals to us, when we are called upon to behold the spectacle of the conflict of violent passions of an opposite nature in the human heart; the struggle between the instinct of a love of country and the profound indignation which has been roused in these men by the neglect of that country, or by its failure to recognize the services which they have rendered it; between the fear of disgrace and the reward of iniquity

temptingly held out; in short, between following the rough, narrow path of duty and trusting themselves to the "easy descent of Avernus." Their history is not that of essentially bad men, but usually of good men who have been perverted to badness by a force which they have not been able to resist; in short, a picture of poor human nature, struggling in vain to resist the temptation to do wrong.

Such, if I mistake not, is the principal lesson which the career of Silas Deane teaches, and these are the characteristic features of the picture of his life which I shall endeavor to present to you.

Silas Deane was born in Connecticut in 1737. He was educated at Yale College; he taught school, and was then a lawyer, and afterwards entered upon what promised to be a successful business career. He gained in his business the knowledge and experience which afterwards made him so successful in France in negotiating the plans for supplying the American Army of the Revolution with the articles of which it stood in so much need. He was among the first, most ardent, and enthusiastic supporters of the cause of the Colonies in Connecticut. He it was who, among other things, helped to organize the expedition led by Ethan Allen for the capture of the fort at Ticonderoga, at the southern extremity of Lake Champlain. He seems to have been specially charged with providing for the subsistence and equipment of the men of that famous expedition, which by its audacious boldness completely surprised the British commander of the fort, summoning him in the name of "Jehovah and the Continental Congress" to surrender.

If Deane had never done anything else than aid in this wonderful exploit, by which a complete barrier was interposed to the invasion of the country by a British force coming from Canada, his name should be held in grateful remembrance.

His patriotism and energy were fully appreciated in his native Colony, and he was sent with Roger Sherman and Dyer as a delegate from it to the first Continental Congress in 1774, and to that which met here in May, 1775. Through



some local jealousies, he was not elected to the third Congress. He remained, however, in Philadelphia, striving to help the cause of the Colonies by all the means at his command. He is said at this time to have been a man of somewhat striking manner and good appearance, accustomed to live and entertain in a liberal style, and fond of showy equipage and appointments. At all events, he impressed the members of the Secret Committee of Correspondence with his mercantile skill and ability. That committee then consisted of Dr. Franklin, Benjamin Harrison, John Dickinson, John Jay, and Robert Morris, perhaps the most distinguished men even of the illustrious Congress of 1775. By these men—they reposing absolute confidence in Deane's capacity, honor, and integrity—he was intrusted with a foreign commission on behalf of the suffering Colonies, the successful management of which required on his part capacity and energy of the highest order to overcome the countless embarrassments and difficulties, known and unknown, in his path. His appointment to such a post by these great men shows their opinion of his *capacity* to undertake so formidable a task, and it is certainly a most striking illustration of the *confidence* reposed in him by the Continental Congress.

What was the errand on which the Secret Committee proposed to send him to Europe? In one word, it was to procure articles for the equipment of the American army which could not be obtained here, and without which the war could not be carried on. In his formal instructions in March, 1776, he was directed to do three things: first, to procure in France military supplies,—that is, clothing, muskets, cannon, and ammunition for an army of thirty thousand men; secondly, to procure articles for the Indian trade, so that the savages on the frontiers might be kept neutral or even friendly in the contest, by receiving their usual supplies of European goods; and, thirdly, to enter into a treaty of commerce and alliance with France, if a favorable opportunity should present itself. Never was a greater charge imposed upon a veteran long-trained diplomatist than that given to this Connecticut school-master,

lawyer, and country shopkeeper. It is to be remembered also that he was the first agent sent abroad by the United Colonies with such extraordinary powers; hence, to the difficulties inherent in the business itself, he was forced, in order to accomplish his purpose, to follow a path hitherto unexplored.

It is not easy to exaggerate the vast consequences dependent upon the success of his mission. We were literally without the common necessities for a campaign. At that time we had men, but we had no clothing for them, no arms, no ammunition, no cannon, and, above all, no money. The wisest, if not the most enthusiastic, men in Congress—like Dickinson, for instance—urged the postponement of the Declaration of Independence until we had gained some credit abroad and force at home by a closer union and by alliances with foreign states. But the patriots were not dismayed, and their main reliance was on Deane, who, it was hoped, would find some way of persuading France to furnish us with what seemed necessary to firmly establish our national independence.

Anxious as were our forefathers for material aid and alliance with France, they well knew that there was but one way of inducing the French government to listen favorably to their appeal. Although public opinion in France at that time, as it manifested itself in the salons of Paris, and possibly in the *entourage* of the Queen, loudly advocated the doctrines of the natural rights of man, and of liberty and equality, upon which the Declaration of Independence was afterwards mainly based, yet our statesmen well knew that such considerations would be wholly without influence in moulding the policy of the French *government* to active measures for our relief. The wise men of the Secret Committee therefore made no other claim at any time during the Revolution, when we were seeking foreign alliances, than that such alliances would promote the commercial and political interests of the nations to whom we proffered our friendship. In France two powerful motives, inviting interference in our behalf, urged

the government of the country to encourage us. These were jealousy and hatred of England, which by the treaty of 1763 had despoiled France of her possessions in Canada, India, and the West Indies, and the profound conviction which prevailed on the Continent that England, since the adoption of that treaty, had profited by the weakness of France to monopolize the commerce of the world, and especially that of America. Mr. Deane was therefore instructed to represent to the French government that by supplying our army and entering into an alliance with us, the French would be enabled to gratify their revenge by diminishing the power of the enemy, and to extend indefinitely their commerce with the rest of the world.

Armed with these instructions, this obscure envoy of an unrecognized member of the family of nations landed in Bordeaux in May, 1776. He transacted there the business with which he was charged, relating to purchases for the Indians, and then went boldly to Paris, full of hope that he could induce the haughty French Court to aid our feeble efforts to become a republic. He was absolutely without a friend in the kingdom; he knew that secrecy as to his mission was essential to his success; he could not speak the French language, and he was entirely unversed in diplomatic usages. He had brought letters of introduction from Dr. Franklin to some of his scientific friends in Paris, and by one of these, in the absence of any acquaintance with personages of rank at the Court of Louis XVI., he was presented to the Comte de Vergennes, then the French Minister of Foreign Affairs. His visit to Vergennes was not only informal, but it was secret also. It was feared that the English spies, at that time swarming in Paris, would discover that the agent of her rebel Colonies had actually been received by the French Foreign Minister, and thus rouse suspicion of the neutrality of France in the contest. Deane, on the whole, was pleased with the manner in which he had been received. He told the minister plainly what the condition of this country was, explaining clearly, not merely that we depended absolutely on the aid of France



for our success, but pointing out also how greatly that success would enlarge French commerce and wealth, and at the same time humiliate England by despoiling her of the brightest jewel in her imperial crown,—the American Colonies.

Although Deane did not discover the secret at that time, it is now well understood that the subject of aid to the Colonies in some form, which France was quite sure would be asked for, had been previously the subject of frequent discussion between the French King and his ministers. The conclusion which Turgot, Maurepas, and Vergennes, the ministers, had reached, after studying the subject in all its aspects, was that it was expedient for France to aid the Americans with arms, ammunition, and clothing, should they ask for them. They agreed, however, that if such aid were given, it should be bestowed in the most private and secret manner, and for the following reasons, among others: It was thought, in the first place, unbecoming in an ancient monarchy like that of France to encourage rebellion against a recognized sovereign. It was felt, too, that before openly becoming the champion of the Colonies, France must be ready to go to war with England; and then, too, France desired, and indeed was bound by what was called "the Bourbon family compact," to secure the alliance of Spain before the declaration of hostilities.

Vergennes was therefore fully prepared to receive the application which Deane had made. According to the latter's statement, Vergennes was polite and friendly and even sympathetic in his tone. While he told Deane that the French government could do nothing openly and directly in favor of the Colonies, and that the question of recognition was in the womb of time, he also said that there was a friend of his, a merchant engaged in large affairs, and who had wide commercial relations, who possibly might supply Deane, at a price to be agreed upon, with the articles which Congress needed for the equipment of its army. He went so far as to promise that the French government would not interfere while such supplies were fur-



nished, so long as the neutrality of the country was not compromised. This so-called merchant proved to be the celebrated Caron de Beaumarchais, the famous author of the most brilliant of modern comedies, "Le Mariage de Figaro." Deane, surprised and delighted with his interview with Vergennes, never stopped to inquire how this sudden transformation of a dramatist into a merchant had been brought about, but put himself into communication with Beaumarchais as speedily as possible. With him he negotiated during the summer of 1776 for the purchase of cannon, powder, small-arms, and ammunition for the equipment of an army of twenty-five thousand men. Deane was told by Beaumarchais that it was essential that secrecy should be preserved concerning this contract, lest they should awaken the jealous suspicions of the English, and that his mercantile house, in order to mislead the English spies, would hereafter be known as that of Hortalez & Co.

There seems now but little doubt that Beaumarchais, or Hortalez & Co., were merely secret agents of the French government, which advanced the capital they needed for the purchase of the supplies, and permitted them to remove the cannon from the arsenals. But the comedy, nevertheless, which concealed the direct intervention of that government was kept up until we had made an open alliance with France in February, 1778. Thus the supplies were to be paid for by shipments of flour and tobacco to Hortalez & Co., and that firm was to have the sole charge of the business, the hand of the French government in no way appearing. The object of all this elaborate mystification was to deceive the English government and enable Vergennes to say to the British minister in France, when he complained that the rebels were being provided by its government with munitions of war, that it was a private enterprise for the supply of certain of the French colonies with articles they needed for their defence, and that the government had nothing whatever to do with it. It is not worth while to dwell upon these diplomatic lies. The thing that concerns us is to know that eight cargoes of these

articles were procured by Deane and Beaumarchais from the French government, valued at more than a million of dollars. They were absolutely priceless to us. They reached us in safety after many accidents of transportation, and enabled us to gain the victories achieved by our arms in 1777-78. The men who compelled the surrender of Burgoyne in 1777 were clothed with the uniforms and armed with the muskets supplied us through Deane and Beaumarchais. Let me stop for a moment and ask you to consider what a debt of gratitude we owe to the courage and energy of these two men, Beaumarchais and Deane, at this momentous crisis. It is the habit of this day to regard the first as a vain boaster, a French fanfaron, and the other as a traitor. The just claims of these men for payment for their invaluable services were not settled by the American Congress until nearly fifty years after their death. But when we are inclined to think of Beaumarchais as exaggerating his services, or of Deane as faithless in the end to the cause of his country, we must not forget the cruel and ungrateful delay of Congress, which embittered both of them against the people whose cause they had done so much to befriend.

But Deane's efforts to aid his country in the contest with Great Britain were not confined to procuring supplies for the army. He felt that we had need of military officers of experience, and, although he had no authority whatever to engage any one for our service, except, perhaps, a few military engineers, he made contracts with a large number of officers, principally Frenchmen, who beset him with applications for appointments, and stipulated that they should receive a certain rank and pay on joining our army. This action of his caused afterwards great embarrassment to Congress, as there were no places in the army which most of these officers were more competent to fill than our own soldiers, and their appointment caused great dissatisfaction. Deane justified his conduct by the necessity of keeping alive the sympathy in our favor of an important class of persons in France, and perhaps we may be tempted to excuse it when we remember that it was through his interven-

tion that not only Lafayette, but De Kalb, Steuben, Armand, Fleury, and many other brilliant and serviceable Frenchmen became officers of the Continental army.

In Deane's anxiety to help forward the cause; he made one egregious blunder in his recommendation of Frenchmen as officers, which seems to show that in this matter his zeal outran his discretion. The Comte de Broglie was one of the most accomplished officers in the French army, and he aspired to nothing less than to become the stadtholder or generalissimo of the American army; in other words, to supersede General Washington in its command. With so many precedents in history where an oppressed people have employed foreigners, because of their presumed greater military ability, to lead their armies, we cannot be much surprised at the proposition De Broglie made to Deane, through his aide-de-camp De Kalb, in these words: "In my opinion, what is necessary for these States, now in the position of mere children, is some foreign troops, and especially a commander of a high reputation in Europe, whose capacity for commanding an army should be equal to that of the Duke of Brunswick or Frederick the Great." He then goes on to say that if he is made a prince and paid a large salary, he will consent to become generalissimo, with absolute power. We need not be surprised, as I have said, at such a proposition coming from a soldier of fortune; but what a strange light the letter of introduction given by Deane to De Kalb for the chairman of the Secret Committee throws upon Deane's conception of the character of Washington, as it had been developed up to that time, the summer of 1776! In this letter of introduction Deane says, "I submit one thought to you, whether if you could engage a great general of the highest character in Europe—such, for instance, as Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, Marshal Broglie, or others of equal rank—to take the lead of your armies, whether such a step would not be politic, as it would give a character and credit to your military, and strike perhaps a greater panic in your enemies. I only suggest the thought, and leave you



to confer with Baron de Kalb on the subject at large." To us at the present day such language in the mouth of an American concerning the leadership of Washington seems inconceivable, but we must remember that in 1776 his great triumphs as a general were yet to be achieved.

Deane was not satisfied with providing our army with officers and with supplies. He thought the time had come when France would listen favorably to a proposition of recognition and alliance; so in September, 1776, he entered into negotiations with the French Foreign Office for that purpose. The sad news of the battle of Long Island, however, and of the capture of Fort Washington reaching Paris about this time, damped the ardor of the French ministry and forced Mr. Deane to postpone urging his scheme until a more convenient season. During all this time, it must be remembered, Mr. Deane was our sole representative in France.

In September, 1776, Congress thought proper to appoint Dr. Franklin and Arthur Lee commissioners to France, who were to co-operate with Mr. Deane in the transaction of our diplomatic affairs there. Of Franklin it is unnecessary to say anything further here than that, as one of our agents in France, his services gave a strength and power to our efforts to secure a recognition of our independence and an alliance with that country which it is impossible to exaggerate. He worked for this object in perfect harmony with Mr. Deane, of whom he said, "that having lived intimately with him for more than fifteen months, most of that time in the same house in Paris, he was a constant witness of his public conduct, and that he was sure that he was a faithful, active, and able minister who had done great service to his country."

Not so with the third commissioner, Mr. Arthur Lee, who was the brother of Richard Henry Lee and Francis Lightfoot Lee, members of Congress from Virginia, and of William Lee, at one time an alderman of the city of London, and then, through the influence of his brother, made the financial agent of Congress on the continent of Europe.



Arthur Lee was a secret agent and correspondent of Congress in the earlier part of the Revolution, residing in London. He seems, from the time he was appointed commissioner to France, to have been inflamed with the most bitter jealousy, not only of Deane, but of Franklin also, and to have misconstrued all their acts, to have embarrassed them in every way, and for years to have done everything in his power to breed distrust of Deane especially and of his conduct as a public agent in France among the members of Congress. Arthur Lee's excuse and story was this: In the spring of 1776, while the secret agent of Congress in London, he met at a dinner-party given by the notorious John Wilkes, then Lord Mayor of London, Beaumarchais, who had been sent by the French government to London in order to secure certain state papers in the possession of the famous Chevalier d'Éon, whom the French Court persisted in regarding as a woman, and whom it sought, for certain reasons of its own, to induce to return to France and assume the proper dress of a woman. According to Lee's subsequent statement to Congress, Beaumarchais on this occasion, without any solicitation on Lee's part, offered at the dinner-table, on behalf of the French government, to send Congress as a *gift* two hundred thousand louis d'or, as well as such arms, ammunition, and other military stores as might be needed. These gifts were to be transmitted in a secret manner to this country, so as to avoid compromising the French obligations of neutrality towards England, but they were to be regarded none the less as gratuitous gifts, although, to disarm suspicion and to give the shipments, if discovered, the appearance of private ventures, some tobacco might be shipped to France as a pretext of payment.

Congress, when told of this munificent gift on the part of the French King, who was said to be willing to arm and clothe our soldiers at his own expense, was filled with joy and gratitude, and much more inclined to believe Lee than Deane. We are always inclined to believe whatever promises to add to our pleasure or to diminish our

suffering with little or no effort on our own part, without much inquiry. The country resounded with praises of "our great and good friend," who had been so generous to us in our time of need. When, a few months later, the articles sent by Beaumarchais and Deane arrived here, and with them came the bills demanding payment, the country could hardly be made to understand that it had been indulging in one of those pleasing delusions which prove to be of "the stuff that dreams are made of." It soon appeared that Beaumarchais denied that he had ever had any such conversation with Lee in London as Lee had related. On the contrary, he asserted that he had no authority whatever from the French government to make any such promise or engagement with Lee as he had represented; and that he, Beaumarchais, had returned to Paris in the early summer, leaving Lee in London, and had put himself into communication with Deane, whom he recognized as the only duly authorized agent of Congress, with the permission, or at least the connivance, of the French government, and had made and carried out those contracts for supplies which I have described, Lee being in no way concerned or responsible for them. Lee persisted for more than two years in the assertion that these supplies were *gifts* of the King, and not *purchases*; that the London conversation was tantamount to a solemn contract; and on that account, owing to the influence of Lee's brothers and other members of Congress, Beaumarchais was not paid anything for his most timely aid for several years. Meantime, it was shown, not only by Deane, but by all the parties to the transaction in France, that these articles were *purchases*, agreed to be paid for in the fullest sense by Congress. The controversy waxed so bitter towards the close of 1778 that the French government, through its minister here, M. Gérard, declared to Congress in the most formal manner that the King of France had made no gifts to us. This declaration forced Congress, on the 12th of January, 1779, to think of paying for the articles sent, and to pass a resolution affirming that Congress was, "by indisputable

evidence, convinced that the supplies shipped were *not* a present." Thus ended this miserable attempt on the part of Lee to claim that Congress had been forced to pay for supplies which were intended to be sent by the King of France, through him, as gratuities, owing to the mismanagement of Deane.

The investigation of this business took up a good deal of time in Congress, and could not well be settled without the presence of Deane. As soon, therefore, as he, with the other commissioners, had agreed upon the treaty of alliance, concluded in February, 1778, Mr. Deane was requested to return home at his earliest convenience and explain his transactions with Beaumarchais.

He appeared before Congress not as a suitor for pardon, but as a claimant for the payment of services which he had rendered the country, for which he had so far received nothing. He had left France hurriedly, so that he was without many of his vouchers for the vast sums which had passed through his hands. The investigation convinced Congress that he had never misappropriated any portion of the money with which he had been intrusted. It was clear that, of the three commissioners, Deane had the exclusive charge and management of the priceless supplies sent from France; that Franklin, who had little taste for commercial negotiations, very properly and successfully gave almost exclusively his mighty influence to the proper diplomatic work of the mission, that of securing our recognition and alliance with France; while Lee spent his time in decrying the work of both his colleagues and misrepresenting it to Congress. Deane, it will be remembered, was recalled from France to give information concerning the foreign affairs of the country under his charge. He was not formally accused or even suspected of having embezzled the money with which he had been intrusted, but he was asked to solve the riddle which Congress could not unravel: how the supplies which had been sent were not gifts of the King, as Lee insisted, but had been bought from the firm of Hortalez & Co., to whom their price was justly due. The controversy was carried on,



while the subject was before Congress, in the newspapers of the day, by Deane on one side and Arthur Lee's friends in Congress, and especially by Thomas Paine as representing them, on the other. Paine insisted that the supplies were gifts, notwithstanding the positive declarations of Dr. Franklin and of the French government and of the agent of Beaumarchais and of Congress itself that there had been no gift, but simply an ordinary purchase. When we recall all that has been discovered since the era of the Revolution of the nature of this transaction, and remember that Thomas Paine, as secretary of the Foreign or Secret Committee, must have known all the facts as we know them, there seems to have been something peculiarly base in his conduct in hounding Deane with accusations of misconduct, when he knew not only that he was innocent, but that he was entitled to the highest praise.

Deane was kept for more than a year attending on Congress, and during this period he was allowed to appear but twice in vindication of his course. Naturally, he became very tired of this treatment. He complained that no action was taken in his case. He begged over and over again, in most pathetic letters to the President of Congress, that his conduct should be either approved or censured, and that a public inquiry should be made whether he had "negotiated a present into a loan or whether he had destroyed public despatches in order to cover the fraud." The Congress of 1778-79, it must not be forgotten, was composed of a very different class of men from that which adopted the Declaration of Independence. From it had gone out most of those who in history are the heroes in civil life of our Revolutionary contest. From Virginia alone, Mason, Wythe, Jefferson, Nicholas, and Pendleton were no longer members. John Adams and Franklin were commissioners abroad, and Jay was soon to become one, and Dickinson did not return until late in the spring of 1779. This was the Congress whose legislation reduced the value of the Continental currency to zero, whose prominent members caballed against Washington in the dreadful winter of 1777-78, which did



nothing to remedy the distress of the soldiers at Valley Forge, and of which Washington said that under its charge "America was on the brink of destruction, that her common interests, if a remedy were not soon to be applied, would moulder and sink into inevitable ruin."

During the delay of Congress, Deane wrote, "My character is attacked, and is liable to suffer from the groundless and base accusations of some and from the open calumnies of others." Still, Congress maintained, so far as he was concerned, the masterly inactivity of silence, although it was forced in the midst of these proceedings to inform the French minister, as we have seen, that it had before it indisputable evidence that the supplies were not the gratuitous gift of the King of France, but that they were purchased and must be paid for. In his last appeal to Congress, Deane tells its members that he has been persecuted in the public journals for several months—referring to the attacks of Thomas Paine—in the most scandalous, virulent, and licentious manner, and accused before Congress of crimes of the blackest description. And he begs once more that he may be permitted publicly to vindicate his character.

Congress gave no heed to this cry from his wounded spirit, and he went back to France to look after his tangled affairs with a heart full of bitterness and a deep sense of the injustice, cruel neglect, and ingratitude from which he had suffered at the hands of his countrymen, after all he had done for them in the hour of their sorest trial.

On his return to France he found, upon an examination of his affairs, that he was absolutely penniless. The stories which had been circulated about his wealth in Philadelphia were pure fictions. He was supported during the remainder of his life by the charity of friends. He had but one resource, and that was his claim against the United States for the services he had rendered during the Revolution, which I have endeavored to describe. The government sent out a commission to France to audit his accounts, and it appeared, after a most thorough and tedious examination, that the United States was indebted to this much-

calumniated man more than thirty thousand dollars. This was in 1787, eight years after his return to Europe, during which he had lived in dire poverty. Not one dollar of this sum was ever paid Deane in his lifetime. Congress made no appropriation to pay the debt, recognized as just by its own officers, until 1842, when it voted his heirs thirty-eight thousand dollars—less than half the amount claimed to be due them—for the services of Silas Deane; a payment made, moreover, it will be observed, more than sixty years after the services were rendered.

The saddest part of Deane's story yet remains to be told. He returned to France a wholly changed man. He felt that he had not only been grossly wronged and insulted by the action of Congress, but he was also profoundly convinced that, with the policy it had adopted, and with the power in such feeble hands, there was no hope that independence could be finally achieved. On his return to Paris he avoided all intercourse with his former associates, the friends of the American cause, and when he met them he spoke with the utmost bitterness and contempt of the incapacity and injustice of Congress. His opinion of the policy and general course of action, of which he had been the witness, was not unlike that of many of the staunchest patriots of the time,—of Wayne, for instance, and of Washington himself. He lived for a long time, first in Paris and afterwards in Flanders, in obscurity, neglect, and poverty; and doubtless his condition was well known to the English spies on the Continent, at that time very numerous. At last, made desperate by the delay which occurred in the settlement of his accounts, and maddened, no doubt, by the sting of poverty, he listened, unhappily, to the voice of the tempter. He took advantage of the preparations made by the English government in the campaign of 1781 to crush the rebellion, to write letters (nine in number), addressed to some of his former friends in this country, insisting on the folly of further resistance on our part to the English arms. In these letters, written in May and June, 1781, he urged,

first, that the Declaration of Independence had been a mistake, no such action being required by the grievances from which we alleged we then suffered; secondly, that reliance upon French aid was a folly and a delusion; and, thirdly, that the best thing we could do would be to submit to the English demands. These letters constituted the celebrated "intercepted letters," alleged to have been captured by an English cruiser from an American vessel which was carrying them to their destination. They were at once published in *Rivington's Royal Gazette*, in New York, and, of course, coming from a man who had once been so ardent and enthusiastic a supporter of the American cause, and who had hitherto been so faithful a public servant, they produced a prodigious sensation. Their only effect, however, was to rouse indignation at the treachery and wickedness of the writer, for all the evils which Deane had prophesied as certain to result from the overwhelming force of the English in the campaign of 1781 were overcome by the masterly strategy of Washington, which had brought into active co-operation with him the land forces of Rochambeau and the fleet of the Count de Grasse, by whose united aid Cornwallis was forced to surrender and the war was brought practically to a close.

The positive proof that Deane was at this time an agent of the British government and in its pay was wanting until the publication of the correspondence between George III. and Lord North in 1867. In March, 1781, the King writes to Lord North, "I think it perfectly right that Mr. Deane should be so far trusted as to have three thousand pounds in goods for America. The giving him particular instructions would be liable to much hazard, but his bringing any of the provinces to offer to return to their allegiance on the former foot would be much more likely than by the joint application through Congress," etc. Then, again, the King writes to Lord North, "I have been only able to read two of the intercepted letters, on which I form the opinion of too much appearance of being concerted with this country, and therefore not likely to have the effect, as if they bore



another aspect." And so, in August, 1781, he says that he approves of what Lord North has written to Sir Henry Clinton concerning these intercepted letters and of Deane, saying that his plan seemed to be the most likely means of rendering them of some utility, and he points out how these letters may be used to the greatest advantage to the English.

Deane lingered in poverty and neglect some years longer in Europe, but in the year 1789 he determined to return to his native country. Whether his action was prompted by a wish to vindicate his character or by a hope that Congress would at last pay him his long-deferred claim cannot be positively determined. He was about embarking at Deal when he was seized by a violent illness which proved fatal in a short time. He was, by his death in a foreign country, saved at least from the scorn and contempt of all good men, which awaited him on his arrival in his own.

Poor, weak Silas Deane! There can no longer remain any doubt that he deserted to the enemy, even if it were not well known that he had become the intimate friend of Arnold, in London, whose hand, as John Jay said, polluted that of every American who touched it, and of other conspicuous Tory refugees. It is for you to decide how far his crime is explained by the position into which he had been forced, and how far it is palliated by the injustice and ingratitude of that Congress which he had served so long and so faithfully.







GENERAL WILLIAM IRVINE.

JOURNAL OF A VOLUNTEER EXPEDITION TO SANDUSKY, FROM MAY 24 TO JUNE 13, 1782.

CONTRIBUTED BY BARON GEORGE PILAR VON PILCHAU, ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA.

(Continued from page 157.)

REMARKS UPON A VOLUNTEER EXPEDITION TO SANDUSKY, 1782.

C. is a man of Sixty and upwards. Blessed with a constitution that may be called robust for his age. Inured to fatigue from his childhood, and by repeated campaigns against the Indians acquainted with their manner of engaging—In his private Life, kind and *exceedingly* affectionate; in his military character, personally Brave, and patient of hardships—As a partizan, too cautious, & frightened at appearances; always calculating the chances against. Consequently, By no means, calculated for its hazardous enterprises—As a Commanding Officer, cool in danger, but not systematical. Like others in the same stations, he wanted to be all in all: by trusting everything to the performance of his own abilities only, everything was but half done, and Everybody was disgusted. At other times he had it in common with others of that class, to commit to the charge of a Sarjeant, [*sic*] what ought to be executed by a Field officer, & vice versa.—At a council: he speaks incoherent, proposes matters confusedly, and is incapable of persuading people into his opinion, or making use of their Weak sides for his purposes. He is somewhat capricious: yet easily & indiscriminately led by people, who have once gained an ascendancy over him—Jealous of his military Knowledge, & Superiority, but a mere quack in the profession of a Soldier. No military Genius; & no man of Letters—

W. is brave as Cæsar and active: but divested of conduct. Fond of thrusting himself into danger, he leaves every-

thing else to chance—He has some obscure notions of military matters, suggested to him by mere Genius: but is quite ignorant how to dispose of men, or how to fight them to advantage. He knows too well how high he is in the opinion of the people in general, and among these he takes upon himself the airs of a man of consequence: However he is open to advice and instructions.—His Oratory is suited to the taste of the people his countrymen, and their Bigotted notions stand him in lieu of arguments. It is a pity but he had military opportunities of instruction, as his natural talents are not despicable, and his youthly heat might prove the bane of the Country—

G. is like the greatest part of Mankind, not possessed of any extraordinary qualifications—But withall, a good Officer Attentive to regularity on a march, and not wanting of personal bravery—Performs his duty with chearfullness, and obeys Orders without murmuring.

M. — is —.

B. Our Best Field Officer. He has imbibed very good notions of military matters, founded upon praxise [*sic*] in Indian Wars. He is schemy in an engagement—Quite brave enough, to lead his men into action—and not wanting of resources to extricate himself out of danger, and discern it before hand—

H. is a polished Cis-Allyhanian and bears a respected character as a Civilian: but is by no means formed, to face the dangers consequential to War. Depressed, and quite incapable of extricating himself out of a perillous situation by a grand effort. He does not try even to struggle against adversities. Our military operations were too much influenced by his timorous disposition. He is very clever and sensible, and would make an excellent duty Officer. He was without doubt the Best Man, we could have pitched upon, for his post, considering <sup>æc</sup> (*cæteribus paribus*).

L. is too easy and neglectfull for his post, though the only man, any ways acquainted with duty. He is allowed to have behaved with much Bravery; yet, I believe, unnecessarily so. Certainly a remark against his prudence—



Upon these Volunteer Expeditions every Man almost appears on Horseback; but he takes care to mount the very worst horse he has upon his farm. this horse he loads with at least as much provisions as he is well able to carry. No man calculates the distance he is going, or how long he can possibly be absent. As he has provisions enough to maintain at least three Men on the Campaign, he does not stint himself to a certain allowance. Lolling all day unemployed upon his horse, his only amusement is chewing, particularly as all noise in talking, singing & whistling is prohibited.—

But the horses whose strength is already inadequate to the load of Bread bacon & Whiskey imposed on them, are besides all this obliged to carry a heavy rider up & down hill (for he never alights) & break a path through Weeds & thickets. No wonder, so many tire—no wonder, rapid marches can not be performed. this was the case with us. We intended to keep the Woods to the Upper Morav. Town, but our horses gave nearly out the second day—& we were obliged to lean to the beaten path to our Left. Instead of being able to follow on the third Day the straight path to the upper Morav. Town, which was much nearer: We were obliged to continue on the path to the middle Town, for fear of hills & swamps on the former road.

the indians are too attentive, as not to have runners upon all principal roads leading to their Towns, particularly here, as there is any quantity of corn standing in the fields, not damaged. We ought therefore carefully to have avoided this road, as we could only expect success by a surprise. to get along undiscovered, ought to have been our principal concern—and the next One, to march with rapidity. Our Body being so inconsiderable, we were no more than a partizan party, and should have left behind, whatever was not absolutely necessary. We ought to have had no more provisions, than barely to do us, and every horse would have continued able to carry his master with expedition: provided, every man had taken his best horse. In expeditions carried on upon this footing so much depends upon horses, that they must allways miscarry, so long as sordid lucre and

the mean Views of interest influence the actions of the adventurers. The very worst horse is destined for this severe piece of duty, because the Owner expects to exchange him to advantage: and he would not stick at a mean action to compleat his design—

the next inconvenience attending horses, is: that they render the party a heavy, unwieldy Body. This will at first View seem a paradoxical thesis. But if we consider the reduced state they are in, the heavy Loads they stagger under, the hills & swamps they have to go over—nobody can deny, but what they are an obstruction to the expedition of every military operation. Add to this that every Man hangs upon his horse to the very moment of attack. then instead of being disencumbered & ready to defend himself, his first care is his horse. Him, he must tye and look after during an engagement, because all his dependence is in his horse & his horses burthen.

I dreaded the inconvenience arising from it, in case we should be attacked on our march, & proposed in a general Council of the Officers at the Morav. Town, May 28<sup>th</sup> that, as we were to march in 4 Columns from there, a Baggage Guard should be selected, consisting of 25 Men to march in the centre of the Main Body—that, as the two Center Columns were our reserve, they should receive the horses from the outer ones, and so deliver them to the charge of the Guards. In case we were unexpectedly attacked, the Men of the outer Columns should jump off, without minding their horses who would naturally run from the fire inwards to the Centre. If we had intelligence of the ennemy's approach, we would have time to put this plan into execution, without running any risques of putting those Men into disorder who are immediately wanted to engage, and who ought to be kept in the most perfect order. As for the reserve, they would have sufficient time to be regulated before they could possibly be wanted.

the matter was a good deal altercated. the two centre columns objected against being the hostlers of the rest, & so nothing was determined. Every Man would have had to

tye his horse in the face of the ennemy, who would have killed one half—Or if they left them running at large the Dons of the centre, would never have stooped to catch the horses of their Neighbours, though certain death would have attended their loss. Moreover, every cow heart would have had this excuse for skulking—the care of his horse & provisions. Such a man, once out of the Ranks, will never reappear there. this remark was verified in the action of the 4<sup>th</sup> of June when we could not find a single man to post along our Line for allmost a quarter of a mile, where it was left defenceless. there were plenty at the same time among the pack Sables and the horses Feet—

Matters were soon approaching nearer a Crisis: and the horses were retaken into consideration at a Council June the 3<sup>rd</sup> But the case was somehow altered. As we had penetrated so far, without any opposition, and thought ourselves but 10 Miles from the ennemy; I made no doubt, but they would give us batle the next Day. Indeed—I thought it likely, they would fight us under cover of their Block houses. I therefore urged the following proposals.—

1). to leave 2 Men out of 7. as a Guard to the baggage and as a Reserve to ourselves in case of need. this calculation would have produced 140 men: a number sufficient to answer both ends.

2). these should be selected *on the Spot.* *Be properly officered & commanded by a Field officer—*

3). the horses should be left with them immediately, and we should march off that ground ready for action. Every Man with his provisions ready cooked upon his Back, of which they were ordered the Night before to have for 3 Days.

4). As we knew ourselves discovered by the ennemy, and our Body was but small in itself—and whereas the ennemy had had sufficient time to collect all his forces: we ought to shew our numbers to the best advantage. they would appear much larger in two Bodies. the horses should be tied behind one another in the same order, their respective owners marched in. Every 12<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> horse would only



require a rider in the Centre Columns. All the other Men should be posted in the outer Columns—Rear Guard & advance on the horses. The flankers should be double and on foot—

5). the Command<sup>s</sup> officer, who should be attended by 3 of the swiftest horses, would send them orders where and when to halt; and it was recommended to station them not above one mile in our Rear, in a piece of Woods unconnected with any other, & large enough to contain them—

thus disposed off, they should follow in our Rear at a moderate pace, whilst the rest could march disincumbered with more expedition. Besides fitting ourselves for immediate action, I had this farther View; that if we should happen to give way, every Man would naturally run to his all, his horse and provisions—where we might stand some chance of forming the Men again, & if necessary retreat in a regular manner, without loosing every dependance & hope of getting home—

As necessary as these proposals were, that attention was not paid them, they discovered. No Body seemed to understand, of what consequence these matters were. So far, they went into these measures, as to appoint 2 men out of the Commands of every Officer, without paying any particular respect to numbers, to receive the horses of the rest of the Company, as soon as we were attacked. But every Man to continue as usual with his horse, untill such time. Four Captains and other Officers accordingly, were appointed by lot, for this duty. My principal Views were by no means answered—I wanted the Light horse compleated to Sixty—and a full Company in the main advancing Body retained as an anchor of hope: to be under the disposal of the Officer Commanding. this also was neglected.

One more instance of the insignificancy of military ideas in our first Officers. After I had apprised them, by an express of my falling in with the ennemy, they ceased disputing and gained time to take up their line of march, which by the bye was not a thing, quickly executed in common. My second express gave them intelligence, that the ennemy was



gaining upon my right Flank, and they would certainly meet him in a Wood in front of them. Notwithstanding all this, they jogg'd on upon their horses, and did not receive Orders to quit them untill they were actually fired on—

An other inconvenience arises from the superlative Multitude of horses, with respect to the scarcity of Grass in some places. In the narrow circuit of our Camp all the Grass is devoured in an hour's time. the horses begin to ramble and the Sentries not being very watchfull, some will allways get beyond them. to look for them exposes the men and before they are found the best time for marching is lost in a morning. to stake them all Night is only possible where there is Grass to eat, and but few places will afford a sufficiency for such a collection. If the horses are not done justice by, they are knocked up, & your march is retarded. this was the case with us all along. Before we reached the Muskingham, our horses had hardly any grass at all. A part ran great distances out of Camp; for these we were detained late on our ground, and the greater part of our horses were so debilitated as to give allmost out in 3 or 4 Days march. Beyond the Muskingham they fared better. But the nearer we approached the ennemy the closer we had to confine them, and there never was a sufficiency of grass to eat for their number, except one night in the plains of Sandusky. On the ground of action our horses remained unfed from Tuesday noon untill Wednesday night—and out of four hundred and fifty odd Horses not 200 crossed the Ohio. the total want of water was another capital circumstance against us—

Order on a march—regularity in point of Duty—and precaution, considering as a body, penetrating into an ennemy's country, did seem to be looked upon as matters of mere Moonshine. The very first day gave one a most contemptible idea of our enterprize. I followed in the Rear with W. from the Mingoe Bottom, and came up with the rest in their encampment at Camp Regulation. C. assured me that he had reconnoitred the ground himself and

every precaution was taken in securing it. I happened to take a circuit in the evening, & found to my great surprise, that several companies lay outside the picquets. I determined to be myself present at the posting of the Sentries in future. A good many grumbled at this duty, and thought it hard—very hard, not to be let sleep all night, after marching all Day. I myself mounted guard as a private the third night: and the alarm on the fourth effectually prevented any thing farther being said against it. Near the plains they chearfully submitted to an Order, that one half should be on Guard—but one third of the remainder alternately mann their alarm posts. At John's Town two men left their posts, whilst on Centry, & went to their fires to rest. They excused themselves that their officers sat them the example: and instead of being relieved at regular times, they were kept on 3 or 4 hours— It is certainly a nice point, how a command<sup>s</sup> Officer should behave in such a case, with such a Body, unless the Majority is crying out, to have such a crime punished. Col C—d was not supported in this loud manner. He thought it best therefore to give a general rebuke in orders to officers & men, and order the former to go the rounds every half hour alternately when on Guard, and the Grand-Rounds to visit twice a night— We ourselves used every morning to drive the Men to their alarm posts, an hour before day.—

Notwithstanding repeated remonstrances, the passing of the most dangerous Defiles was conducted with the utmost confusion. they were made sensible, to what dangers it did expose us, and that we did not gain, but rather lost in point of time—and I found by experience that people who are determined not to see, are the Blindest upon earth—

the Banks of some waters were so steep, that one man could only ascend at a time. Here every Body pushed helter-skelter into the Creek, and as there was but one possible exit, every Body pressed forward into it. No man knew what path his Column was to proceed in, or had proceeded on the opposite Bank. Presently the whole Body was crowded into the Centre path, and the whole Body

formed but one Column. I defy the Rear to keep close after our line was extended 4 times its primary length. A Halt was also bellowed for, from the Rear; but the carrying of Orders back & forward was obstructed on the Centre path, untill they began to move and look for their companies. Every man had to be sat to right.

Suppose we had been attacked in this Babylonian confusion, with a rear stragling for several miles—what could possibly have been the consequence? Why not lead the Body across by columns or divisions,—form the advance after it had crossed—As it gained sufficient Room, the main Body to follow by Wings, whilst the Rear remained on the opposite Bank and never should enter a Ford untill the rest were all across and formed. I acknowledge this would occasion some halt, but not so long and dangerous a one, as where they are so horridly mixed through other.

the different columns never give themselves the trouble to search for a passage in difficult places, but crowd into the easiest, beaten path. Confusion therefore arises at every Defile. to pass these with security and order, the officers at the head of the different columns ought to receive their orders, when & where to cross from the officer appointed to conduct the march. He would in front reconnoitre himself and send horsemen to select places for as many Columns as possible to advance at once, and direct them into their proper stations, if they should follow upon one another—

So important this matter was, not the least attention was paid to it. I seized an opportunity which offered June 5<sup>th</sup> in our encampment on the 2<sup>d</sup> Branch of White woman's Creek, to force Col. C. in a manner to a stricter observance of so essential a point occasioned by crossing a most dangerous defile near John's Town in the most confused manner imaginable.

Not above a dozen horses can follow one track through these morassy places. the hindmost One will sink in to his shoulders, when it carries the first. Such a place formed a Defile here and all our horses had to follow after one an-



other, without the least possibility of avoiding the first Track. the front kept marching on at a great rate, whilst the Rest were left to shift for themselves struggling through the passage, which was rendered quite impassable to the Rear. Every horse got mired and was to be lifted. In this situation were they, when I returned from an excursion through the Glades and Lakes, enticed to it by the pleasant situation of the place. Some old continental regulars perceived the danger they were exposed to and by their exclamations had rendered the whole allmost frantic. Twenty Indians might have cut our whole Rear Body off, for they assured me it was at least 2 hours since the front had gone along—and every man kept driving after by himself, as fast as he could labour across— I formed the Rear—called in those who were vainly attempting a passage through this Morass in different places—crossed and recrossed the River a litle lower, and by a circuit of about 200 yards avoided this swamp entirely. We had hardly encamped, when the clamour against such inattention, with severe remarks upon some people grew more general. I communicated this to C. and it produced that good effect, that the conducting of the Line of march was regularly attended to.

Perceiving what a heavy logy body ours was, I got by means of C. W. two Companies of Light horse amounting to 40 & as many Light infantry constituted at the Morav. Towns. these were to march in front quite disincumbered of every thing. It was at the same time promised to the horse to exempt them from mounting guard, as there was some additional duty laid on them, viz: to cover the parties hunting their horses &c. this exemption from duty made it impossible to mount the Guards by Companies, as some were more others less weakened, according to the sprightliness of the men & horses. L. & H. would consequently have been put to the trouble of keeping a roster, [*sic*] mount the picquets &c. H. found means the very first evening, to have every man ordered back to his comp<sup>y</sup> under very frivolous pretences.



the light horse & infantry lay dormant untill we entered the plains. W. insisted upon the revival of this old plan, and the Body was put entirely under my direction. Here I quit conducting the Line of March, and took upon myself the reconnoitring in advance and the covering the Main body, passing Defiles.

L. one of my Captains, whom I had left with a part posted as Vedettes, when I went to reconnoitre the Town on the 4<sup>th</sup>—thought himself too much exposed on horseback, & sheltered himself & his whole party behind trees. this weakened this Body considerably.

the rest were ordered by H. without any Body's knowledge to dismount, when I was upon the Right with Col. G. on the evening of the 4<sup>th</sup> June—And so this necessary institution lasted but as long again, as the first time (two days)—

Mere inexperience & stupidity only, could prompt so inconsiderate a measure—erroneous for several reasons: 1). We had more men, than our ground would admit off to fight to advantage—2). these horsemen were all young active fellows, but no marksmen; and such could only be wanted, as we did not push the ennemy. their services during the day, are too conspicuous as to require enumerating they ought to have been kept up for the same purposes: to watch & discover the ennemy's motions, and draw their attention to cover real attacks. How oppose their cavalry in these plains? How dare to manœuvre without them in the face of their horse, in these plains? A plain is the Element of horse.

On our retreat ought we not to have had Light infantry & cavalry both to cover our Rear as well as we had them, to cover our front advancing—Did we not experience the utility & necessity of such a body on Thursday the 6<sup>th</sup> after the Command was changed. the horsemen ought to have been made cut grass, whenever there was no immediate necessity for their Service, so as to continue their horses able & fit for action.

But we acted, as if determined to be conquered, not to

Beat. I am convinced we should have done better, if it had not been repugnant to ——'s opinion to proceed to Sandusky—What! repugnant to ——'s opinion? Was not the expedition originally planned for that plan? Was this not publicly known by every Body, that engaged in it? Was not C. himself solicitous about the commands?—Here is the key to the riddle—

—— expected when he took the command of so small a Body upon him, there fighting edge would be wore off, by the time they would reach the Beach ridge. If he then could find any trail or signs probably leading to a smaller settlement of Indians, he would follow it and by a circuitous march spin out our time as long as possible. the Country would reap the benefit from it, that it would draw the enemy's attention & give rest to the frontier for a while. To his opinion the party was never adequate to what they proposed. Love of plunder after the Morav. affair had inticed [*sic*] the most of them to this undertaking—the most of them had no idea of opposition—and the most of them would not fight on a pinch. Several had already complained of their provisions being nearly out & by their private discourses he had overheard on the march, they would not go much farther but incline to return. I believed him mistaken & advised him not to move that matter yet. those men who were capable of turning things to their fancy, differed very much from his opinion to my Knowledge. the general enquiry into the state of provisions on the evening of May the 31<sup>st</sup> was a political stroke and the discovery of two indians at Hell Town, hastened the proposal. Vide the result Journal June 1<sup>st</sup>. From this perhaps proceeded the most inexcusable conduct: from this perhaps our slow and short marches; from this perhaps the criminal inactivity on the 5<sup>th</sup>. On the evening of the 4<sup>th</sup> the ennemy soon left us master of that piece of woods, we were contending for, and it is incontestible that they went to their town immediately after the action—all, to a small party to watch our motions. We saw them plain next Morning return in parties along the common path from their Town.

Connoisseurs agreed, they exposed themselves more than usual in this action, & pronounced them to be drunk. A part of our men fought very brave & were undoubtedly good marksmen. the enemy of course must have sustained a considerable loss. If they had not—they would have attacked us furiously the next morning early. This C—d expected. But why not alter our conduct, after we saw ourselves deceived? Our loss was trifling, & more so, than we could expect—so inconsiderable as not to hinder us from executing any scheme whatever. Five Men were only killed and out of 19 Wounded three only could not ride on horseback. 24 Men out of 488—A great diminution of our numbers—! provide and carry 3 men on Biers—a vast obstruction to every military operation!

the enemy's business was, to deceive us in his small number—this he did. to make us waste our ammunition by keeping at long shot—this he did. to amuse us, untill his reinforcements could arrive—this he did. these were not so numerous as his idea of our Strength was great: He therefore wanted to frighten us home and take the advantage of our confusion on the retreat. the first he did—but the latter he did not effectually do: there was something providential in it. If he had been sure of us, his manœuvres during the day convince me, that he would have carefully concealed his numbers. But he wanted to be rid of us. What else this parade all day with the horse—What else his showing them to us so studiously—What else his displaying the Shawnoe reinforcement so open to our View—What else this Feu de Joye in the evening—What else this firing into our Camp after night, which so effectually completed the Rout. If the truth was known, I do not think they dared venture to rush in upon us—nay! it is more than likely that no man entered our Camp before the next Day—

Whilst the enemy was thus manœuvering us out of our Wits, we lay motionless and in despair; wishing for the approach of the second night to run off—stuffing our Sadle Baggs with bread & bacon—and ordering a pilot to keep



close to our heels.—A singular Way, indeed, to invade an enemy's country. We had every reason to believe him worsted—We had the roads left open to get to the Town, and we lay motionless almost within sight of it 24 hours. We rejected two plans to follow up an advantage gained—gave them time to collect their forces—expended our ammunition to no purpose—Run 'off Skeared at the discharge of half a dozen of Guns—& did not make as much as a feint to know the Strength and situation of the place, and whether the ennemy would have dared to oppose us—

Admitting our men too much fatigued to undertake any thing the first Night, and us too late observing the absence of their forces to take advantage of it early in the morning of the 5<sup>th</sup>—why did we not attempt something after they had assembled?—As soon as we saw the ennemy decline not only an attack upon us, but a close engagement altogether, and that he thought it most prudent to expect us during the night and morning at the Town under cover of their strong holds, if they have any there; then there was no further doubt of our Superiority—Why did we not follow up the stroke—prosecute them with such a part of our body as it was proposed. Two hundred Men were only wanted for its execution, and 260 were certainly a sufficient guard for 20 Wounded and our Baggage. the distance we would have gone was not so great, as to put it beyond our power to hasten to their assistance in case of need.

the invincible objection was: that, as we asked 200 men to turn out voluntarily out of the whole number, this body would consist of the very Best Men, and the only men that would fight. Should these be cut off—Alas! every hope of effecting a retreat ought to be given up—A Language worthy of Heroes, wanting to extend their conquests over the indian World—A proceeding, worthy of heroes, who sat actually in the char of Victory.

to loose 200 of the best Men, of whom 150 were mounted on the best horses; a terrifying idea!—who would fight the way clear for the rest—what would carry off the rest?—It seems we left home, to conquer ourselves by imaginary



suppositions. Could we expect to frighten all the nations of indians with 400 men into tame submission—could we expect to destroy them without any opposition, and carry off their property—was not our whole enterprize founded upon hazard—the smallness of our numbers in the midst of an enemy's country, prognosticated nothing else but risques—and if we did not like to run chances we ought to have staid at the Crossings fondling—

Next, admitting it actually too dangerous, to attempt the ennemy with a part, out of mere consideration of the worst remaining part—Why were our three mortally wounded, not left on the ground? this was no more than what happened them afterwards. If this was contrary to the feelings of humanity in the breast of a ploughman, his Ax-experienced [*sic*] hands might have finished a couple of Biers in a very short time. As we had to move them, what was the odds whether we moved them 12 hours sooner or later, or moved them 12 miles more or less. the benefit of individuals ought allways to be sacrificed to the benefit of the whole upon a large scale.

Now admitting, we were defeated, since our own unmilitary dastardly conduct naturally suggests that supposition—Why did we not retreat the very first night—the very next morning? What benefit could it be to a beaten army to stay on the grounds of action? Our dejected lifeless conduct, could not but animate the ennemy more and more.

Since we did not stay on the ground of action Wednesday the 5<sup>th</sup> ought we not to have carried on, a show of some enterprize?—Ought we not to have remounted our horse?—Ought we not to have done every thing, we did not do—In short, ought we not to have manœuvred?— But, what do I talk of manœuvering! Our Officers did not know the game at chess. Show me the man of intrepidity & coolness, who knows how to play chess, that would not make a good Commanding officer in the field—

Our retreat was ordered at dark on the evening of the 5<sup>th</sup> We were to retire in two Columns on our old trail, & fight our Way should we be opposed. A determination

bold & military but not suited to the disposition of our men at that time. Its attempt would have proved our ruin. Such a panick had seized our men, that at the discharge of a single gun, the rear would have pressed upon the front and thrown every thing into the utmost confusion. Every Man would have sought safety by running under cover of the night. We should have been dispersed to a man. A general chase would have taken place; and the slaughter would have been immense. to collect our men into a Body would have been a Herculean labour. the ennemy would have hunted us all the way home, and taken such as escaped him in the plains.

to bring off the larger Body, considering our situation after the 5<sup>th</sup> in the afternoon—considering the impression the appearance of the Shawnoes made upon our troops—considering our discipline when cool & out of danger—and the command the officers had over their men; under these circumstances to save the larger body could have been obtained only by sacrificing a part. But what part of our troops would have obeyed a command<sup>s</sup> officer to plunge themselves in, between the Shawnoes and Delawares, whilst the main Body would make their escape by a circuitous march. Here let us ascribe to providence and her marvelous interposition the execution of a plan, by which only so large a Body could have been saved. She made use of a superlative Scoundrel for this end. A certain captain Hardin, alias Miller John on George's Creek, impelled by fear & rascallity united, spoke largely against the measure adopted, concerning the roads chosen to retreat on. His fear fixed the ennemy's number from 700 to 1000. this was clear to him by their Feu de joie and subsequent huzzaing, and he easily found a party among the younger Sort, to whom his age & experience were arguments of conviction. He actually moved from the ground W. towards the town with a large gang, when Col. Crawford detained the main Body, just going to march off, and went to turn the Miller and the miller's followers. Hardin was fired on by the ennemy on leaving our camp: and this firing was supposed

by every man an attack upon our encampment. Every man consequently run off, at the discharge of the very first gun, as if it had been a signal agreed on, to disperse & shift as well as one could for himself. By a secret impulse the whole took pall-mall to the south, collecting as they kick'd along, to some one officer or other; except some few paraded in the front of the Line. these thinking the Rear was pushing after them and not willing to loose the chance of getting first through—cut & whipp'd at a horrid rate along the path, agreed to retire on. they mostly all, fell a sacrifice to the ennemy's fury, who narrowly watched the road. the smaller part also drew the ennemy's attention, whilst the larger body got round unmolested.

After so providential an escape, I reprove our attempt to halt in the plains to refresh our horses, as we had come to within a mile of entering the Woods. Our men had conceived the most hideous notions of the ennemy's multitude. they all thought, if they were overtaken in the plains, particularly dreading the ennemy's cavalry, not a single Man could escape; & that this would be the ennemy's intention, was allowed by all hands officer and private. Consternation allways accompanies a flying Body, whereas the pursuer feels his own superiority and is flushed with success. His very appearance strikes terror and dejection into the pursued. Upon this principle alone we ought to have hastened into the woods. Besides every other reason, that sense could suggest, urged the proceeding. In the Woods the ennemy could not avail himself of his superior horse. Add to this, that the consciousness of having trees all along in our rear, would have trebled our forces, by adding to the courage of the men. A man in the Woods was worth three of himself in the plains. Such a Bug-Bear was a light horseman in a plain to them. With every step we gained on the Woods, we should have gained Strength.

By a halt we not only lost these advantages but put ourselves into a dangerous situation. Our different columns immediately mixed through other, and were not so easy formed again. At this instant, after we were fired on, it



was more difficult than ever, and quite impossible. In spite of every effort, where no man saw nor heard, we had but one column on the beaten path, unless one had led every horse and man himself to his proper station. this extended our Line too much—consequently weakened it; and to prevent the rear from falling behind, we were obliged to go on at a Snail's pace—As long as the machine was in proper motion, we ought not to have checked her. Should the ennemy come up with our Rear; we ought to have kept up a running fire—put the most of our men on our flanks & Rear—our front wanted but little covering. We ought to have supposed the ennemy's whole strength close upon our heels. the party engaging, a mere decoy to detain us, whilst the main Body tried to take possession of the woods.

the moment we halted we were fired on : and this too, we ought to have expected, as the ennemy's horse a short distance before, took some prisoners of us. To what serious consequences did we also expose ourselves by an inconsiderate step. the larger part was quite bewildered and by the dread that hung upon their souls, incapacitated for action :—an other part thinking this was the last the dreadful moment, deserted :—the smallest body fought heroically, though imprudently led by W. himself posted to a tree. His only concern was to hit an indian without ever minding the safety of his command—or directing what should be done—or knowing what was a-doing in any *other place* [*part*]. But Fortuna juvat audaces and the ennemy was repulsed. A something more considerable Body of them, though ever so much inferior to us, might have completed their most Blood-thirsty designs. An additional proof to me that the Miller and his adherents were much deceived in their calculations of numbers. But I have no right to reprove our conduct here, since we succeeded; though reason would have dictated different steps, if we had consulted her, and not acted by the mere impulse of blind chance. Fortune being on our side the consequences of this affair were favourable in two respects. We got rid



of all our cowards, and the ennemy got a sufficient check, not to molest us any more on our march—

Arrived at the Lick every Body acquiesced with the advice to remain here no longer, than merely to refresh our horses and dry the wounded, for which I allowed two hours. Before the close of the day to take up our Line of march, and continue it, allowing but short halts, untill we had passed the glades and defiles of Mohickin John's Town. then, if necessary, to rest 24 hours and proceed moderately by Tuscarawos to Fort M'Intosh. If the ennemy had pursued us in any considerable Body, we should have escaped him by forced marches through all those places, of whose situation he could have taken particular advantage, and we did not know how to avoid. Into M'Intosh we should have had a safe retreat, and the ennemy could not have annoyed us, on passing the river. Our Wounded would have been so much nearer assistance, the nearer they were Fort Pitt—But as soon as we felt the comfortableness of a fire and tasted the Sweets of a litle Sleep after so much fatigue & watching; the Indians were thought never to travel in wet weather and we continued stretching ourselves by our fires, without posting Sentinels or ordering guards of any kind. The very next night we encamped in the glades of Mohickin John's Town; the very place every Body so justly dreaded—the very place, of whose situation the ennemy might have availed himself—the very place we ought by all means to have avoided, and where we might have shown that we were capable of at least some faint ideas of Generalship by leaving our fires at Night—

As I have spoken so largely to the conduct of —— I ought in justice to the station try to characterise the other by relating one more exploit of his. He was ordered to proceed the main Body May the 28<sup>th</sup> at day Break. But the Colonel hunting his horse the Command was detained untill 8 o'clock. I came up with him after he had begun his march and found him moving in 3 Columns, with advances to the Right and Left Columns but no Rear guard at all. He was

very attentive to the manner in which he passed defiles.— In the afternoon he was to proceed with 60 Men in advance to the upper Morav. Town. These again he divided into 3 Columns: which by the Bye seems to be his favourite disposition; we returned in 3 Columns from Sandusky. As we approached the Town, which lies on the banks of the Muskingham, contiguous to an open & level Woods, of which but a small piece is cleared round it, their fields being over the river—our Right and Left columns galloped to the opposite ends of the Town, and the Centre speeded it strait forwards. the pencil of a Hogarth is here wanted to immortalize the ludicrous scene. this undaunted party of Clodhoppers seated on their Meal Baggs and Balancing themselves in rope Stirrups, were kicking into a gallop their miserable nags, sweating under a load of at least 150 Weights provisions besides this huge Rider, who kept pulling the panting animal by a hair halter with but one rein—and steered strait for three half burnt Log houses, by Way of a charge upon Warriors—the utility of 3 Columns in charges was expatiated on as soon as we had halted: the main Body marched in 4 as one will recollect, and was not 20 yards behind us. Neither curses nor threats could keep them back in order; so great was the anxiety for plunder. One third at least push'd immediately over the river to hunt for horses &c and others plunged to their armpits into a pond, in search of plunder. We were soon after alarmed, and all those that had remained, ran helter Skelter to the place of firing. It was with the utmost difficulty some few were kept behind, to guard the Baggage—Twenty indians might have drove off all our horses by a Stratagem of that Kind.

ORDERS GIVEN ON AN EXPEDITION OF VOLUNTEERS TO SANDUSKY, 1782.

OLD MINGOE TOWN May 24<sup>th</sup> 1782

*Orders*

Col. Crawford fully sensible of the honour conferred upon him by this day's election, makes not the least doubt, but

the strictest attention will be paid to such orders, as circumstances will render it necessary for him to issue. their choice implies confidence in his experience; confidence that he is equal to the task: It implies a sacred engagement to pay implicit obedience to every regulation imposed by him—

the Comp<sup>y</sup> Officers being previously chosen yesterday, are to constitute the following commands with their Companies. viz: Biggs—Downie—Richey—Rose—M'Kichen, the advance Commanded by Col. Williamson. Beason, Dean—Karr—Brown & Hogland, the Rear commanded by Cols.: Gaddis. Williamson — Munn — Bilderbeck — Rankin, the right Wing under Major M'Clellan. Bean—Hood—Miller—Leed, the left Wing under Major Brenton.

the Col. Command<sup>s</sup> wishes that the different Comp<sup>y</sup> officers would divide the men in their companies, and every officer have his respective Men assigned him, who are all ways to keep with him.

the duty of our Camp will be easiest done in companies. One Comp<sup>y</sup> of the Command of every Field officer will mount Picquet every night to guard his Line. the Field officer to visit the guards at night in Rotation, the Whole to march to morrow morning by Companies, as they can get ready.—

CAMP REGULATION N<sup>o</sup> 1.

*Orders May 25<sup>th</sup> 1782.*

Every Man ought to be convinced that the success of our enterprize depends in a great measure upon a rapid & secret march. the Col. Command<sup>s</sup> forbids therefore all kinds of noise on our march and in Camp; as it naturally must discover us to the ennemy, and frustrate our intentions. All horsebells are to be taken off or stopped, and the horses will be hopped [sic], so as not to retard early marches by their being lost. As soon as the party halts the guards are to be mounted and Sentries posted: untill which time the respective Owners will pay attention to their horses, and not permit them to stragle beyond the limits of the Camp.—

Every Comp<sup>y</sup> will send out two Men in a strait direction

from it, to reconnoitre; whenever the encamping ground is fixed on. these men are to go at least 2 or 3 miles before they return and make report to the Commandant. the Whole to march to morrow morning at Sun rise in Two Columns, as they are to the right or left of the Centre path in our original plan for a march. The Companies on the right take the Lead in their different Commands of the right Column: and those on the Left in the different Commands of the Column on the Left—

## BRUSHY CAMP N° 2

*Orders May 27<sup>th</sup> 1782.*

As it was too evident, what evil tendencies the firing of guns would have; the Colonel Commanding thought a verbal injunction sufficient to the different officers, to reason their men out of a practice, not only pernicious in its consequences but criminal in our present situation. A repeated transgression obliges the Col. Command<sup>s</sup> to give the most positive order against all firing of guns on a march—in Camp & whilst out reconnoitring. Every Man must be convinced that besides those fatal consequences subsequent to it, and its criminality towards every Individual in Camp, it is an act of the most inexcusable imprudence with respect to himself, as it deprives him, of those very means upon which his hope of success, the preservation of his Life, and his return to his family depends. the Commandant is positively determined to punish any farther transgression of this Order: but he thinks it unnecessary to affix a penalty, as he too well knows, that he has the pleasure to command a Body actuated merely by principles of honour.—the officers will also not allow any man to go out a-hunting—

## CAMP UPPER MORAVIAN TOWN N° 4

*Orders May 29<sup>th</sup> 1782—*

Every Captain is to assign an alarm post to his company 20 or 30 yards within side of his fires; to which the company is to repair every morning before day Break—the horses are in future carefully to be kept in, by the Sentries. Col. W. Harrison is appointed Adjutant to the party & to be respected as such—



the whole to march immediately in 4 Columns. the playing of the fife the first time, will be a signal for loading: the second time to begin the line of march.

WHITE WOMAN'S CREEK N° 7

*Orders June 1<sup>st</sup> 1782*

the most criminal neglect of the Sentries on their posts requires the utmost Vigilance of the officers mounting Guard to prevent it. The different Officers on Picquet must alternately visit all their Sentries every half hour—and the Field Officer of the day twice every Night. the Col. Command<sup>s</sup> is sorry that officers would leave it in the power of their men to excuse their punishable conduct by a similar criminality in the Officer. The utmost exertions are necessary—and it is likewise necessary that the Officer set the example of Vigilance—Activity and attention to his men. A Soldier forfeits his Life, by leaving his post or being found asleep on it. Our fatigues are of so short a duration that this certainly aggravates our criminal conduct.

CAMP BEACH RIDGE N° 9

*Orders June 2<sup>nd</sup> 1782*

As it is indispensibly necessary to secure our Camp with the utmost precaution, the Col. Command<sup>s</sup> orders that the Sentinels round the Camp are to be doubled. the Officers of each Comp<sup>y</sup> are to be alternately with their respective men at their alarm posts—Every horse is to be taken up at Dark and remain staked all Night. As there is a sufficiency of Grass along the Lick, no horse can suffer if their respective owners will but cut it.—

Every Man is to have four days provisions ready cooked this night, as the Want of cooked provisions might hinder the execution of intended operations.

PLAINS OF SANDUSKY

*Orders. Field of Action: June the 5<sup>th</sup> 1782*

It behoves every Officer to pay the greatest attention to the sufferings of those Brave Men who so nobly fought, & whose Wounds yet Bleed for their Country. Such as D<sup>r</sup> Knight judges not able to ride, are to be immediately pro-

vided with Biers. The Officers of those Companies such men belong to, will see this Order diligently and expeditiously executed.—

they will likewise cause their Men to sadle & load their horses singly during the day—not in a Body: which might discover our intentions to the Ennemy—

#### HINTS.

I shall give my Ideas concisely, how I judge, an expedition might be easiest carried into the Indian settlements on Sandusky river, and would most likely prove successfull. My conceptions are those of a partizan, who puts much dependance on the Celerity of his march, & disencumbers himself of every thing, to the barely keeping his Men alive. Not that I expect to reach the Wyandot Towns undiscovered. this seems rather infeasible; but by a rapid march prevent engaging the ennemy collectively. I suppose my acting Body a body of Militia. My plan therefore will be adapted to what they are, and not to what One would have them to be. Their total want of discipline—the litle capacity their officers have to command numbers—their irregular Way of engaging—their dread to quit the shelter of a Tree: are matters of the first moment to be considered. Add to this, that these people allways judge for themselves, and think themselves only accountable to their own Tribunal.

The division into different heads will prevent a proluxe [*sic*] repetition and by assisting the memory produce Order.

#### *Troops.*

I form my plan for a Command of 600 Men. These will furnish 3 Batt<sup>s</sup> of 200 Men each. The 1<sup>st</sup> & 2<sup>nd</sup> Bat. I subdivide into 8 Comp<sup>s</sup> of 25 Men. the 3<sup>rd</sup> Bat. constitutes my Reserve & my Light Troops. The Light Troops are to consist of a Corps of Light Cavalry of 60 Men in 3 Comp<sup>s</sup> and a Corps of Light Infantry of an equal Strength & Division. The remaining Eighty to be in 4 Comp<sup>s</sup> as a reserve. My chief dependance would be upon this 3d Bat. for the

Commands of which, I should choose to have the appointing of the Field Officers, or at least select them from among the Best.

I would have a Lt Col. & Two Majors to each Battalion. the different Majors should have their Commands of 4 Companies each assigned them. the Majors of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Batt. should each Command a Corps and the Lt Col. the reserve properly so called. A Comp<sup>y</sup> of this reserve to be employed as pioneers, provided with Spades & Axes, and during an attack to be added to the Baggage Guard, which I obtain by drafting a Man out of each Comp<sup>y</sup> except the Light Troops. This procures me an other Comp<sup>y</sup> of 20 Men, and by annexing it to my reserve, increases it in case of extriam [*sic*] Need to 100 Men—

the different Company officers should divide their Men equally between them into Squads, and allways keep their respective 8 Men with themselves. These should allways march in a certain ordre, which would make them acquainted with their Right and Left Hand Men: they would easy find their station if put out of it by any adverse accident—I would know of no smaller Command than the number attached to an officer, and never separate him from his Men—So should all duty be done by Companies and not by Detail.

#### *Line of March.*

To ease the Men and expedite the march, by rendering the Line as short as possible, I would march in four Columns. the Majors of the 1<sup>st</sup> & 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalions with their commands of 4 Companies form each a Columu—marching a-Breast at some distance from one another, leaving the Centre path empty for the Baggage &c Twelve Light horsemen equally divided at the heads of the Columns mounted on additional horses, break the paths. Some pioneers ought likewise to preceed the different Columns, as the cutting of a Log or digging of a Bank renders often a passage easy, which was impenetrable. Such obstructions oblige the Columns to fall in behind one an other, and occasion unnecessary Halts and delays. But should it not-

withstanding be impracticable to march the 4 Columns at once through a defile, the different Battalions will not run any risques of being put into confusion, as their respective Colonels must pay particular attention to their regaining their proper distances.

Of my Light Infantry one half should daily form the Advance, in a scattered Order, and should have two horses to carry their Blankets &c when so on duty. This indulgence I grant them, as they should reconnoitre in the Woods, in the same manner, as the Light horse would in the plains—

My horses for the Light horse service I want saved as much as possible. they ought to be fresh to reconnoitre when in the plains; where they must examine every Skirt of Woods near hand and before the main Body enters it—they ought to be active for an engagement. With this View I allowed 12 additional horses to be mounted by as many Light horsemen, whilst their own horses should be drove along quite disburthened. the issue of provisions at the Muskingham affords me nine horses more, and the last day before I enter the plains Eighteen. All these should be mounted by the Light horsemen driving their own empty along. By these means, two thirds would be quite fresh again the day of action, and the rest hardly any fatigued, having all along followed the beaten Track in the Rear of the Columns.

those pioneers not on duty, assist the Baggage Guard and have 1 horse assigned them for their Tools: the Blankets &c of such as are at the head of the Columns—

I very little dread an attack of the Ennemy on my march through the Woods. I should therefore pay the utmost attention to its rapidity.

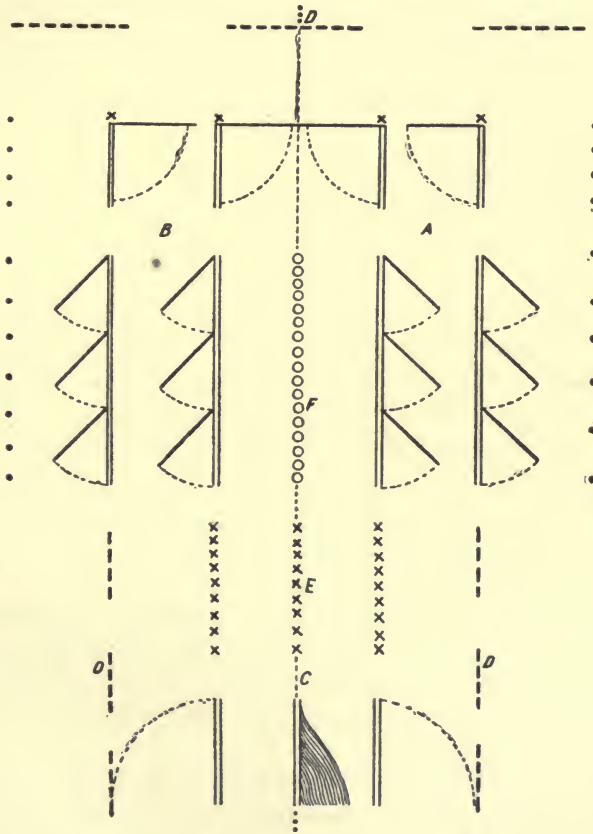
#### *Route.*

I grant 18 days for the execution of this Service: though I think, that upon my plan, it might be compleated in 2 or 3 days less. The different encampments as I fix them, are to the Best of my recollection about 20 Miles apart, which is the shortest distance I can allow myself to march in a Day. Here I have particularly considered Grass and Water for



my horses; but I doubt not, there may be places more convenient which may have escaped my attention. Being unacquainted with any other Roads, I suppose my march on that one, Col. Crawford carried his expedition out: I think it necessary to avoid the middle Morav. Town and to take the beaten right hand Track at Mohickin John's Town.

*March through the Woods.*



- A. 1<sup>st</sup> Battal<sup>n</sup>
- B. 2<sup>nd</sup> Battal<sup>n</sup>
- C. Reserve
- D. Light Infantry
- E. Light Horse

- F. Baggage
- X. Pioneers
- ∴ Spies—Advanced & Rear  
Guards & Flankers—

*My 1<sup>st</sup> day's march:* from the old Mingoe Town to a large Lick on one of the Branches of the Head Waters of Cross Creek.

*2<sup>nd</sup> Nights encampment* on one Leg or a Creek—miles nearer us in a low Bottom, which I believe is the place, M<sup>r</sup> Douglass calls 12 miles from Tuscarawos—

*3<sup>rd</sup> Encampment* on Muskingham. If practicable, I should avoid crossing the river, untill above the mouth of a Creek on the opposite Side, about 3 miles above the Upper Morav. Town. Our pilots took us to the mouth of it where we found the Bottom miry—its Banks steep & muddy, and the passage very narrow. We came through an ugly Defile between it and the Town.

*the 4<sup>th</sup> Encamping ground* will not afford extraordinary fare. We should reach either the forks of the Wheeling & Bouquet's path—or encamp a few miles from it on a Deer Lick.

*the 5<sup>th</sup> Night* in the glades of Mohickin John's Town on a branch of the Muskingham. Here my horses would be sufficiently refreshed from their sufferings the preceeding night and enable me to make a long march the

*6<sup>th</sup> day:* to a deer Lick about 5 miles this side D<sup>rs</sup> Town. We marched it in one day on our retreat, though fear added to our pace: our horses were wore out. to stop short of this place, we shall meet with indifferent ground to encamp on, on account of Grass & Water.

The 7<sup>th</sup> day we enter the plains of Sandusky, and can not halt short of a Spring 10 miles from their Beginning. Hardly a march of 20 Miles. Here I would be 10 miles from their Old Town and 15 miles from the first houses of their present Settlement.

Obliged to halt here for the issue of provisions, and to march to the Delaware settlement better than 20 miles with One of Columns: I fear is more than I could accomplish before day. I therefore, should prefer shorter marches from Mohickin John's Town: so as to encamp the 7<sup>th</sup> Night at D<sup>rs</sup> Town on the main Branch of Sandusky River. this is but 5 miles from the plains—and here I should issue

provisions for 3 days—the next Night I expect to reach a branch of the Sandusky 2 or 3 miles from the Old Wyandot Town. the remaining 8 miles should be completed in the Night.

*Horses.*

In my Remarks upon a Volunteer Expedition to Sandusky I have more fully considered, what an Obstacle a multitude of horses are to operations of this Kind. horse ought to be taken but such as are *absolutely necessary*. Every Man ought to march the Whole Way, and we must even try to lessen the number of horses

- 1). By carrying provisions at the first Outset.
- 2). By driving a few Catle to the Muskingham.
- 3). By allowing ourselves but half Rations on the return.

the first saves me 24 horses—the second 9—and the last Scheme 24 Horses more. In all 57 horses saved. Lord Dunmore on his expedition 1774 marched with 2000 Militia, and obliged every Man to carry 15 days' provisions on his Back. He had but 8 Baggage horses loaded with Flour.

After this deduction the provisions require . . . . .	51 horses
My Corps of Light horse . . . . .	60 D°
Additional horses . . . . .	12 D°
Powder and Lead . . . . .	2 D°
For the Light Infantry Men & Pioneers on duty	3 D°
Total . . . . .	128 Horses

128 Horses exclusive of the riding horses of the Field & Staff Officers. A number yet incumbersome, out of which none could be spared but the additional horses: & in that case my Light horses would be broke down against the time I should want them fresh & active.

*Provisions.*

Six hundred Men require 10800 Rations for Eighteen days and then again 108 Pack horses. A number sufficient to mutilate our plan. Our intentions must also particularly be directed towards curtailing their numbers, by lessening the quantity of provisions to be carried on pack horses: if

even it should be attended with some inconveniences towards ourselves. Several reasons urge me to adopt the measure of allowing but half rations on the return—

1). If the ennemy defeats us, we should loose the most of our provisions, as our hurry would exceed the Speed of Loaded Horses.

2). It would be found impossible to save such a large number of horses on a precipitate Retreat: and such a One we must expect it to be with Militia if we are forced to it.

3). After a defeat, so many would be separated from the main Body, that our lessened numbers and forced marches will encrease our supply to near a full Ration—

4). If we suffer ourselves to be defeated we deserve to famish. But I should think the total want of provisions an excitement to the utmost exertions of courage in my Men: if I did not dread, the ennemy might have drove off every thing eatable. In that case the Victor himself would starve. But if he has not, and we are fortunate, we could reload the empty Horses. the possession of plunder would go near satiating my Heroes. By the allowance of half Rations 2400 Rat<sup>s</sup> are saved. the quantity required for the Expedition now, would be 8400 Rations—or: 16800 W<sup>t</sup> in Meat and Flour.

the one half of my meat viz: 4200 L<sup>bs</sup> might be in living Cattle. Of this I should issue & slaughter at the Mingoe Bottom when I started 2400 L<sup>bs</sup> & drive 1800 L<sup>bs</sup> which I suppose 9 Head of Cattle to Muskingham. though my Men would have one Day's provision on hand, yet I pitch upon this plan for slaughtering, to save the trouble attending a day's driving & its being more conveniently situated than the next succeeding encampment—unless I should have reason to dread being discovered, as I suspect this place narrowly watch'd by the Ennemy—I think it also necessary to issue & cook three day's provisions before I entered the plains, as a march during the last Night would hinder my Men from cooking—

this arrangement obliges me to carry in dried or salted Meat—4200 L<sup>bs</sup> which loads 21 Horses. Four day's Flour



i. e. 2400 Weight issued at the start, leaves to be carried on pack horses 6000 L<sup>bs</sup> thirty horse Load. My total of Provisions to be carried along is also 10200 L<sup>bs</sup> or 5100 Rations and requires 51 pack horses. I should also save the carrying 5700 Rations—the unnecessary incumbrance of 57 horses: and have only the additional trifling trouble of driving 9 Head of Cattle for 3 days—

to subsist on Cattle on the whole march, seems to me impracticable. they would fall away—detain the march—and be altogether lost in case of adverse accidents. they would weaken the operating force, by requiring a strong additional Guard during an action whose utmost endeavours perhaps would be fruitless, to confine them, when once rendered mad by the firing. In short, to drive Cattle 200 Miles to an Enemy and 200 miles from the Enemy again, appears to me a scheme similar to the Don's engaging Wind Mills—

*Disposition.*

My plan is formed for a Command of Six Hundred Men: not that I think this number of any Troops sufficient for its execution: but I wish to be understood, that I put no dependence in the numbers of any Militia whatever. the larger their collection, the sooner they are put into disorder—and no confidence upon their own Strength can be so far inculcated into them, as to prevent the Spreading of a panick if the Enemy is possessed of any artifice. the Commanding Officer must secure Victory by his disposition—Every thing depends upon it. their total ignorance of military Evolutions will hinder him to avail himself of the quick display of a military manœuvre: and yet, he must manœuvre, to supply the want of numbers—to supply the defect of discipline—and what is still worse, to supply the want of real, personal courage in his Men. But with Militia this is better termed artifice. He must use artifice to deceive the Enemy—to deceive his own Men: take advantage of the peculiar Way of engaging of the former, and hide those necessary and unavoidable dangers from his men he must expose them to, if the Enemy is to be beat—

there is a vast contrast in the Soldierly disposition of the opposite parties. the one is resolute—makes his Onset with firmness: despises Death. the other, rather timid—hazards nothing—and in hopes of saving Life, where danger impends, guilty of the most abject cowardice. the One with inferior numbers attacks you in places with some force, whilst the rest string around your whole Body: By this means he conceals his attack: he hinders you from gaining his Flanks: he discovers all your motions. the other crowds in a Hudle, has two, three men to each Tree, and as many more behind each pack Saddle—Faces with an equal force every Way, distrustfull of the ennemy's moving; and dares not beyond the Shelter of a Tree—dares not within Shot across a plain. Every Individual of the One acts with the judgement of an Officer, whilst the other continues stunned and almost deprived of his Senses.

Such is the Metal, a Command<sup>r</sup> Officer has to work upon, such the Tools, to work with. Will it now seem strange that I require his Genius to supply every Want, every Defect—and I am perfectly convinced, that by a judicious disposition only, he can obviate what is against him, and secure his character and the fate of the Day—Since so much depends upon the primary disposition, let us now try to propose a plan for such a One required.

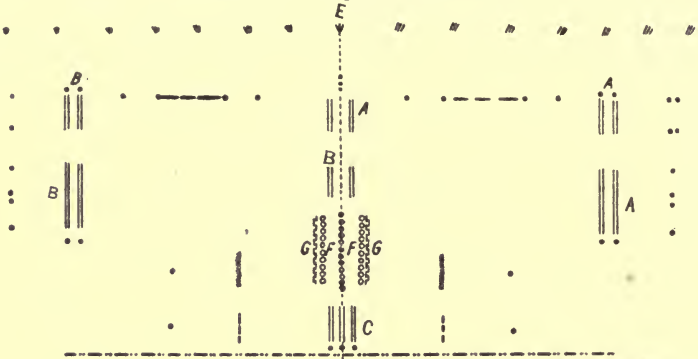
Of all the different plans I have thought off, none seem to me so well calculated to answer every expectation as: marching the Troops in different Bodies at some distance apart  $\frac{1}{4}$  Mile more or less as the ground will admit off—having a smaller party at the Head of each Column to sustain & Begin the attack, whilst the rest halt on the Spot—reinforcing by small parties, led on regularly by their Officers. the Reserve in the Rear of the Centre, covered by the Light Troops, marching behind the interstices of the separated Columns, will be handy to every part: & the Light horse could with the greatest quickness transport a number of Foot equal to themselves whenever required. My Body moving in this manner, the Ennemy would be dubious which Column to attack, as the others would gain

upon his Flanks: his weak side as with my Men, is a similar stupid fear of being surrounded. To encircle all my Columns in his usual method, he is wanting of Men, as my Columns are at such a distance a-part: and it is rather too hazardous an attempt to venture in Between the interstices of my Columns to incircle but One. If he attacks all the Heads of my different Columns at once, my Reserve and Light Troops will gain his Flanks and easy rout him. I deprive him also effectually of an opportunity to detain me with small numbers. Such are the advantages gained by this disposition with respect to the ennemy, and I think it no less effectual with regard to my own Men. My separated Columns still continue able to support one another as no ennemy dares hazard in between them. I farther prevent my Men from crowding, and gain room to fight every individual to some purpose, where he can be of use. I lastly rid my Men of all Fear. those engaged, I should think, would stand and fight from behind Trees, when they knew themselves back'd: and under their cover the remainder will not be stunned to mere statues. These knowing, to be covered in front and secure of danger, will be made push vigorously to gain the Ennemy's Flanks, certain of Victory if they do. thus by engaging and reinforcing in small Bodies, I shall oppose to the ennemy such a Number as will be sufficient to secure the Ballance on my side, and the Rest I retain for the necessary service, the Grand Manœuvre—the Ends of which might be gained by mere machines, if they could be made walk. I depend not upon the mere Firing and Killing, this would leave too much to chance with a Rable. the ennemy must be out-manœvred, who I suspect, can not dispose of large numbers systematically—and every possible advantage could afterwards be taken of his Flight, all to the taking of prisoners.

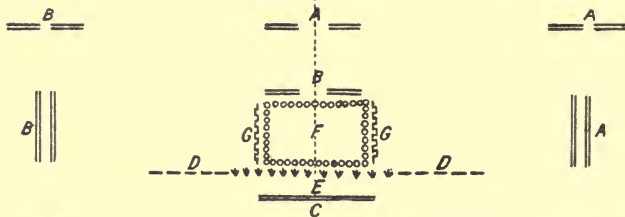
the annexed plan will show the application of this disposition to my Command of 600 Men in 3 Battalions. I am fully sensible that a larger number might admit of a more perfect One, particularly during an attack upon the Ennemy's Towns, when I should wish to be disencumbered of my

Baggage, by leaving it at some distance behind, under a sufficient Guard.

*March through the Plains.*



*Disposition when attacked in the Plains*



- |                             |  |
|-----------------------------|--|
| A—1 <sup>st</sup> Battalion | F. ∞∞∞ Baggage                         |
| B—2 <sup>nd</sup> Battalion | . Advanced & Rear Guards and Flankers— |
| C. Reserve                  | G. ∞∞∞ Baggage Guard—                  |
| D. .... Light Infantry      |  |
| E. ''' Light Horse          |  |

*Attack.*

too much depends here upon circumstances, impossible to pre-determine. Everything rests therefore with the Genius & the military talents of the commanding Officer on this head. Even, admitting us arrived at Sandusky with no farther information, than we are possessed off at present, and no Visible Obstacles on the part of the Ennemy—yet: the following thoughts must be considered as ruminatings of an unemployed imagination—the mere flights of Fancy—

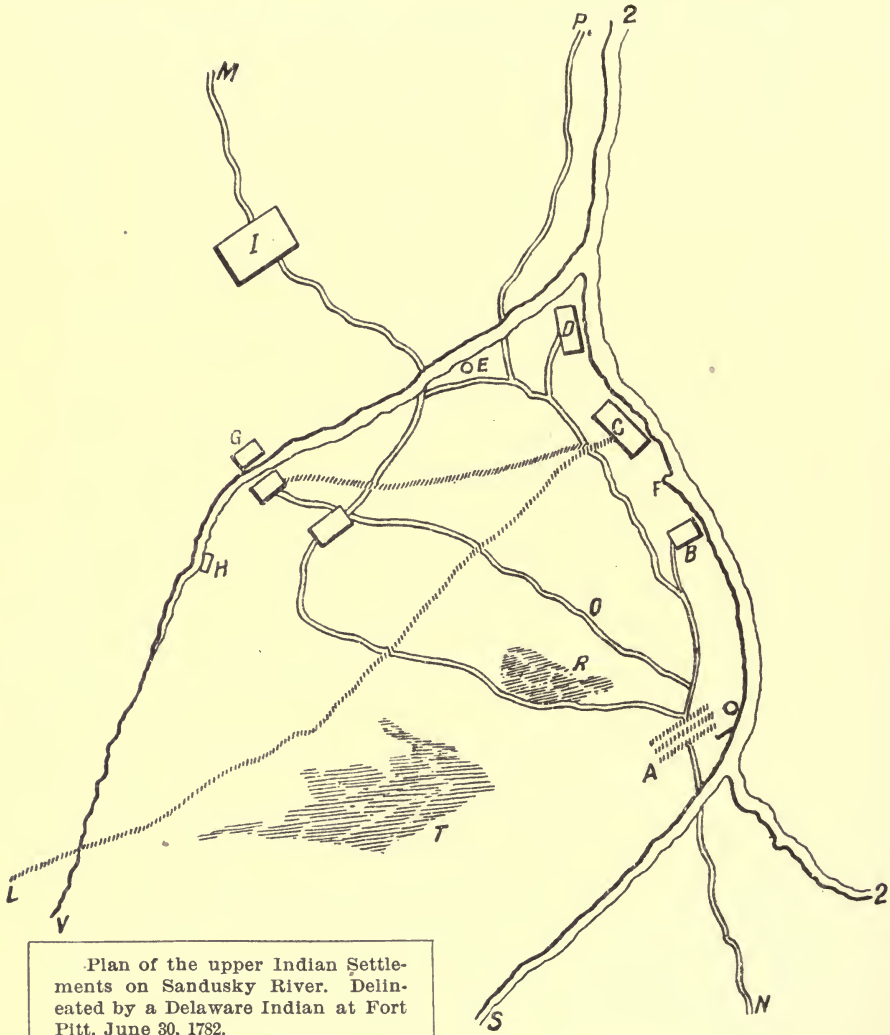
Should the ennemy suffer me to advance unmolested the eighth day of my march through the plains, I should halt at a Branch of the Sandusky, within about 7 miles of their Settlements. Here I should put on every appear-



ance as if I intended to stay until Day. the enemy has experienced the powerful effects of an attack in the Night upon Militia. I should therefore not put the opportunity in their power, perfectly convinced they would route me if they Did—the troops would arrive here, so as to leave me sufficient time to explore some Bypaths, particularly the practicability of crossing the Main River with ease, and marching a Body of troops on the East Side of it, which as far as I can learn, is altogether Woodland. to proceed on the common path will expose me to be ambuscaded a favourite night Manœuvre of the Enemy: and I put no dependance upon the prowess of my Men in tryals of that Kind. Everything being previously settled I should move the main Body in the Night by a circuitous march across the River, the Baggage should be left at all events on the Ground with large fires to elude the Vigilance of the Enemy who most certainly watches me here. For their security it would perhaps be more adviseable to incamp immediately at the late Moravian Indian Town where there are some houses left standing which might serve as a Dernier ressource: and might easily be defended against Numbers, lying close to the River.

the appearance of Men and Fires would deceive the Enemy, and whilst it would draw his attention I should gain his Settlements undetected marching on the East side of the River *2*—I expect the most opposition at *C*. and bend the greatest force my 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion and Reserve that Way. My 2<sup>nd</sup> Battal. should have the attack of *F*— & *G*. assigned them, consisting of frail Clap-Board Houses: & my Light troops should remain at *7*—somewhere in the Centre between the Two parties, ready to support either. these should possess themselves of the road *P*. as soon as the route of the Enemy was completed at the pre mentioned places. the other Troops should form a junction at *E*: and proceed so to *I*.—

*B*. would naturally be evacuated and very little opposition would be made at *D* & *H*. if the rest was once carried. By recrossing the River *2* at *7* my 2<sup>nd</sup> Battal would gain the path *O*. where the Enemy could not possibly expect their approach.



Plan of the upper Indian Settlements on Sandusky River. Delineated by a Delaware Indian at Fort Pitt, June 30, 1782.

- A. Where the old Town formerly was
- B. Five Wyandot Houses—
- C. M'Cormick's Town—About 30 houses.
- D. The Half King's towns. 30 houses
- E. three houses inhabited by a Negroe
- F. Delaware Town. About 20 houses
- G. Pipe's Town. About 20 houses.
- I. New Town. A large Indian Settlement—containing several houses.
- N. Road to the Wyandot Towns.

- L. Road to the Shawnoe Towns.
- M. Road to Detroit
- P. Road to Lower Sandusky—
- O. A small path
- R. Low & Swampy Ground—
- T. Morasses.
- 22. The main Branch of the Sandusky—
- S. & V. Smaller Branches of the Sandusky River.

DEFENCES OF PHILADELPHIA IN 1777.

CONTRIBUTED BY WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

(Continued from page 184.)

COUNCIL OF WAR.

“ At a Council of General Officers, held at Neshamini Camp, in Bucks County the 21<sup>st</sup> day of August 1777.

“ Present

“ His Excellency, the Commander in Chief,

“ Major Generals Greene                      Brigad<sup>rs</sup> Muhlenburgh

    “ Lord Stirling                              Weedon

    “ Stephen                                      Woodford

    “ Marquis Fayette                      Scot

“ Brigadiers Gen<sup>l</sup> Maxwell                      Conway

    “ Knox

    “ Wayne

“ The Commander in Chief informed the Council that the British Fleet left the capes of Delaware on the 31<sup>st</sup> of July and have not been seen, from any information he has obtained, since the 7<sup>th</sup> Instant, when they were off Sina-pixon and steering to the Southward, and propounded the following Questions for the opinion of the Council.

“ *First Question.* What is the most probable place of their destination, whether Eastward or Southward & to what part?

“ *Answer.* The Southward, & that Charles Town, from a view of all circumstances, is the most probable object of their attention.

“ *Second.* If it should be thought, from a consideration of all circumstances, that the Fleet is gone far to the Southward, will it be adviseable for this Army, taking into view, the length of distance & unhealthiness of that climate at this season, to March that way?—or will there be a proba-

bility of their arriving there in Time, should it be attempted, to give any effectual opposition to the Enemy, or to prevent them accomplishing their purposes?

“*Answer.* It will not be adviseable for the Army to march to the Southwards, as they could not possibly arrive at Charles Town in time to afford any succour.

“*Third.* If It should not be thought adviseable in such case for the Army to march to the Southward, How shall it be employed? Shall it remain where it now is, or move towards Hudsons River to act as the situation of affairs shall seem to require?

“*Answer.* The Army should move immediately towards the North River.

“PETER MUHLENBERG B. G.      G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON

“G. WEEDON B. Genl.      NATH<sup>l</sup> GREENE M. G.

“W<sup>m</sup> WOODFORD BRIGD GEN<sup>l</sup>      STIRLING M. G.

“ADAM STEPHEN, M. G.

“CH<sup>s</sup> SCOTT B. G.      THE MR<sup>q</sup>UIS DE LAFAYETTE M. G.

“W<sup>m</sup> MAXWELL B. G.

“T. CONWAY B. G.      H. KNOX B. G. Artillery

“ANTY. WAYNE B. G”<sup>1</sup>

MEMOIR UPON THE DEFENCE OF THE TWO PASSAGES OF THE RIVER,—VIZ., BILLINGSPOURT AND FORT ISLAND.

“The soundings made yesterday by the navy board having confirmed those which I made last week with Mr. Donaldson, who have sunk the chevaux de frize, it is demonstrated in the most incontestible manner that Fort Mifflin, instead of having to act against three frigates only, as his Excellency General Washington had been assured, and as this General has informed the Congress in the letter in which he discusses the preference that ought to be given to one of these forts; it is incontestible, I say, that as Fort Mifflin, being exposed to the fire of about 15 frigates, is thereby in a situation of being demolished in a few hours, if it be attacked in the condition in which it is at present; viz.,

<sup>1</sup> See my “Writings of Washington,” Vol. VI. p. 47.



surrounded by a single palissade, or with a wall without a terrass, which can only defend it against a coup-de-main, and cannot by any means resist the cannon.

“It is not less evident that the ground being almost upon a level with the water, it is only with vast expences and a considerable time that by a rampart, and other convenient alterations, this fort can be put in a situation of resisting so many vessels, the effect of which would be so much the more dangerous to it, as being upon a level with the river, and on its banks, the balls which could not arrive on account of the distance of some frigates, would get there by rebounding.

“I join, however, to this memorial two projects suggested upon this head by Augustus le Brun, one of the Engineers who have accompanied me from France. These projects suppose that for reasons which particularly regard the State of Pennsylvania, or the plan of his excellency General Washington for the defense of the Delaware, it would be absolutely necessary to put this fort in a condition of sustaining some time the attacks of the enemy.

“That of these projects, which is the plainer and affords only a very imperfect defense, could not be executed without employing the earth brought from the dikes which surrounds the Isle and putting it under water; this would render it a very unwholesome place of abode.

“The second project, which affords a very complete and well conceived defense, requires that beside this earth more perhaps should be fetched from the other side of the river.

“But the execution of even the plainest of these projects, could only be accomplished for the next campaign; unless means which would be very expensive to this country were employed.

“This, however, would not dispense (as it is certainly necessary in the present State of the fort) from hindering the enemy by chevaux de frize to place themselves in the two chenals where the soundings lately performed, shew that they can place so many frigates.

“But to support these chevaux de frize it would be neces-

sary to have on the opposite bank a battery of 12 or 15 pieces at least, of eighteen or twenty four pounders on account of the great distance, to which they would fire; and that their battery might not be taken, it should be fortified on the land side, or in other words, a new fort should be constructed, which would also be intended with a great expence in Artillery, ammunition and construction, although the ground I have examined with the Deputies is very favourable.

“If we count the expence of this fort which should [be] built quite new; that of red bank being by far too much above the position of the chevaux de frize; and that of Bush Island being only a child’s plaything; if to this expence be added that of the chevaux de frize, which are to be sunk either in the channel where there are yet none or in that channel where there are some already, but which are separated 40 feet the one from another; if in short we add to all those expences these of the most necessary alterations to be made in fort Mifflin, it will appear evident, as I have declared in the first memorial which I laid before the Congress in the beginning of June, when they consulted me on this head, that there can be no thoughts of defending this passage of the river, unless, as I have forementioned some reasons regarding particularly the State of Pennsylvania, or the future operations of the army should absolutely require to enable this fort to resist for some time the attacks of the ennemy.

“If these reasons do not exist, it is evident that we must confine ourselves to the defense of that passage alone of Billingsport, where the river is more than two thirds narrower than at fort Mifflin; where the ennemy can present no more than three frigates at a time; where the frigates can do very little harm to the battery which protects the chevaux de frize, because this battery, being very high, is safe from the rebounding of the balls and commands the frigates; where the galleys and fire ships are more capable of acting with more profit and facility than at fort Mifflin; and where in short the work is far advanced, and propor-

tioned to the small quantity of artillery which is at present in a state of serving.

“If the Government intend to unite all their efforts in finishing this fort, I would propose to hire instead of militia men, workmen by the day, which after an exact calculation of all expences, will cost incomparably less, I believe, will work a great deal more, give far less trouble to those who conduct the works, and not consume such an immense quantity of tools of all kinds.

“DU COUDRAY.

“PHILADELPHIA, 29 August, 1777.”

DU COUDRAY TO WASHINGTON.

“SIR,

“According to the desire of the board of War I have the honour to send to your excellency a memorial which I have written yesterday upon the request of the Navy board, on the two passages of the river, after the verification that this board caused to be made of the soundings performed by me in the last week before fort Mifflin, and the result where of I had the honour to give an account verbally to your Excellency, conformable to the letter which I had directed before to Colonel Hamilton, one of your aid de camps, who ought to have received that letter since his departure from hence.

“I am waiting for an answer to the letter which I had the honour to direct to your Excellency three days ago by Colonel Pinckney with regard to the nine militia men whom General Armstrong took away from the Engineers employed about the map from Walmington to Philadelphia, which remain interrupted since the taking away of these militia men who are not yet replaced. I am with great respect.

“Sir,

“of your Excellency

“the most obedient and

“respectful servant

“DU COUDRAY.

“PHILAD. 30 Aug. 1777.”

DU COUDRAY TO CONGRESS.

"PHILADELPHIA 7 7<sup>bre</sup> 1777

"SIR,

"When the enemy's Fleet threatened the Delaware, General Gates, and General Mifflin did me the honour to invite me to reconnoitre the country with them, to determine the place where it was probable the landing of their Troops would be made, and the principal situations which might be taken successively to stop their March to Philadelphia.

"The Result of this reconnoitring having been addressed to Congress, and afterwards communicated to General Washington, was thought by his Excellency worthy of his Attention, and recommendation to Congress, to employ my service, and that of my Engenieurs, to survey these different positions in the most minute detail, and determine on the best manner of fortifying them; whilst, in the mean time, we determined by an accurate examination of the river, round fort Mifflin, if it was possible to defend this post as his Excellency desired, and as he had reason to think could be effected, from the assurances given him that the Enemy could only bring three frigates to act against it.

"I have addressed to the Board of War and to the Supreme Council of Pennsylvania, the result of the soundings of the river near Fort Mifflin, which I have made and which have been confirmed by those taken by the Navy Board; both which shew the necessity of defending only the passage of Billingsport, as I proposed in June, upon the first view of this spot, and upon considering the small number of Artillery that could be furnished.

"I have been waiting these twelve days to know the measures that the Board of War, and Supreme Council would take upon this subject, but whatever it may be, it is evident that from the part which the ennemy have taken of making a descent in Cesepeak bay, the object the least pressing is the defense of the Delaware.

"This being supposed, it is clear that the greatest attention ought to be directed to defend as well as possible, the



Route which the Enemy have determined upon, by their landing in Chesapeak.

“It is certain that fixing on this spot to land, instead of Mark’s hook (which General Gates, Mifflin, and myself thought they would chuse) will encrease considerably the Posts, which in proportion as they advance in the Country, they will be oblig’d to establish to keep up a Communication with their fleet. But the greatest disadvantage attending this, gives not however an entire certainty against the success of their march to Philadelphia, which I always judged and declared, since my arrival here, to be the true object of their Campaign.

“To ensure, as much as possible, the success of this Campaign, it is necessary not to be merely contented with securing the Position of Wilmington, where his Excellency has very wisely thought proper to collect his first Efforts.

“However strong this position may be supposed by nature, or may be rendered by Art; it appears to me, after what I have heard, that it will be possible for the enemy to pass it on the flank, or perhaps force it; considering especially the small number of Artillery belonging to his Excellency’s army.

“It appears to me then prudent for Congress to think of providing beforehand for their army, another fortyfied Position, which may secure the army in case they are obliged to abandon the first, and where they may collect new force against an enemy, whom the first success may render more audacious; more especially as Schuylkill is the only considerable river that impedes their March to Philadelphia; and that this River offers at Grays-ferry a Passage which no officer can (I should think) propose to defend.

“For this purpose, I offer again my service and that of my officers; in hopes that there will result from it an opportunity of our being in action, which the delay of Congress in pronouncing definitively upon our existence in the service of the United States, always removes at a distance, and which probably we might wait for in vain at the forts on the Delaware; at least before our return in France, should

this take place. If the Congress consent to the proposition which I make, to prepare a fortified Camp between Wilmington and Philadelphia, I beg them 1<sup>o</sup> to communicate this proposition to his Excellency General Washington.

“2<sup>o</sup> To give me, as a principal cooperator, General Mifflin, who knows perfectly well this country; who has a very great ascendant over the Inhabitants, by whom the works would be executed and whose great activity and penetration I have had occasion to observe.

“3<sup>d</sup> To bring forward, as soon as possible, the remainder of the fifty two pieces brought in the *Amphitrite*, of which twelve alone are in the northern army, ten, within these few weeks, at the army of his Excellency General Washington; the rest in Springfield, and, at other Places on the east side of Hudson's River.

“These thirty remaining pieces of the said fifty two, will be so much the more necessary, as artillery is the foundation of all defensive war; and that of these thirty pieces, there are twenty one which being of a greater length than the others, and even any pieces in the army, are for that reason better for defending the intrenchments.

“Besides this there will be an occasion to try, if these pieces, which weigh only one thousand one hundred weight, that is to say, much less than the lightest loaded baggage-wagon, are so difficult to be transported, as some have endeavoured to persuade his Excellency; and if their service is so useless that they ought to be cast over again, in the middle of a campaign in order to make from each of them three six pounders, which at most could only weigh three hundred weight each, and would be of a service as little durable as safe; supposing even that the founders at Boston, or Philadelphia, were capable of executing this casting without hazarding not only the loss of the fashion of these pieces, but also the loss of the metal, so difficult to replace in this country; this a disinterested, and intelligent person will not believe, who has seen the pieces cast by these different founders, and particularly the cannon and Howitzers, which were sent to camp the other day.

“The Proposition which I have the honour to present to the Congress as a mark of my zeal for the service of the United States of America, appears to me worthy of all their attention; considering the important consequence which would follow, if the army failing of support in its retreat (a case which may possibly happen) should be obliged to abandon Philadelphia.

“I cannot avoid embracing this Opportunity of recalling the attention of Congress to another proposal, which appears to me of equal importance, and what I had about a fortnight since, the honour of making to the Board of War, who, I suppose have communicated it to Congress, it is to cast in some of the forges most contiguous to the City of New York twelve Iron Mortars with the necessary number of shells in order to drive the enemy from that Place, or, at least, to prevent its being a safe harbour, for their vessels. The success of such a measure appears to me almost infallible, if the Geographical accounts which I have received of the situation of that place may be depended upon.

“I am

“Sir

“with great respect

“Your humble servant

“DU COUDRAY.

“HON JOHN HANCOCK, ESQ

“Presd<sup>t</sup> of Congress.”

COUNCIL OF WAR.

“At a Council of War held at the Camp near Potts Grove the 23<sup>d</sup> day of Septem<sup>r</sup> 1777.

“Present

“His Excellency the Commander

“Major Generals

“Sullivan

“Green

“Lord Stirling

“Stephen

“Armstrong

Brigadiers General

Knox

Weedon

Nash

Scott

Conway

“Potter

“ Besides the above Major Gen<sup>l</sup> St. Clair and John Cadwalader Esquire were also present.

“ His Excellency informed the General Officers that the Reason of his calling them together was to acquaint them that the Enemy had, the preceding Night crossed the Schuylkill by several Fords about twelve Miles below and by the best accounts were proceeding towards Philadelphia. He also informed them that the Troops under Generals Smallwood & Wayne had not yet rejoined the Army and that a Brigade of Continental Troops under the command of General McDougall might be expected in a few days from Peekskill and about one thousand Militia from Jersey under Gen<sup>l</sup> Dickinson in the same time. He therefore desired the opinion of the Council whether it would be most advisable to advance upon the Enemy with our present Force or wait till the Reinforcements and detachments above mentioned should come in ?

“ Previous to taking the Voices upon the foregoing Question His Excellency begged leave to inform the Council of the present State of the Army and the Reasons which had induced him to make the late movements which (tho’ well known to most of them) were not so fully to Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Armstrong and Brig. Gen<sup>l</sup> Potter, who had been detached from the main Body of the Army. This being agreed to, His Excellency proceeded to inform the Council

“ That when the Army left Germantown upon the 15<sup>th</sup> instant it was with a determination to meet the Enemy and give them Battle whenever a convenient opportunity should be found—that they advanced the same day to the Sign of the Buck and the day following to the Warren Tavern upon the Lancaster Road. On the 17<sup>th</sup> in the morning intelligence was brought that the Enemy were advancing upon which the Army were paraded and a disposition made to receive them, the pickets had exchanged a few shott when a violent Storm of Rain which continued all the day and the following night prevented all further operations. Upon an examination of the Arms and Ammunition on the 18<sup>th</sup>



it was found that the former were much impaired and all the latter that was in Cartouch Boxes was intirely ruined, wherefore it was judged expedient to withdraw the Army to some place of security untill the Arms could be repaired and the Ammunition recruited. Before this could be fully effected advice was received that the Enemy had quitted their former position near the White Horse Tavern and were marching down the Road leading to the Swedes Ford, but the Army not being in a condition to attack them owing to the want of Ammunition, it was judged most prudent to cross the River at Parkers Ford and take post in the Rear of the Fat Land Ford opposite to the Enemy. In this position the Armies continued for two days when on the 20<sup>th</sup> instant that of the Enemy appeared to be in motion, and from our own observation and the accounts of our reconnoitring parties were marching rapidly up the Reading Road this induced us to move up likewise to hinder them from crossing above us and by getting between us and Reading take an opportunity of destroying a large collection of Military Stores deposited there. On the night of the 20<sup>th</sup> the Army decamped and marched up to the Trap and on the 21<sup>st</sup> to within four miles of Potts Grove, the Enemy's Van then being at French Creek upon the West Side of Schuylkill. In the night of the 22<sup>d</sup> advice was received that the Enemy had crossed Schuylkill at Gordons Ford below us, but the account was again contradicted, but in the morning of the 23<sup>d</sup> certain accounts came to hand that they really had crossed in large numbers and were Moving towards Philad<sup>a</sup>. His Excellency further informed the Council that the Troops were in no condition to make a forced march as many of them were barefooted and all excessively harrassed with their great Fatigue. The Question being then put—The Council were unanimously of opinion

“ That, from the present state of the Army it would not be adviseable to advance upon the Enemy, but remain upon this Ground or in the neighbourhood till the detachments and expected Reinforcements come up.”

## COUNCIL OF WAR.

“ At a Council of War held at Head Q<sup>rs</sup> at Pennibeckers Mill the 28<sup>th</sup> day of Sept<sup>r</sup> 1777.

“ Present

“ His Excellency, the Commander in Chief.

“ Majors Gen <sup>l</sup>	Brigad <sup>r</sup> Gen <sup>ls</sup>
“ Sullivan	McDougal
“ Greene	Maxwell
“ L <sup>d</sup> Stirling	Smallwood
“ Stephens	Knox
“ Armstrong	Wayne
	“ Muhlenberg
	“ Nash
	“ Weedon
	“ Scott
	“ Conway
	“ Potter
	“ Irvine

“ Besides these, John Cadwalader & Joseph Read [Reed], Esq<sup>r</sup> were present.

“ His Excellency informed the Board, that the main body of the Enemy, by the last accounts he had obtained, lay near German Town and that part had marched into the city of Philadelphia whether to remain there or not he could not learn. That their whole force from the best accounts he could get, and from a comparative view & estimate, amounts to about 8000 men.

“ That a detachment of Continental Troops from Peekskill, under the command of Brigad<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> McDougal, consisting of about 900 men had joined the Army. That Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwood, with the Militia of Maryland, amounting to about 1100—had also arrived, and that Brigad<sup>r</sup> Foreman with about 600—Jersey Militia, would be near the Army to-day on the Skippack Road. That of Continental Troops, at this time in Camp, exclusive of the Detachment under Gen<sup>l</sup> McDougal and that under Gen<sup>l</sup> Wayne at the Trap, there were returned present fit for duty 5472, to which is to be added the light Corps, lately under Gen<sup>l</sup> Maxwell

supposed to amount to 450—Men, and the Militia of the State of Pennsylvania under the command of Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Armstrong. That upon the whole, the Army would consist of about 8000 Continental Troops rank & file and 3000 Militia.

“His Excellency further informed the Board that a Body of Militia was coming from Virginia & that part had arrived at Lancaster.—That he understood from Report, that the number of ’em amounted to near 2000 men, but, that from good authority, he was advised they were badly armed and many of them without any at all.

“His Excellency also informed the Board that on the 24<sup>th</sup> Inst he dispatched an Express to Gen<sup>l</sup> Putnam with a letter dated the day before ordering a Detachment to be sent immediately from Peekskill to reinforce the Army under his Command, which Detachment in addition to the Corps then on the march under Gen<sup>l</sup> McDougal, should make the whole force directed from that post amount to 2500 Effective Rank & file.

“Under these circumstances he had called a Council of War to consult & resolve on the most adviseable measures to be pursued but more especially to learn from them, whether with this Force it was prudent to make a general & vigorous attack upon the Enemy or to wait further Reinforcements upon which he prayed their opinions.

“The Board having taken into consideration the whole circumstances and the Question propounded, are of opinion that an immediate attack should not be made; But they advise, that the Army should move to some grounds proper for an Encampment within about 12 miles of the Enemy, and there wait for a further Reinforcement, or be in readiness to take advantage of any favourable opportunity that may offer for making an attack.

“ALEXANDER MCDUGAL

“J<sup>NO</sup> SULLIVAN

“H. KNOX B. G. Artillery      NATH<sup>l</sup>. GREENE

“F. NASH B. G.

“P. MUHLENBERG B. G.      STIRLING

“T. CONWAY B. G.      ADAM STEPHEN B. G.

“JOHN ARMSTRONG

“The subscribers being of opinion our Force was sufficient to attack with, but being overruled concur with the above

“ W. SMALLWOOD

JAS. POTTER

“ AN<sup>r</sup> WAYNE

JAMES IRVINE

“ CH<sup>s</sup> SCOTT ”

BRIGADIER-GENERAL FORMAN TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

“ RED BANK FORT, 26 October, 1777.

“ SIR :

“ Your Exce<sup>l</sup>s fav<sup>r</sup> of the 22<sup>d</sup> Directed to me at the Salt Works unfortunately went to the Salt Works by the lower road at the same Time I came to Freehold by the upper, by which means your Excel<sup>ty</sup>s orders ware not handed me until Friday afternoon—previous to which I had rec<sup>d</sup> an Express giving an Acct. of The Defeat of y<sup>e</sup> troops your Excel<sup>ty</sup> mentioned to have Crossed to attack the Forts and their retreat.—Nevertheless being fully Impressed with the Importance This Fort is to us and Equally so to the British Army, I made no Doubt but a second Attempt woold shortly be made.—I therefore gave Directions for the Troops y<sup>t</sup> Could be possibly spared from y<sup>t</sup> station, viz<sup>t</sup> one hundred, to Hold themselves in readiness to march Next Day, viz<sup>t</sup>. Saturday— & Early in the morning Come forward my self to, if possible, give a spurr to the Burlington Militia & put them in motion— But am sorry to Inform your Excel<sup>ty</sup> y<sup>t</sup> Neither our Late suckesses or the Danger of haveing their Country ravaged gives y<sup>t</sup> spring to Their sprits y<sup>t</sup> is Necessary to bring them out— I have however in the Most Express manner ordered The Colo<sup>ls</sup> to Exert Themselves and am in hopes y<sup>t</sup> a few Days will produce Two or Three hundred men.—

“ The Lower Militia under Gen<sup>l</sup> Newcomb have not as yet produced a single Man—As being Elder in command Then Newcomb I have taken the Liberty this Day to Issue orders for Their Immediate Assembling, and will from Time to Time do every thing in my power to assemble Them.

“ I got to this post before Noon This day and rec<sup>d</sup> Informa-



tion from the Commodore that his Boats on Guard last Night near the mouth of Schoolkill Heard a Constant rumbling of Wagons coming from Philad<sup>a</sup> Ward and Crossing over to Province Island from Ten o'clock untill Near Day Break.—Col<sup>o</sup> Green informs me y<sup>t</sup> he saw a Large Body of men passing the Ferry; at one Time they could Discover y<sup>t</sup> Those who had Crossed wore Diferent Uniformes, some red, some Blue—& y<sup>t</sup> a very Considerable body ware Waiting on the Crossway and in the Woods on Philad<sup>a</sup> side to Cross. The Day was too Dark to make any Nice Discoveries.—When I Got Down There ware plainly to be discovered a Large Number of Wagons on the Crossway—but it was become too Hazy to Discover whither they Crossed to the Island or returned—at four o'clock I was informed y<sup>t</sup> a Body of British Troops had landed at Billingsport last Evening in thirty five Boats—I think from the Acc<sup>ts</sup> its tolerably well Ascertained y<sup>t</sup> There are some Troops There, but the Time of their Landing and Number of boats appear rather a loose Acc<sup>t</sup> not to be depended on. The Garrison at Red Bank has been lately so Exceedingly Fatigued and in its size small y<sup>t</sup> They have not been able to keep any party on the Shoor.—The Movements of Last Night & to Day amongst the Enemy has occasioned the Officir Commanding at Fort Mifflin to Imagine They mean to Attack y<sup>t</sup> fort & has This day Drawn a reinforcement of seventy men from Col<sup>o</sup> Green and wished to have Drawn 100 more.

“I make no Doubt but the Gen<sup>ls</sup> request to Col<sup>o</sup> Green was judicious at it respects fort Mifflin. But at The same Time am fully Convinced y<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>o</sup> Green woold in Case of an Attack Absolutely stand in need not only of Them men but a greater Number to Defend it. As soon as any of my Troops arrive, I will send as many of Them into the Forts as will Compleatly mann it.

“By these means the fort will be in as good state of Defence as before The late Attack should they make a second Attempt to carry it by Assault, but should they Attempt to take the Fort by regular Approaches they will be so many men Lost.

“The Gen<sup>t</sup> who have been on this Station for some Time may be better able to Judge of the Enemies movements of last Night and This day than I can.—it may be y<sup>t</sup> the[y] Immediately mean to attack Fort Mifflin or Red Bank or Boath. But I should rather be of opinion (from the Acc<sup>t</sup>. of their Wagons moving at night), that they ware moveing There stores and Baggage from Philad<sup>a</sup> a Cross Province Island & to Chester. Tomorow morning will perhaps Determine. I have the honor &c

“DAVID FORMAN.”

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SMITH TO WASHINGTON.

“FORT MIFFLIN, 26 Oct<sup>r</sup> 1777

“SIR :

“I rec<sup>d</sup> your Excell<sup>rs</sup> Order to remain in the Garrison & shall obey it. When I wrote I expected there would not have been that Occasion for my being here which I now see there will. Baron d’Arendt’s ill State of Health will oblige him to retire to Red Bank for three or four days perhaps more. Whether Coll. Green or I are to Command I know not. I presume I am to have the Command untill an express Order from your Excell<sup>r</sup> to the Contrary, even should he be an Elder Officer. for if an Elder Officer (for Instance Coll. Green of Red Bank) was to throw in his Reg<sup>t</sup>. to our Assistance, would not d’Arendt Command. I believe so if he would, then I certainly after him have the Command by your Excell<sup>rs</sup> Order. Coll. Green says his Commission will be dated y<sup>e</sup> 23<sup>d</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> last. mine ought & I expect will be dated the 10<sup>th</sup> as all the Officers from Maryland have their Commissions from that Date. ’tis true the Commissioners first appointed me Major. the Lieu<sup>t</sup> Coll<sup>o</sup> who they had appointed, did not Serve. the Assembly disapproved of many of their Appointments, alterd Some among the Rest made me a Lieu<sup>t</sup> Coll. these are my Reasons for thinking that my Commission will bear that date. if your Excell<sup>r</sup>

thinks them good Coll. Green will be Satisfied to Serve under me.

“A Reinforcement of 100 or 200 Men would not be too much to resist a Spirited Attack of 2000 Men. with 100 Infantry & 20 or 30 good Artillery, we might do. Our Artillery are & will be very ill-serv'd. the few Artillery of Militia are Constantly taring [?] to be discharg'd. their Times will be out in Ten or 15 days. I am Clearly of Opinion if we had a Commodore who would do his Duty, it would be impossible for the Enemy ever to get Possession of this fort. without we are properly guarded the Enemy may be with us before we can form. the Channell which they are to cross is so narrow, in the Night they may bring their Boats & Embark opposite to us without our seeing them. the Baron has just rec<sup>d</sup> an Answer to a Request he made for the Galleys, to be sent early & begging that 6 might be sent, three to guard above Reed's House who would rake all that part of the Island, and three below Hog Island & the Battery. with this Guard (if they would do their duty) all Sir Williams Army could not take the fort. his answer the Baron inclosed to you. The enemy are very busy making some work near the ferry Wharf opposite to our Wharf. for what I cannot Conceive, unless 'tis to cover their landing, or to fortify the Island against our attack & by that Means to keep open their Communication by Tinnicum. they have all this Day been Carrying fascines & waggons, & in the Evening Earth to fill up the Breaches in the Causeway.

“Fifty Blankets as many p<sup>r</sup> of Shoes, 4 Coats 1 Vest 4 p<sup>r</sup> Breeches & two Great Coats (all farmers) were all I rec<sup>d</sup> this day for my poor ragged fellows, now chiefly without Breeches, who are oblig'd to turn out before day, & perhaps may Soon be oblig'd to be so all Night. the last reinforcement are equally unfurnish'd. This Garrison ought to be well-cloth'd or we destroy their Constitutions. I Hope your Excell<sup>r</sup> will give Order. My Officers & Men think they ought to be reliev'd but could they be cloth'd I could make them Content. I have the Honor &c.

“SAM SMITH.”



## CONTINENTAL NAVY BOARD TO WASHINGTON.

"CONTINENTAL NAVY BOARD

"BORDEN TOWN, 26 October, 1777

"SIR :

"As soon as we had the Honour of receiving your Letter of yesterday, we ordered exact Returns to be immediately made of every Man on Board the Frigates Washington & Effingham; these Returns we have enclosed for your Inspection.

"We have the fullest Conviction of the Necessity there is to exert every Power for the Defence of the Pass near Fort Mifflin, & happy should we be, could we furnish Men in the least likely to be of service there. But as these Frigates have been only officer'd & no attempt ever made to man them, we have few or no Seamen, on board. The men we have are, for the most part, militia left sick at Burlington & Bristol, & being found on the Recovery were taken on Board merely to assist in getting the ships up to this Place. With these Hands such as they are, & the Assistance of a few on Board private Vessels that have taken shelter here, we have put the Frigates in as good a Posture of Defence as we could, against small armed Boats; not apprehending Danger from any larger Force by Water, on account of the Difficulties of the Channel.

"Your Excellency's Desires shall always be a Law to us, & if you think the Men in the enclosed Returns will be of more service in our Fleet, they shall be immediately ordered down. Every thing may be got ready for scuttling the Frigates in Case of impending Danger, but we apprehend that Business may be safely deferred 'till the Enemy have got up to the City with their Shipping.

"We have removed the chief of our Stores to Easton, particularly our Canvass, of which we have a considerable Quantity; agreeable to Orders we saw from your Excellency some Time ago.

"There are a number of Shallop men, & a few Sailors on Board the Vessels here which, if you think proper to un-



man our Frigates, we will endeavor to Enlist for a temporary service. But as there are but few of these, & fewer still we fear will be induced by any means to leave their vessels destitute, we apprehend little can be expected from such an Expedient.

“One thing your Excellency may depend upon, that whatever method you may point out in our Line, for the public service; our Abilities shall be exerted to the utmost to fulfill your Desires. We have the Honour &c

“FRAS HOPKINSON

“JOHN WHARTON.”<sup>1</sup>

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL COMSTOCK TO WASHINGTON.

“RED BANK, Oct<sup>o</sup>. 27<sup>th</sup> 1777

“SIR :

“By order of Co<sup>l</sup> Greene I again put Pen to Paper, and inform your Excellency; that Yesterday he received your Favour of the 24<sup>th</sup> instant by Express; in which your Excellency was pleased to express your warmest approbation of the conduct of the whole Garrison on the 22<sup>d</sup>, accompan’d with your ‘particular Thanks.’

“The whole Garrison entertain a grateful Sence of the Honour done them; and hope their future Conduct may be such as will render essential Service to their Country, and continue ’em in your Excellency’s Good Opinion.

“The Number of Arms taken from the Hessians the late Action were about 300. The poorest of our Arms were yesterday exchanged for the same Number of those taken. The spare Arms in the Garrison are this day ordered away agreeable to your Excellency’s directions; and the Wounded Prisoners delivered to the care of M<sup>r</sup> Clymer, Commissary of Prisoners; and all judg’d fit to remove will be immedately sent to Allin Town.

<sup>1</sup> A letter from Commodore Hazelwood, of this date, is printed in Sparks’s “Correspondence of the Revolution,” Vol. II. p. 18. Washington wrote to the Navy Board on the 27th.—“Writings of Washington,” Vol. VI. p. 145.

“Col. Greene directs me to acquaint your Excellency that Yesterday a Party of the Enemy landed from their Fleet with Cannon at Billing’s Fort; at Night Co<sup>l</sup> Greene sent a Patrol that way to observe their movements, who took a Prisoner near the Enemy’s Lines, & brot him in. The Prisoner says he is a Marine & that a Number of Highland Granadiers & Marines (in all 300 Men) with 10 Days’ Provisions and 2 Eighteen Pounders were in Billing’s Fort strengthening the works, and at present Commanded by the Cap<sup>t</sup> of the Eagle.—he likewise says it is given out that part of the Army at Philadelphia are to take post there.

“I am directed to inform your Excellency; that by a Person who last Night went from hence into Philadelphia and return’d, and by several ways of inteligence we are inform’d that Yesterday, and last Night, the Enemy imploy’d near 200 Waggons in carrying Brush and Plank across the Schoolkill toward Fort Mifflin, & that they have repaired the lower Bridge across that River. The Persons imploy’d in this work say it is preparitory to Attack on Fort Mifflin.

“Co<sup>l</sup> Greene begs your Excellency would send him a Reinforcement of 200 Continental Troops, the Militia he cannot depend upon, as no one has yet made his appearance here when there has been the least appearance [of] an attack.

“We have rec’d some Powder of the Fleet and imploy’d this rainy Day in making Cartriges; and this moment some Waggon lo’ded with Cartriges for us and Fort Mifflin—now we have a fine supply. I have the Hon<sup>r</sup> &c

“ADAM COMSTOCK,

“*L<sup>t</sup> Co<sup>l</sup>*”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A return dated October 27 showed that five hundred and thirty-four men fit for duty were at Red Bank, as follows: Colonel Greene’s regiment, two hundred and forty-four; Colonel Israel Angell’s, two hundred and twenty-seven; and Captain David Cook’s company of artillery, sixty-three.

WASHINGTON TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL CHRISTOPHER GREENE.

"HEAD QUARTERS, Oct. 28<sup>th</sup> 1777

"SIR :

"Colonel Arendt writes me, that the state of his health will make it absolutely necessary for him, to withdraw himself awhile from the Garrison. I am apprehensive, that, during his absence, there may arise some difficulty about the command between you and L<sup>t</sup> Col: Smith; as it is uncertain which of your Commissions is oldest, and cannot now be easily determined. The good of the service however requires, that disputes of such a nature should be waved, and as L<sup>t</sup> Col: Smith had originally the command of the post, has been longer in it, and may be supposed to have more thoroughly considered every circumstance of its defence, than one who has been less time there; these are arguments, with me, in the present uncertainty, respecting rank, that it should be waved in his favour.—I have no doubt that they will have their full weight with you when duly considered, and that you will readily avoid any difference about punctilios, when the advancement of the service, in the least degree, may seem to require it. Relying upon this, I flatter myself you will cheerfully acquiesce in Colonel Smith's command, in the absence of the Baron, and that there will be the most perfect harmony subsisting between you. I am &c.<sup>1</sup>

"G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON."

WASHINGTON TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL FOREMAN.

"HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>, 28<sup>th</sup> Octo<sup>r</sup>, 1777"D<sup>r</sup> S<sup>r</sup>

"I wrote you last evening with respect to reinforcing Red Bank & Fort Mifflin. My anxiety from the importance of these places is so great, that I cannot help urging you again to throw in without loss of time, what assistance the Commanding officers and yourself may think necessary, and such as you may be able to afford them. I inform'd you

<sup>1</sup> In manuscript of Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton.

that the reinforcement order'd from hence was detain'd by the weather, a continuance of which, still prevents the march of it, and may retard their passage, when they put off; for which reason, I wish your immediate consultation with the officers, that you may know what reinforcements are necessary by them, if possible without loss of time.

“I am &c.

“G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.

“P.S.—If you mention the coming down of a reinforcement, it may reach the Enemy's Ears, and they endeavour to intercept it, for which reason I wish it may be kept as secret as may be.”

WASHINGTON'S INSTRUCTIONS TO GENERAL VARNUM.

“HEAD QUARTERS, 28<sup>th</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 1777.

“SIR :

“You are immediately, or as soon as the weather will permit, to proceed to Woodberry with the Brigade under your command. Your most convenient rout will be from this to Bristol, thence to Mt. Holly, across the Delaware, thence to Haddonfield and thence to the place of your destination. You will be circumspect on your march, and use every precaution to prevent your party being surprised or intercepted. The design of sending you to Woodberry is to aid and give greater security to the Garrisons at Red Bank and Fort Mifflin; for which purpose you will co-operate with them in every necessary measure. You will probably find General Foreman at the head of a body of Jersey Militia, in the neighbourhood of Red Bank; as he is there for the same end that you will be, a co-operation between you and him will be also requisite.

“I cannot delineate particularly the line of conduct you are to observe.—I leave it to your own discretion, to be adapted to circumstances.—The general idea, I would throw out is, that you are in conjunction with the Jersey militia to give the Garrisons and fleet all the assistance and relief in your power. As the men in them must be greatly har-



rassed by labour and watching, and in need of rest and refreshment, I would have you send detachments from time to time to relieve and replace an equal number from the garrisons; who are during the interval to remain and act with you.—You are also occasionally to reinforce them with additional numbers, as they may stand in need of it.—In case of an attack upon or investiture of Red-bank, you are to act upon the rear or flanks of the enemy; not to throw your troops into the Fort, except such reinforcements from them as may really be wanted in defence of the works.

“Woodberry I have pitched upon as a general station, from its nearness to the forts, and the greater facility there will, on that account, be, to answer in common the ends proposed.—In case of the approach of the enemy towards you, you are to take such a situation as shall seem to you most eligible.

“I hope it is unnecessary to caution you to be, in every circumstance upon your guard against surprises. At Woodberry you will be between two creeks—if you can draw any security from this, by breaking down bridges or otherwise, so as to render the march of the enemy in their approach more circuitous, or to lessen the number of approaches, it will be an advantage worth improving. I am, &c.

“G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.”<sup>1</sup>

WASHINGTON TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SAMUEL SMITH.

“HEAD QUARTERS, 28 October, 1777

“SIR :

“I am fav<sup>d</sup> with yours of the 26<sup>th</sup>. As there seems to be a doubt of the priority of the date of your or Lt.-Colonel Green’s Comm<sup>n</sup> I have, in a letter of this date, desired him to wave the matter in dispute for the present, and act under your command, as you have been in the Fort from the Beginning and must be better acquainted with the nature of the defences than a stranger.

“I have ordered a very handsome detachment for the

<sup>1</sup> Body of instructions is in Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton’s writing.

reinforcement of Forts Mifflin and Mercer and the Gallies—they have been ready since yesterday, but the weather has been such, that they could not march. When they arrive, the duty will not be so severe, and if the men that you carried down at first can possibly be spared they shall be relieved. I will send them down necessaries out of the first that arrive from Lancaster. You seem to have mistaken the Commodore's meaning. From his letter I understand that he will always assist you whenever it is in his power. He tells you that in rough weather his Gallies and armed Boats cannot live and therefore guards you against expecting much assistance from them at such times. I beg you of all things, not to suffer any Jealousies between the land and sea service to take place. Consider that your mutual security depends upon acting perfectly in concert. I have wrote to Col<sup>o</sup> Green to afford you every possible assistance from Red Bank till the reinforcement gets down. I have the greatest hopes that this Storm of Rain and Wind at N. E. will overflow all the enemy's lower works upon province Island, and ruin the new Roads they have been making. I recommend every attention to you and I hope a glorious success will reward your exertions. I am &c

“G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.

“P.S.—Keep the Banks of province Island constantly cut and you will embarrass the Enemy excessively. Do not mention anything of the expectation of a reinforcement lest the Enemy take means to intercept them.”<sup>1</sup>

WASHINGTON TO COMMODORE HAZELWOOD.

“HEAD QUARTERS, 28 October, 1777

“SIR :

“In consequence of your representation of the Weakness of your Fleet, I have order'd a return of Sailors in the Army to be made to me, & find they amount to more than 100, which will March with a Detachment for the Forts, as soon as the Weather will permit.

<sup>1</sup> In manuscript of Lieutenant-Colonel Tench Tilghman.

“This Re-enforcement, I expect, will amply supply your wants, & enable you to give every assistance to the Forts that can be reasonably expected from you, & as their Strength will be greatly augmented, it is my most earnest desire, that every mode may be adopted, by which your force may be brought to co-operate against the designs & approaches of the Enemy, & that a mutual confidence & perfect understanding may chearfully take place.

“The Ammunition you have & will receive is to be considered sent for the use of the whole, & distributed accordingly.

“As there is a greater possibility that the reduction of the Forts might be effected by surprize than any other means, you will see the necessity of giving them every Aid by your Gondolas & Guard Boats as may effectually prevent any mischance of this kind. I am &c.

“G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.”

(To be continued.)

MR. NICHOLAS BIDDLE AND THE ARCHITECTURE  
OF GIRARD COLLEGE.

[The diary of the late Mr. Nicholas Biddle gives an interesting account of the reasons which led to the adoption of the plan of a Greek temple for the main or central building of the Girard College. Mr. Biddle was the President of the Board of Trustees, upon whom devolved the responsibility of selecting a plan for this main building. Two things are remarkable concerning the plan which he advocated: first, that he succeeded in giving to Philadelphia one of the noblest architectural monuments of modern times; and, secondly, that he was able to do this in face of violent opposition on the part of his fellow-trustees and of the public, gradually gaining their sympathy by the force of his single will, and at last making them proud that this pure and beautiful work of classic art had been reproduced as the chief ornament of their city.]

In his address at the laying of the corner-stone of the College, in 1833, Mr. Biddle echoed in words singularly beautiful and forceful the heart-felt wishes and hopes of all who heard him. "Long may this structure stand," said he, "in its majestic simplicity, the pride and admiration of our latest posterity; long may it continue to yield its annual harvests of educated moral citizens to adorn and defend our country. Long may each successive age enjoy its still increasing benefits, when time shall have filled its halls with the memory of the mighty dead who have been reared within them, and shed over its outward beauty the mellowing hues of a thousand years of renown."

*January 9 1839.*—Went to the meeting of the Trustees of the Girard College of which I am president, but we wanted one of a quorum (the requisite number being 10), and no business was done—I begin as a bad journalist, for instead of this day, it was last Wednesday that we met. But I take this occasion to put down a few remembrances about the



College. Mr. Girard left by his will two millions of dollars to found a college for orphans, with a reserved fund to be employed if necessary, for the same purpose amounting to I suppose at least as much more. Mr. Girard was I believe a very undisguised infidel in religion, and he ordered in his Will that no clergyman should ever be permitted even to visit the College. This exclusion naturally excited the ill will of religious persons who inferred from this exclusion that the College was to become a mere seminary of infidelity and immorality, and the whole project was in the worst possible odor throughout the community. For a long time after his death, I had never read his Will, but having at last done so, it appeared to me that an institution in the heart of Philadelphia destined, of course, to form the character of the youth was either for good or evil to be an immense power, and that therefore all good citizens should be interested in preventing the perversion of such an instrument to mischievous purposes. This I said everywhere, till at length, being asked if I would take a share in the management, I consented. After Mr. Girard's death the Select and Common Councils of the city to whom he had bequeathed the management of this trust were composed of persons of less liberal sentiments, and less capacity for such a trust, than could be desired, being of the party in politics, in which number, rather than character and talent predominated. That party had already made some arrangements which were not of good augury for the College—but before any thing permanent was effected a change of parties placed another body called the Whigs in power and these being personally more intelligent & respectable, endeavored to secure a good administration of their trust. For this purpose—in order to place the College out of the reach of the political changes of party dominion, they appointed a body of Trustees each to serve for three years, but renewable every year by an infusion of a certain number of fresh members. I was one & was placed by courtesy at the head of the list, & on the organization of the Board I was elected President.

Our first business was to erect the College; a matter of much delicacy & difficulty. The Councils had offered a premium for the best plan and the premium was awarded to a young architect by the name of Thomas U. Walter. They next elected the Architect, and Mr. Walter was again the successful candidate. There then was an Architect appointed & his plan approved, and the danger was that this plan might be adopted. I say the *danger*, Mr. Walter was the son of a bricklayer & had begun life by working with his father—at a later period he studied architecture with Mr. Strickland, and succeeded to the post of architect against his old master, by a majority of (I believe) one vote. His plan was for a large, showy building, wanting simplicity & purity, but not ill adapted to please others as it had already pleased the Councils. As however, the Board of Trustees was appointed to form a plan of instruction, it was naturally thought that the structure should conform to the mode of instruction to be carried out in it, and therefore a committee consisting of four members of each Council, was appointed to confer with the Architect, and an equal number of the Trustees to determine upon the plan of the building. The choice of the Council devolved on me as the Presiding officer and I accordingly selected those whom I thought most liberal in their views & best qualified for such a task. The Committee consisted of the following gentlemen.

Of the Select Council.	Of the Common Council.	Trustees.
JOSHUA LIPPINCOTT	JOHN GILDER	N. BIDDLE
JOHN R. NEFF	SAM <sup>L</sup> . V. MERRICK	RICHARDS, B. W.
DENNIS M <sup>C</sup> CREEDY	JOHN BYERLY	M <sup>C</sup> ILVAINE, JOS.
JOSEPH WORRELL	EPHRAIM HAINES	JOHN STEELE
		W <sup>M</sup> . M. MEREDITH
		THOS. M <sup>C</sup> EUEEN
		THOS. DUNLAP
		RICHARD PRICE.

Of the Committee of Trustees I was the chairman. When the Eight Trustees met the eight Councilmen, I was

the chairman of the joint meeting. After much discussion, a sub-committee of this joint meeting was appointed, I again named the sub-committee, consisting of Messrs. Lippincott, Neff & Merrick of the Councils, Messrs. Richards, McEuen, & Price of the Trustees,—I being added on special motion.

Of that sub-committee I was again Chairman.

The question was now brought within a narrow circle.

The first difficulty was to wean Mr. Walter from his plan,—to which the natural self-love of a young artist, of course, attached him, and I endeavored, while doing justice to the merits of his plan, to excite his ambition to achieve something beyond his plan or the plan of any one else, in short to take advantage of this rare opportunity of immortalizing himself by a perfect, chaste specimen of Grecian architecture. He was inclined to listen from confidence in me and he had worked at the Bank of the United States where I was Chairman of the Building Committee. He behaved perfectly well about it, no one could have done better. He renounced his own plan and came at once into my views, and prepared all the necessary drawings and seconded me with great cordiality.

We then had to work upwards thro' the Committees, and, first, of our sub-committee.

Our first omens were very unpromising. The plan seemed so foreign to all the colleges & poorhouses known that it startled the members—But by dint of perseverance and persuasion, we succeeded in making converts gradually. The sub-committee had several meetings in which I could discern that with the kindest wishes to myself personally, there was a desire to escape from the responsibility of a thing so new. Mr. Walter the architect has since told me that several of them said to him—We do not like to oppose Mr. Biddle but cannot you help us to get these ideas of Greek architecture out of his head,—and accordingly he made plans & estimates for them to persuade me out of this plan—My excellent friend Mr. Lippincott of the sub-committee was particularly opposed to it and said “it would never do.” I



note down his name because after the thing was actually decided upon, he was among the most zealous of all for the plan, and wished to have even more columns than the plan to which he strongly objected. The debateable ground was the flank colonade. At length one day we had a drawing made to see how it would look with the steps of the portico continued round the flank as far as the *Cella*, or main body of the building. This tempted them round a little, and taking advantage of their coming a part of the way round, I pressed the matter, and obtained a unanimous vote of the sub-committee in favor of the present plan.

We then called a meeting of the General Committee which was held in the Hall of Independence on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of April 1833 all the members present except Messrs. Merrick & Gilder. There we had the subject again examined, and the argument maintained chiefly between myself & Mr. Jos. Worrell, one of the representatives from the Select Council. He was violently opposed to the plan—argued against it with great warmth, and being a retired carpenter seemed to have a right to talk about buildings. But he & I had served together as Senators at Harrisburg & I knew how to treat his peculiar & intractable temper better than the rest of the Committee. The discussion was closed by a resolution offered by Mr. Joseph M<sup>o</sup>Ilvaine, that the report, [a verbal one of explanation with the drawings] be accepted and the same committee be continued with instructions to prepare a report to Councils to accompany the designs for the College, with an estimate of the probable cost. This is said to have been adopted unanimously but Mr. Worrell did not yield his opinion though he may not have persevered in voting against it.

The next day a meeting of the Board of Trustees took place, April 24 1833 when the plans were submitted to them and approved and “earnestly recommended to the Select & Common Councils for their ratification.”

The next day, April 25 1833, the Joint Committee met in the Hall of Independence, when the sub-committee reported the plans & estimates as directed by the resolution of the



Joint Committee on the 23<sup>rd</sup> April, with the vote of approval passed yesterday by the Board of Trustees. Whereupon on motion of Thos Dunlap it was unanimously resolved,

“That the report of the sub-Committee & the plans, submitted by them be approved and that the Chairman of the committee be directed to transmit to the Select & Common Councils the said report & plans with the estimate of the Architect and the aforesaid resolution of the Board of Trustees of the Girard College for orphans.”

The ordinance of Councils of March 21 1833 was as follows “That the Building Com. [four from each Council] together with an equal number from the Board of Trustees of the G. C. for orphans, & the Architect of the College, shall, as soon as practicable, determine upon a plan for the said College building or buildings, and that when the said plan shall have been duly arranged by the aforesaid building Com., Com. of Trustees & Architect, it shall be reported to the Select & Common Councils & if the same shall be approved of by them, the said College Building or buildings shall be erected agreeably thereto.”

The first election of Trustees on the 11th of Feb. 1833 was as follows

One Year.	Two Years.	Three Years.
N. BIDDLE	B. W. RICHARDS	JOHN M. KEAGY
G. B. WOOD	THOS. DUNLAP	WM. M. MEREDITH
THOS. M <sup>c</sup> EUEEN	CHAS. BIRD	ALGERNON S. ROBERTS
WM. H. KEATING	JOS. M <sup>c</sup> ILVAINE	JOHN STEELE
RICHARD PRICE	GEO. W. TOLAND	JOHN C. STOCKER.

The Board consisted of these with JOHN SWIFT the Mayor,  
JOSEPH R. INGERSOLL, Prest. Select Council  
HENRY TROTH, Prest. Com. Council.

On the 18th of Feby. we had our first meeting. Present 16 members all of the above fifteen members, with the exception of Mr. Keating & Mr. Toland who were at Harris-

burg as members of the Legislature. Mr. Swift, the Mayor, attended *ex officio*.

The meeting was organized by calling Mr. Swift to the Chair & Mr. Price was made Secretary. They then proceeded to ballot for a President, and out of the 16, one was for Mr. Troth, which I had given, one for Mr. B. W. Richards and the other 14 for me.

At the close of the year, my term having expired, I was reelected for 3 years, the Trustees for 1834 being (Feb. 10 1834)

For One Year.	For Two Years.	For Three Years.
B. W. RICHARDS	JOHN M. KEAGY	N. BIDDLE
THOS. DUNLAP	A. S. ROBERTS	G. B. WOOD
CHARLES BIRD	A. D. BACHE	THOS. M <sup>c</sup> EUEEN
JOSEPH M <sup>c</sup> ILVAINE	JAMES GOWEN	W. H. KEATING
G. W. TOLAND	H. J. WILLIAMS	S. V. MERRICK

with MR. SWIFT, the Mayor, MR. J. R. INGERSOLL & MR. TROTH Presidents of the Councils.

Special meeting at the Hall of Independence called by order of the President April 24 1833, present Messrs. Biddle, Troth, Wood, M<sup>c</sup>Euen, Price, Richards, Dunlap, Bird, Toland, Roberts & Steele.

The plan reported by the Committee appointed on the 27th of March last was submitted and explained by the Prest. whereupon on motion of Mr. Dunlap it was

“Resolved,

“That the plan of the Girard College reported by the joint Committee & now exhibited to this Board, & which this Board has had the opportunity of examining, be earnestly recommended to the Select & Common Councils for their ratification.”

THE SENTIMENTS OF AN AMERICAN WOMAN.

[Reprinted from a broadside in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.]

The SENTIMENTS of an  
AMERICAN WOMAN.

ON the commencement of actual war, the Women of America manifested a firm resolution to contribute, as much as could depend on them, to the deliverance of their country. Animated by the purest patriotism they are sensible of sorrow at this day, in not offering more than barren wishes for the success of so glorious a Revolution. They aspire to render themselves more really useful; and this sentiment is universal from the north to the south of the Thirteen United States. Our ambition is kindled by the fame of those heroines of antiquity, who have rendered their sex illustrious, and have proved to the universe, that, if the weakness of our Constitution, if opinion and manners did not forbid us to march to glory by the same path as the Men, we should at least equal and sometimes surpass them in our love for the public good. I glory in all that which my sex has done great and commendable. I call to mind with enthusiasm and with admiration, all those acts of courage, of constancy and patriotism, which history has transmitted to us: The people favoured by Heaven, preserved from destruction by the virtues, the zeal and the resolution of Deborah, of Judith, of Esther! The fortitude of the mother of the Macchabees, in giving up her sons to die before her eyes: Rome saved from the fury of a victorious enemy by the efforts of Volumnia, and other Roman ladies: So many famous sieges where the Women

have been seen forgetting the weakness of their sex, building new walls, digging trenches with their feeble hands; furnishing arms to their defenders, they themselves darting the missile weapons on the enemy, resigning the ornaments of their apparel, and their fortunes to fill the public treasury, and to hasten the deliverance of their country; burying themselves under its ruins; throwing themselves into the flames rather than submit to the disgrace of humiliation before a proud enemy.

Born for liberty, disdaining to bear the irons of a tyrannic Government, we associate ourselves to the grandeur of those Sovereigns, cherished and revered, who have held with so much splendour the scepter of the greatest States, The Batildas, the Elizabeths, the Maries, the Catharines, who have extended the empire of liberty, and contented to reign by sweetness and justice, have broken the chains of slavery, forged by tyrants in the times of ignorance and barbarity. The Spanish Women, do they not make, at this moment, the most patriotic sacrifices, to encrease the means of victory in the hands of their Sovereign. He is a friend to the French Nation. They are our allies. We call to mind, doubly interested, that it was a French Maid who kindled up amongst her fellow-citizens, the flame of patriotism buried under long misfortunes; It was the Maid of Orleans who drove from the kingdom of France the ancestors of those same British, whose odious yoke we have just shaken off; and whom it is necessary that we drive from this Continent.

But I must limit myself to the recollection of this small number of achievements. Who knows if persons disposed to censure, and sometimes too severely with regard to us, may not disapprove our appearing acquainted even with the actions of which our sex boasts? We are at least certain, that he cannot be a good citizen who will not applaud our efforts for the relief of the armies which defend our lives, our possessions, our liberty? The situation of our soldiery has been represented to me; the evils inseparable from war, and the firm and generous spirit which has ena-



bled them to support these. But it has been said, that they may apprehend, that, in the course of a long war, the view of their distresses may be lost, and their services be forgotten. Forgotten! never; I can answer in the name of all my sex. Brave Americans, your disinterestedness, your courage, and your constancy will always be dear to America, as long as she shall preserve her virtue.

We know that at a distance from the theatre of war, if we enjoy any tranquility, it is the fruit of your watchings, your labours, your dangers. If I live happy in the midst of my family; if my husband cultivates his field, and reaps his harvest in peace; if, surrounded with my children, I myself nourish the youngest, and press it to my bosom, without being affraid of seeing myself separated from it, by a ferocious enemy; if the house in which we dwell; if our barns, our orchards are safe at the present time from the hands of those incendiaries, it is to you that we owe it. And shall we hesitate to evidence to you our gratitude? Shall we hesitate to wear a cloathing more simple; hair dressed less elegant, while at the price of this small privation, we shall deserve your benedictions. Who, amongst us, will not renounce with the highest pleasure, those vain ornaments, when she shall consider that the valiant defenders of America will be able to draw some advantage from the money which she may have laid out in these; that they will be better defended from the rigours of the seasons, that after their painful toils, they will receive some extraordinary and unexpected relief; that these presents will perhaps be valued by them at a greater price, when they will have it in their power to say: *This is the offering of the Ladies.* The time is arrived to display the same sentiments which animated us at the beginning of the Revolution, when we renounced the use of teas, however agreeable to our taste, rather than receive them from our persecutors; when we made it appear to them that we placed former necessaries in the rank of superfluities, when our liberty was interested; when our republican and laborious hands spun the flax, prepared the linen intended for the use of

our soldiers; when exiles and fugitives we supported with courage all the evils which are the concomitants of war. Let us not lose a moment; let us be engaged to offer the homage of our gratitude at the altar of military valour, and you, our brave deliverers, while mercenary slaves combat to cause you to share with them, the irons with which they are loaded, receive with a free hand our offering, the purest which can be presented to your virtue,

BY AN AMERICAN WOMAN.

*IDEAS, relative to the manner of forwarding to the American Soldiers, the Presents of the American Women.*

ALL plans are eligible, when doing good is the object; there is however one more preferable; and when the operation is extensive, we cannot give it too much uniformity. On the other side, the wants of our army do not permit the slowness of an ordinary path. It is not in one month, nor in eight days, that we would relieve our soldiery. It is immediately; and our impatience does not permit us to proceed by the long circuit of collectors, receivers and treasurers. As my idea with regard to this, have been approved by some Ladies of my friends, I will explain them here; every other person will not be less at liberty to prepare and to adopt a different plan.

1st. All Women and Girls will be received without exception, to present their patriotic offering; and, as it is absolutely voluntary, every one will regulate it according to her ability, and her disposition. The shilling offered by the Widow or the young Girl, will be received as well as the most considerable sums presented by the Women who have the happiness to join to their patriotism, greater means to be useful.

2d. A Lady chosen by the others in each county, shall be Treasurers; and to render her task more simple, and more easy, she will not receive but determinate sums, in a round

number, from twenty hard dollars to any greater sum. The exchange forty dollars in paper for one dollar in specie.

It is hoped that there will not be one Woman who will not with pleasure charge herself with the embarrassment which will attend so honorable an operation.

3d. The Women who shall not be in a condition to send twenty dollars in specie, or above, will join in as great a number as will be necessary to make this or any greater sum, and one amongst them will carry it, or cause it to be sent to the Treasures.

4th. The Treasures of the county will receive the money, and will keep a register, writing the sums in her book, and causing it to be signed at the side of the whole by the person who has presented it.

5th. When several Women shall join together to make a total sum of twenty dollars or more, she amongst them who shall have the charge to carry it to the Treasures, will make mention of all their names on the register, if her associates shall have so directed her; those whose choice it shall be, will have the liberty to remain unknown.

6th. As soon as the Treasures of the county shall judge, that the sums which she shall have received, deserve to be sent to their destination, she will cause them to be presented with the lists, to the wife of the Governor or President of the State, who will be Treasures-General of the State; and she will cause it to be set down in her register, and have it sent to Mistress Washington. If the Governor or President are unmarried, all will address themselves to the wife of the Vice-President, if there is one, or of the Chief Justice, &c.

7th. Women settled in the distant parts of the country, and not chusing for any particular reason as for the sake of greater expedition, to remit their Capital to the Treasures, may send it directly to the wife of the Governor, or President, &c. or to Mistress Washington, who, if she shall judge necessary, will in a short answer to the sender, acquaint her with the reception of it.

8th. As Mrs. Washington may be absent from the camp

when the greater part of the banks shall be sent there, the American Women considering, that General Washington is the Father and Friend of the Soldiery; that he is himself, the first Soldier of the Republic, and that their offering will be received at its destination, as soon as it shall have come to his hands, they will pray him, to take the charge of receiving it, in the absence of Mrs. Washington.

9th. General Washington will dispose of this fund in the manner that he shall judge most advantageous to the Soldiery. The American Women desire only that it may not be considered as to be employed, to procure to the army, the objects of subsistence, arms or cloathing, which are due to them by the Continent. It is an extraordinary bounty intended to render the condition of the Soldier more pleasant, and not to hold place of the things which they ought to receive from the Congress, or from the States.

10th. If the General judges necessary, he will publish at the end of a certain time, an amount of that which shall have been received from each particular State.

11th. The Women who shall send their offerings, will have in their choice to conceal or to give their names; and if it shall be thought proper, on a fit occasion, to publish one day the lists, they only, who shall consent, shall be named; when with regard to the sums sent, there will be no mention made, if they so desire it.



## JACOB DUBS, OF MILFORD.

BY JOSEPH HENRY DUBBS, D.D.

On the 30th of September, 1732, the ship "Dragon," Charles Hargrave, master, entered the port of Philadelphia. On board were one hundred and eighty-five passengers, who in one record are termed "Palatines" and in another "Foreigners Imported." Most of them were, in fact, natives of Switzerland, from which country there was then an extensive emigration to America.

Among the passengers was a young Swiss gunsmith named Jacob Dubs. When the ship arrived at Philadelphia he was ill and could not personally appear to be qualified, so that the clerks had every opportunity to play havoc with his name. In one list it is written "Tups" and in another "Dubbs." The latter form has been generally adopted by his descendants; but the pioneer himself, as appears from extant autographs, was careful to write his name in all its original plainness.

Jacob Dubs was born August 31, 1710, in the hamlet of Aesch, parish of Birmensdorf, canton of Zurich, Switzerland. His parents, Jacob Dubs and Anna Glättli, of Bachstetten, had been married in the parish church of Birmensdorf, March 24, 1705. Two older sons, both successively named Hans Ulrich, had died in early infancy, and Jacob remained their only surviving child.<sup>1</sup>

The Dubs family had for many generations been settled at Birmensdorf and in the neighboring village of Affoltern. For a long time they had been gunsmiths, but in the earliest records they are called armorers.

Though so long resident in Switzerland, there was a tradition that the stock had been remotely of Bohemian

<sup>1</sup> Extract from the "Taufbuch" of the church at Birmensdorf.

origin. The name certainly comes from the Bohemian (Czech) word *dub*, which signifies an oak. More directly it is held to be derived from the name of a town near Prague, called Duba ("The Oaks"), or in German Eichen, or Aycha. In Bohemia the name is well known, though in the language of the country it is often written Dubsky. According to Merian ("*Topographia Bohemiæ*," p. 26), the families Von Eichen and Berka were originally named Dubs, the name first mentioned being a translation and the second derived from an estate. A branch of the Bohemian family, the tradition relates, became Hussites in the fifteenth century, and during the succeeding wars were compelled to flee to the Austrian province of Styria, where we find them settled in 1446. The head of the family there entered the military service, and distinguished himself in an expedition against the Swiss. He was knighted on the field of battle by the Emperor Maximilian I., who also gave him the privilege of occupying a clearing in the imperial forest. The arms granted on this occasion were carefully preserved by his descendants, and were recognized and approved by Frederick I., King of Prussia, in 1701. They appear in the "*Europäische Wappensammlung*," published by John Rudolph Helmers, Nuremberg, 1705, Vol. V. p. 38, and represent a silver lance with pennon on a blue shield, surmounted, as a crest, by three ostrich feathers (the Bohemian plumes), two silver and centre blue. The writer has in his possession an ancient engraved seal with these bearings.<sup>1</sup>

About the beginning of the Protestant Reformation a younger son, or grandson, of the Styrian knight removed to Switzerland. The motives of his removal it might now be difficult to determine, but it may perhaps be supposed that he was influenced by Hussite family traditions to cast his lot with the rising cause of the Reformation. At any rate, he became an earnest Protestant, while the family in Styria has remained Catholic to the present day.

<sup>1</sup> For the above facts the writer is mainly indebted to the late Dr. Jacob Dubs, President of the Swiss Confederation, who had made them the subject of careful investigation.

Having settled some six or eight miles from the city of Zurich, the Styrian immigrant became a manufacturer of weapons. In 1531, Zurich was unexpectedly invaded by the army of the Catholic cantons, and the artisan at once became a soldier. He fought bravely in the army of defence, but lost his life, with the Reformer Zwingli, in the fatal battle of Cappel, October 11, 1531. It is recorded in the ancient chronicle of the church at Affoltern that the armorer (*der Waffenschmied*) Dubs, of Birmensdorf, was slain at Cappel in defence of his faith. The fact is also stated by Henry Bullinger, the successor of Zwingli, in his "Reformation Geschichte" (reprint of 1840, Vol. III. p. 153); but in this case the author has got the name twisted and makes it Jacob Dupps.

The surviving children continued in their father's employment. The local records are full of notices of their successive generations, but their interest is purely genealogical. So far as the writer has been able to ascertain, they were a quiet and unpretentious people.

Jacob Dubs, the subject of our sketch, became, like his father, a gunsmith. He was fairly well educated and wrote an excellent hand. Family tradition has it that in his early boyhood his mother died. His father married a second time, and had another son; then he, too, passed away. By this time Jacob was of age, and after due consideration he determined to emigrate. Several of his cousins, "nearer or more remote," had already crossed the sea, and we may naturally suppose him to have been seized by the fever for emigration which had affected many of his neighbors. Gathering up his little patrimony, he left the old place to his step-mother and her son, and started on his way.

Arriving in Pennsylvania, it was but natural that he should seek the society of his countrymen; and we next find him at Great Swamp, in what was then Bucks County, where the Rev. John Henry Goetschius, of Zurich, had recently founded a congregation. On the oldest extant list of members his name appears.

Not far from the Great Swamp Church, in what is now Lower Milford Township, Lehigh County, Jacob Dubs fixed his home. The tract had hitherto been unoccupied, and, according to the earliest draft, all the surrounding land was vacant, except that Jacob Wetzel had just taken up a piece along its southern line. The earliest survey was made for Jacob Dubs by Nicholas Scull on the 28th of September, 1734. According to this survey, the "home farm" originally included one hundred and fifty acres, "with the usual allowance of six per cent.," but it was increased by subsequent purchases. A branch of the Perkiomen ran through the tract and furnished excellent water-power. One of the settler's first acts was to utilize this stream by the erection of a small forge, where he engaged in the manufacture of arms and iron implements. He was, first of all, a gunsmith, but it was said of him that he made everything "from a plough to a darning-needle." Men called him "ein Tausendkünstler," which was a rather polite way of saying that he was "a jack of all trades." At a later date he made, in his leisure hours, a musical instrument called "ein Flügel,"—a harpsichord, an instrument now superseded by the piano,—which was long in possession of his descendants. Though his various enterprises were continued by his son and grandsons, the fact remains that he laid the foundations of what were in their day a series of important business undertakings.

In 1734, Jacob Dubs was "duly qualified and invested with all the rights of a natural-born subject of Pennsylvania." A little later he was married to Veronica Welker, who was a native of the Upper Palatinate, but had relatives in America. George Welker, of Goshenhoppen, who speculated extensively in land, and whose name appears on many ancient deeds, was nearly related. She is said to have been a woman of some culture, and, when the neighborhood began to be settled, she gathered the children in her kitchen and taught them to read.

The following list of the children of Jacob and Veronica



Dubs is extracted, with the correction of a single date, from the records of the Great Swamp Church :

1. FELIX, born February 28, 1738; baptized by the Rev. J. H. Goetschius. Sponsors, Felix Brunner and his wife Barbara.

2. BARBARA, born April 5, 1744; baptized by the Rev. George Michael Weiss. Sponsors, Jacob Wetzel and Barbara Wetzel.

3. MARGARETHA, born 1746; baptized by the Rev. G. M. Weiss. Sponsor, Anna Maria Wetzel.

4. DANIEL, born October 5, 1748;<sup>1</sup> baptized by the Rev. G. M. Weiss. Sponsors, Daniel Christman and his wife Margaret.

5. ELIZABETH, born October 16, 1750; baptized by the Rev. G. M. Weiss. Sponsor, Elizabeth Huber.

That the family, like other pioneers, was exposed to dangers and privations will be readily understood. This is illustrated by a tradition related to the writer by a descendant. There were wolves in the woods near the house, and when Daniel was a little boy he often amused himself by imitating their barking. Once, while he was doing this, a wolf rushed out of the woods to attack him; but he escaped by running to the open window of the kitchen, and his mother drew him in.

Jacob Dubs was a man of peace, but when the Indians were making incursions into the Lehigh Valley, he joined a military company and followed the enemy beyond the Blue Mountains. They tracked the Indians for many miles, but there was no conflict.

In the welfare of the church the subject of this sketch was profoundly interested. He was chosen a ruling elder, and it has been mentioned as a somewhat unusual fact that in the same congregation this office was held by three generations of his descendants. The traditions of his domestic

<sup>1</sup> The church record gives this date October 28, 1748, but this is probably the date of baptism. On the united testimony of a family Bible and the inscription on his tombstone, the writer has ventured to correct it.

life have become faint, but it was no doubt very similar to that of the next generation, as described by a grandson, the late Rev. J. S. Dubbs, D.D., of Allentown.<sup>1</sup>

About the year 1759 the family was visited by a severe affliction. The eldest son, Felix, had grown up to be a bright young man, and was still unmarried. Having started for Philadelphia with a load of farm produce, he spent a night at North Wales, at the house of Matthias Schwenk, whose daughter Elizabeth was afterwards married to his brother Daniel. Rising early in the morning, while it was dark, Felix fell into the well, which, it seems, was not properly covered, and was drowned.

The daughters were all happily married. Barbara became the wife of Jacob Boyer, a man who was highly esteemed in the community. During the Revolution he sold his farm, and was paid in depreciated Continental money. Becoming financially involved, he removed to the West, and finally settled in Tennessee, where he is said to have many descendants. After some years he revisited his old home in Pennsylvania and paid all his old debts, with interest.

Margaretha became the second wife of Jacob Dillinger, and had three children. Her descendants are numerous.

Elizabeth was married to Jacob Haak, of Berks County, and from them many of the Haaks, Sells, Gabels, and other Berks County families derive descent. "Uncle Haak" must have been a rather peculiar person. He became wealthy, and in his later years lived in a style which his plain neighbors regarded as luxurious. He was an enthusiastic Freemason, and took great pleasure in entertaining the lodge of which he was master. Generally he was attended by a faithful negro slave, named Sam, who understood his peculiarities and did his best to humor him. When slavery was abolished in Pennsylvania, his master said, "Sam, you are a free man; you may go where you please!" The old man solemnly shook his head, and replied, "No, no, master,

<sup>1</sup> See life of Rev. Joseph S. Dubbs, D.D., in Harbaugh's "Lives of the Fathers of the Reformed Church," Vol. V. p. 241.

you can't get rid of me dat way. You ate de meat, you must pick de bone."

When the daughters were married, Daniel, the only surviving son of Jacob Dubs, remained with his parents at the homestead. As he had grown up to be a man of almost gigantic frame, and was of good mental capacity, his father's business naturally passed into his control. In 1772 the father sold his real estate to his son for three hundred and fifty pounds.

There is a tradition that in the last few years of his life Jacob Dubs spent much time in writing, and that his papers were put into the case of the old harpsichord, which was then out of order. Many years afterwards, a good woman, whose sense of neatness would not allow the preservation of ancient rubbish, destroyed these and many other papers unread.

The exact date of the death of Jacob Dubs the writer has not been able to determine. The church records are for several years incomplete, and his tombstone has crumbled so that its inscription has become illegible. The writer has the impression that he lived to the age of sixty-five, so that his death must have occurred in 1775, and this date cannot be far out of the way. His wife survived him several years. Both lie buried in the old church-yard of the congregation of which they were members, adjacent to the tomb of their son Daniel.

It may be interesting to add that, under the care of Daniel Dubs, the industries established by his father were greatly extended. After his marriage to Elizabeth Schwenk, he built for himself a large brick house, which is still standing in excellent condition. According to undisputed tradition, it was the first brick house built within the present limits of Lehigh County.

The forge erected by his father was enlarged, and became what would now be called a machine-shop. In those days they called it "die Schleifmuehle." Sickles were produced in large numbers, and screw-augers manufactured there not many years after their invention by Judge William Henry,

of Lancaster. The business finally passed into the hands of his son John, who was no less skilful than his father. At this shop a large number of muskets were made for the government during the war of 1812.

The grist-mill was built about the beginning of the present century. It became especially well known for peculiarly fine buckwheat flour, which was a staple article in the Philadelphia markets.

To trace the history of the several industries established by Daniel Dubs would be impossible without access to original records, and these have apparently long since disappeared. There was, however, a tannery, as well as a saw-mill, an oil-mill, and, in fact, a whole cluster of enterprises, such as in those days were not infrequently conducted by a single man. In December, 1824, Daniel Dubs disposed of his real estate by selling it to three of his sons. John took the forge, Daniel, Jr., the mill, and Jacob the tannery. They had, in fact, been in possession of these interests at a much earlier period, and in 1815 a division was effected by written agreement, but it seems to have been discovered that a more formal act of transfer was a legal necessity.

Elizabeth Dubs, the mother of the family, passed away from life on the 20th of February, 1818. Her husband, Daniel, lived more than ten years longer, and died September 22, 1828. The following were their surviving children:

1. ANNA MARIA, born June 27, 1777. Married to Henry Eberhard. The late Michael D. Eberhard, of Allentown, was her son.

2. JACOB, born June 21, 1779; died May 17, 1852. He received a part of the home farm, and built a stone house which is still (1894) occupied by the widow and daughter of his youngest son. One of his grandsons, the Rev. Jacob G. Dubbs, is a minister in Lehigh County.

3. HENRY, removed to Hamilton, Butler County, Ohio, about 1825, and has many descendants. The wife of the Rev. F. W. Berleman, D.D., pastor of Salem Church, on Fairmount Avenue, near Fourth Street, Philadelphia, is a granddaughter.

4. DANIEL, born April 7, 1786. In 1836 he removed to



Montgomery County, Ohio. One of his sons, Daniel L., was a graduate of Heidelberg College, Ohio, and for some time a student at the Theological Seminary in Mercersburg. He became an officer in the army, and was fatally wounded at the battle of Fredericksburg.

5. JOHN, born September 5, 1788; died November 25, 1869. He lived all his life at the old homestead, which at his death passed to Aaron, his only son.

6. SOLOMON, born October 10, 1794; died May 24, 1880. He resided near Allentown, Pennsylvania, and has descendants.

7. JOSEPH S., born October 16, 1796; died April 14, 1877. He studied for the ministry, and was for more than thirty years pastor of Zion's Reformed Church, Allentown,—the church in which the historic bells of Philadelphia were concealed during the Revolution. His two sons are ministers. The elder, Alfred J. G., was until recently pastor of Salem Church, Allentown; the younger, Joseph Henry, is a member of the faculty of Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster.

Concerning the industrial interests in which the family was so actively engaged, it may be said that, in the course of time, commercial methods changed and all such rustic manufactories declined. One by one the younger members of the family sought homes where conditions were more favorable, and now scarcely a trace is left of the toil of former days.

The last occupant of the homestead before it passed into the hands of strangers was Aaron K. Dubs, who died June 22, 1874. In a published tribute his pastor, the Rev. Dr. C. Z. Weiser, says, "He was born in the quiet vale, surrounded by forests and watered by brooks, in which his father and grandfather had been born and had lived all their days, and in which his great-grandfather had set his tent-poles as the pioneer Dubs, some time previous to 1734. Aaron's homestead had never been known otherwise than as the 'Dubs' Place' since the days of the aborigines. It is one of the few family-houses, and on this account we delight to look at its roof-trees. The farm, house, barn, trees, fences,—everything,—were begun and

preserved by the hands of the older or younger Dubbses. No wonder that Aaron loved it and all about it. He could not bring himself to part with it, though convenience and interest suggested it."

To the present generation, dwelling in other places, the story of the old home in Milford has become a tradition, and unless it is put in writing it must speedily disappear. Though it is not a history of great achievements, it deserves to be remembered by those who derive their lineage from the Swiss pioneer, as a record of honest toil and of devotion to duty.

FRANKLIN IN THE VALLEY OF THE LEHIGH, 1756.

[Extracts from the diary of the Moravian congregation at Bethlehem.]

*January 1 1756.*—News was received at Bethlehem, that the Indians had laid waste with fire and tomahawk on the Plains, six miles from Christian's Spring. Bro. Shebosch also returned, who with others had accompanied the wagons bound for Gnadenhuetten. When within two miles of the place they found it had been attacked this day by the Indians.

*January 2.*—Some of our brethren who were sent out to meet the returning wagons, arrived safely. If the wagons had set out yesterday one hour earlier—twelve brethren, twelve horses and three wagons would have fallen into the hands of the Indians. They brought the news that Gnadenhuetten was in ruins, and that the Indians held the site, and also brought back a number of wounded belonging to the garrison. An express was sent early in the morning to the Commissioners at Reading. Bro. Spangenberg went to Easton to consult with Major Parsons, as to the best route to send a messenger to the Indians on the Susquehanna, who were friendly to the Government. Towards evening upwards of one hundred fugitives were received at Bethlehem and in the Crown Inn—We scarcely know how to provide for them.

*January 4.*—The Express returned from Reading, with a letter from the Governor, that he would again hold Gnadenhuetten and cover the frontiers.

*January 7.*—Benjamin Franklin, one of the Commissioners, arrived here from Reading, as General Lieutenant and Captain in chief of our County. Bro. Spangenberg, in the name of the congregation waited on him.

*January 8.*—At present we have four hundred people in Bethlehem more than usual and seventy Indians. Two of our teams went to Nazareth under convoy with provisions,

and from thence the Nazareth teams will transport them to the soldiers north of the Blue Mountains.

*January 10.*—During dinner, at which Franklin was present, our musicians played some selected pieces.

*January 11.*—Franklin attended the preaching and was very attentive. Bro. Reinke's text was I John 3. 8. Captain Folk with his company arrived from Allemängel.

*January 15.*—At noon Franklin broke up his quarters here, and accompanied by William Edmonds set out for Gnadenhuetten.

*January 16.*—Bro. Senseman went as express to the Governor, on the Susquehanna, with letters from Franklin. It was quiet today as the soldiers have all departed.

*January 17.*—Another company of soldiers arrived to join Franklin.

*January 22.*—To-day the soldiers who arrived on the 17th; and had been quartered at the Crown Inn, left for Gnadenhuetten, which is being fortified.

*January 23-26.*—We learn from Franklin that he is confident of the success of his plan of defending the frontiers—to build forts along the frontiers, one in every fifteen miles; and that he has received information that the French design to make Pennsylvania the theatre of the war.

*January 29.*—A spy was seen this evening, with a lighted torch, but was frightened away.

*January 30.*—At a meeting of our watchmen, eighty in number, it was impressed on them that during the present crisis watchfulness was necessary, and that it was found that nothing harassed the Indians so much as watching. It was agreed to challenge every body; to indicate the hours by striking the bell and also the changes of the watch.

*January 31.* Bro Post and Blum went as express to Franklin at Fort Allen, with a letter from the Governor.

*February 4.*—Bro Post and Blum returned from Fort Allen, and soon after Franklin and William Edmonds arrived under escort of thirty men.

*February 5.*—Franklin and Edmonds left for the Assembly at Philadelphia.



LIST OF ARRIVALS PER "PENNSYLVANIA PACKET,"  
1775.

[Copied from the original manuscript in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.]

A List of Serv<sup>ts</sup> Indented on Board the Pennsylvania Packet Capt. Peter Osborne for Philadelphia the 15<sup>th</sup> day of March 1775.

TRADESMEN'S NAMES AND TRADES.

1. Ed <sup>r</sup> Beaton, Cordwainer,	20.4.	Sold to Restore Lippincott	£18.
2. Tho <sup>s</sup> Watkins, House Carpenter,	21.4.	" W <sup>m</sup> M <sup>c</sup> Mullin	
3. John Thomas, Smith,	26.4.	" Tho <sup>s</sup> Mayberry	£20.
4. Tho <sup>s</sup> Martin, Taylor,	23.4.	" Geo Dilhorn	£20.
5. Rich <sup>d</sup> Noxon, Perule Maker,	25.4.	" Arch <sup>d</sup> Burns	£17.
6. Moses Hains, Jeweler,	24.4.		
7. Moses Jacobs, do	22.4.		
8. W <sup>m</sup> Edwards, Painter,	36.4.	" Samuel Ridley	£20.
9. James Vanlone, Watchfinisher,	17.5.	" Elijah Clark	£21.
10. Benj. Boswell, Baker,	15.7.	" Michael Bishop	£18.
11. W <sup>m</sup> Mitchell, Stone Mason,	21.4.	" Tho <sup>s</sup> Mayberry	£20.
12. John Wallis, Baker,	21.4.		
13. John Row, do	21.4.	Sent to Samuel Rowland	
14. W <sup>m</sup> Dickerson, Butcher,	25.4.		
15. Dan <sup>l</sup> Deffoe, C & Watch Maker,	24.4.		
16. W <sup>m</sup> Avery, Taylor,	21.4.	John Martin	£20.
17. Paul Courtney, Plasterer,	23.4.		
18. Sam <sup>l</sup> Le Count, Printer,	24.4.	Sold to Enoch Story	£20.
19. W <sup>m</sup> Hayes, Hair Dresser,	15.7.	" D <sup>r</sup> Benjamin Rush	£24.
20. James Russel, Stone Mason,	24.4.	Tho <sup>s</sup> Mayberry	£20.
21. John M <sup>c</sup> Cann, Cab <sup>l</sup> Maker & Joyner,	22.4.	Matthew Hand	£20.
22. W <sup>m</sup> Gray, Wool comber,	21.4.		
23. John Ames, Hatter,	27.4.		
24. John Graves, Perule Maker,	37.4.		
25. W <sup>m</sup> Chase, Cordwainer,	23.4.	William Ross	£19.
26. John Haynes, Hair Dresser,	22.4.	Enoch Story	£20.
27. Robert Hayard, Carpenter,	22.4.	Hollingsworth & Mullins	£23.16.

NO TRADES.

28. Tho <sup>s</sup> Dunning, Labourer,	15.7.	Geo P. Beckham	
29. Rich <sup>d</sup> Peplow, do	18.5.	Tho <sup>s</sup> Joseph Pool—Gilpin	
30. Tho <sup>s</sup> Thompson, do	15.7.	Charles, Ann Pool Pryor	£19.
31. James Lover, do	15.7.	Isaiah J. Robb, Charles Hughes	
32. W <sup>m</sup> Basley, Clerk,	33.4.	John Read	
33. W <sup>m</sup> Brown, Labourer,	15.7.	W <sup>m</sup> Prince Gibbs	
34. Valentine Ruly, Groom,	16.5.	W <sup>m</sup> Temple	
35. John Foster, Cl & Bookkeeper,	30.4.	Tho <sup>s</sup> & Peter Robinson	
36. W <sup>m</sup> Longwood, Groom,	23.4.	J. Vandegrist	£20.
37. Geo Warren, Labourer,	14.7.	do	£24.
38. John Longan, Husbandman,	19.5.	Peter Cline	£19.
39. W <sup>m</sup> Harrison, do	23.4.	Robert Verree	£20.
40. Jn <sup>o</sup> Humble, do	21.4.		
41. Geo Woodford, do	21.4.	Tho <sup>s</sup> Mayberry	£20.
42. John Crabb, Groom,	22.4.	W <sup>m</sup> Logan	

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## Notes.

WRECK OF THE "FAITHFUL STEWARD" ON ABSECON BEACH, 1765.—I have gathered the following information concerning the wreck of the "Faithful Steward," about which inquiry was made. She came ashore on Absecon Beach about the year 1765. One boat-load of passengers,—names not known,—in trying to get ashore, was swamped. They had with them a quantity of the Stamp-Act paper, and being eager to get ashore with this, overloaded the boat. A considerable quantity of this paper, picked up by Zephaniah Steelman, of Leeds Point, who had come over on the beach to look after his cattle, remained in his family for many years, and his grandson, Lewis W. Scull, of Leeds Point, still has some in the old family chest. When a boy he used it for writing-paper at school. The "crown stamp" was discernible when the paper was held up to the light. Steelman also obtained from this wreck two complete sets of English china-ware, one of which, or rather a portion thereof, is still owned by his great-granddaughter, Mrs. Adelaide Risley, wife of Richard Risley, of this city. The other set was given to another great-granddaughter by Rebecca Steelman, wife of Zephaniah Steelman, but it was destroyed by fire some years ago. John Steelman, brother of Zephaniah and great-grandfather of Mrs. Henry Disston, of Philadelphia, also obtained a number of articles from the wreck of the "Faithful Steward," but these disappeared many years ago.

Atlantic City, New Jersey. A. M. HESTON.

UNIFORM FOR THE NAVY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 1797.—The original of the following order is among the collection of the Historical Society:

"*Captains Uniform.* Full dress Coat. Blue Cloth, with long buff lappels, and a standing collar and lining of buff—to be made and trimmed full with a gold Epaulet on each Shoulder. The cuffs, buff, with four buttons and four buttons to the pockets. Lappels to have nine buttons and one to the standing collar. Buttons, yellow metal, and to have the fowl Anchor and American Eagle on the same.

"Vest and Breeches. Buff with flaps and four buttons to the pockets of the vests, so as to correspond and be in uniform with the coat. Buttons, the same kind as the coat, only proportionably smaller.

"*Lieutenants.* Coat. Long, Blue with half lappels, standing collar and lining of buff. The lappels to have six buttons and one to the Collar, below the lappel, right side three buttons; left side three close worked button holes. Three buttons to the pocket flaps, and three to a slash sleeve with a buff cuff—one gold Epaulet on the right shoulder: Trimmings plain twist.

"Vest and Breeches. Buff, the former to be made with skirts, and pocket flaps, but to have no buttons to the pockets. The buttons for the vest and breeches, and coat, the same as for the Captains uniform.

"*Lieutenant of Marines.* Coat long. Blue with long lappels of red; standing collar and lining red; the lappels to have nine buttons, and one to the standing collar. Three buttons to the pocket flaps and three

to a slash sleeve with a red cuff. One gold Epaulet on the right shoulder for the Senior Lieutenant; where there are two Lieutenants for the same ship, and one on the left shoulder for the second officer. Where there is only Lieutenant he is also to wear the Epaulet on the right shoulder. Trimmings plain.

"Vest and Breeches. The former, red, with skirts and pocket flaps, but to have no buttons to the pockets—The latter, blue—Buttons for the suit, the same as the Captains and Lieutenants.

"*Surgeons*. Coat, long. Dark Green, with black velvet lappels and standing collar, Lappels to have nine buttons, and one to the standing collar. No linings, other than being faced with the same cloth as the coat. Slash sleeves, the cuff the same as the facings, with three buttons. Pocket flaps plain.

"Vest and Breeches. The former red, double breasted—The latter, green, same as the coat. Buttons, the same as the officers.

"*Surgeons Mates*. The same as the Surgeons, with only this difference in the coat, to wit—Half lappels with six buttons and one to the collar, below the lappel; right side, three buttons; left side, three close worked button holes.

"*Sailing Master*. Coat long, Blue, with facings and standing collar of the same, edged with buff—nine buttons to the lappels, and one to the standing collar. Lining blue, or faced with the same as the coat. Slash sleeves, with three buttons—pocket plain.

"Vest and Breeches. Plain Buff Vest, and Blue Breeches, Buttons (for the suit) the same as for the officers.

"*Purser*. Coat. Plain frock Blue Coat, with the proper Naval buttons; no lappels.

"Vest and Breeches,—Buff and plain.

"*Midshipmen*. Coat,—plain frock coat of blue, lined and edged with buff; without lappels a standing collar of buff, and plain buff cuffs, open underneath with three buttons.

"Vest and Breeches, buff, former to be made round and plain—Buttons (for the suit) the same as before described.

"*Marines*. Plain short coats of blue, with a red belt, edged with red and turned up with the same, with common small naval buttons, with blue pantaloons edged with red and red vests.

"Captains, Lieutenants and Marine Officers to wear when full dressed cocked hats with black cockades, and small swords (Yellow mounted)—and when undressed such swords as may be hereafter fixed upon or ordered, which said swords are to be worn at all times by the Midshipmen, who are to wear cocked hats &c. when full dressed *only*. Surgeons; Mates; Sailing Master, and Purser—cocked hats and black cockades.

"JAMES M<sup>o</sup>HENRY,

"*Secy of War*

"WAR OFFICE Aug<sup>t</sup> 24 1797

"N.B.—Summer dress—Vests and Breeches (excepting for Marine soldiers) to be white or Nankeen, as may correspond with the uniform &c. &c. Marines white linen Overalls."

DEATH OF SAMUEL L. SMEDLEY.—Departed this life on July 21, 1894, Samuel L. Smedley, late Chief Engineer of the city of Philadelphia, a life member of this Society since June of 1857, and for many years its Recording Secretary. By his will he has bequeathed to the Society the sum of six thousand dollars, which is to be invested and the income expended in copying and publishing genealogical records of families in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, or for such similar work as the



Society shall determine. He also bequeathed his copy of a treatise on canal navigation, which was presented by the author, Robert Fulton, to President George Washington.

DEATH OF HON. JOHN CLEMENT, OF HADDONFIELD, NEW JERSEY.—We regret to announce the death of the Hon. John Clement, of Haddonfield, New Jersey, which took place on August 15, 1894. Judge Clement was a valued contributor to the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, and was well known in historical and genealogical circles. In 1851 he was chosen a member of the Council of Proprietors, and in 1885 its President; in 1854 he was appointed Lay Judge of Camden County, and served until 1864, when he was appointed a Judge of the Court of Errors and Appeals, and was continuously reappointed for thirty years, and he also served on many commissions authorized by the State Legislature. Since 1892 he has been President of the New Jersey Historical Society. Judge Clement is probably best known from his historical researches and writings, for he was a very liberal contributor to the press of West Jersey, and published many monographs. His largest work is "First Settlers in Newton Township, New Jersey," of four hundred and forty-two pages, an exhaustive history from its first settlement in 1682 to the close of the colonial period. Judge Clement has bequeathed to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania his collection of historical and genealogical manuscripts, one of the largest and most valuable in West Jersey.

"TOM" PAINE.—Extract from a letter from Richard Shackleton to a friend in America, dated Ballitore (Ireland) 1/7 mo. 1792:

"What Sort of a man is this renegade of yours, Tom Paine, that is kicking up a riot in England? He seems as if he wanted to kick all the Kings of Europe from their thrones. I don't like him; first because he is an apostate from our religious Society, & next because he is the avowed & bitter enemy of my R<sup>t</sup> honble friend Edmund Burke. . . . I look upon him as an arrogant, opinionated, turbulent, factious man, & a writer by no means of that literary rank & abilities, which my said noble & generous friend (in a conversation I was lately present at in his house) allowed him to be. 'Twas after yearly meeting that I spent an evening with that capital man (my only Gentile-friend)—in this thing my host John Eliot pardons me, & bids his servant sit up to let me in. So do not thou take upon thee to find fault."

LETTERS OF HUGH ROBERTS AND THOMAS FENTON, 1729-1732.—The following letters have been kindly contributed by Miss Meta Vaux:

"LONDON, 7<sup>ber</sup> 21<sup>st</sup> 1729

"D<sup>r</sup>: FRD. HUGH

"No separation can ever make me forget my frds & old Acquaintances though I find the proverb (out of sight out of mind) dayly veryfy'd, 'tis now a Considerable while since I've had the pleasure to hear from any of my Philadelphia frds, this pr Mr. Dan: Moor is to revive our former frdship, & to let you know I am yet in the land of the living. I am now, as you may perceive, at London, from whence by my frds advice, I intend to trade to the Leeward Islands, & hope 'twill one day be to my advantage to Revisit your agreeable Province, wch I still have a Value for, notwithstanding Great Great misfortune met with there, never more to be retrieved, but must submit, well knowing we all must follow sooner or Later. Remember me in kindest manner to y<sup>r</sup> good



Father, Mother, pretty Jenney & Susey, the rest of y<sup>r</sup> family never forgetting d<sup>r</sup> Ned. my Duty to Grand mother, pray make my love & Service Acceptable to Mr. Cummings, who I can't forget, Notwithstanding he made his wedding shirt of his first wife's shroud. Service to all inquiring frds.

"I pray you'll inquire among y<sup>r</sup> Country folks for Jonathan Evans son of Charles Evans of Penywenalt near New Castle in Emlyn, & if you find him, pray advise Mr. Josiah Evans (at Mr. Werdon's Academy in Greenwich) of it, who is his Bro. & has not heard of him for many years; I shall continue here 'till Feb<sup>r</sup> so if any oppor. should be glad of a line from you. Direct for me at Mr. Tho: Butleir's Jun<sup>r</sup> (in Dolphin) Tower street, London. 'tis time to conclude this scrawl, assuring you that I am & ever shall be D<sup>r</sup> Hugh

"Y<sup>r</sup> Loving frd. & humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

"THO. FENTON

"P.S.—I hear Jenny's married, if so I wish her all possible satisfaction & happiness, which she so well deserves—Adieu."

"PHILADA September 25<sup>th</sup> 1729

"RESPECT'D FR'D. T. FENTON

". . . My sister Jenny entered likly into the Matrimonial Band w<sup>th</sup> William Fishbourn who I believe will make her a loving Husband he being a good Natured pson especially to the female sex & I hope the [torn] of a young Consort will induce him to a more contented life than giving cause that his former character may be justly grounded. Sister Susan is much dejected by the parting with a sister, altho. but at a small Distance so that I am apt to believe nothing short of a Nupteal tye will support her Drooping spirits at this melancholly Juncture. Thy mother, parson Cumings and Mr. Annin are well, Richard Hill one of the Judges of Supreme Court died about a month since—there is not any pson as yet Elected to Stead—he has distributed his large estate amongst his numerous Relations and young spouse. Doctor Edward Owen likewise died lately, (on Tuesday the 17<sup>o</sup> Instant) and Governour Burnet of Boston, after a short indisposition as we have it asserted in our *Weekly Mercury* w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>r</sup> piece of Presbiterian. Our Election is like to be carried on w<sup>th</sup> the same warmth as usual by the two different parties commonly called the Wine and Tiff Clubs, but Tiff being the larger Composition, I believe will prove the most potent and Liqueur as to the smart Continges since thy Departure . . .

"HUGH ROBERTS."

"June 15 1782

"I have not any news concerning our family that at present occurs to save that my cousin Aubrey Roberts was Yesterday married in y<sup>e</sup> Country to a Lass of the Preaching Tribe I suppose to be out of Danger of being Priest Riden. Your former shipmate Doctor Griffith Owen died here in the Spring after about 24 Hours sickness.

"HUGH ROBERTS."

MERION MEETING-HOUSE.—Several interesting items relating to the venerable old meeting-house at Merion will be found in the following letter of Roberts Vaux to Hugh Roberts, at Pine Grove:

"MULBERRY STREET,  
1 mo 14, 1834.

"MY GOOD COUSIN

"Several years ago, perhaps eight, I visited Merion Meeting House, and obtained part of the red cedar dial post, which was placed near that

building by our ancestor Hugh Roberts in 1682, according to the record made on the Minutes of that period. While the man was sawing off the portion that had been given to me, several of the members of the meeting stood by, amongst them was Richard Jones, then near ninety years old, who said he remembered the dial & post from his childhood. The dial itself was large, & made of lead, & he believed it was converted into bullets during the revolutionary war, when all such material was taken, without ceremony by the public agents. The post remained where it was originally planted, until the year before I obtained the fragment, when it was removed from the ground & deposited in a shed at hand. . . .

ROBERTS VAUX."

THE VALLEY FORGE PARK COMMISSION, created by Act of Assembly May 30, 1893, "to acquire, maintain, and preserve forever the Revolutionary camp ground at Valley Forge, for the free enjoyment of the people of the State," aware that there are many unpublished original documents relating to the camp, are desirous of obtaining the deposit of orderly-books, diaries, letters, and maps, for preservation and for the further elucidation of its history; or copies of the same. All communications should be addressed to Mr. Frederick D. Stone, Secretary of the Commission (hall of the Historical Society), 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia. The newspaper press of the country is also requested to give publicity to this highly laudable object of the Commission.

EDITOR PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE.

GENERAL WILLIAM IRVINE'S DESCENDANTS.—In the introductory note to Baron Rosenthal's "Journal of a Volunteer Expedition to Sandusky" I erred in stating that none of General Irvine's descendants were living in this city. In the female line they are found in the families of Leiper, Lewis, and Reed.

FREDERICK D. STONE.

WILLIAM PARSONS'S "FIELD BOOK," 1734-1736.—Among the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is a "Field Book," 1734-1736, of William Parsons, who was by trade a shoemaker, but a member of Franklin's Junta Club, in which he passed for "a man having a profound knowledge of mathematics," and was sometime Surveyor-General of the Province of Pennsylvania. The following extracts have been taken from this old vellum-covered book:

"January 30, 1735.—Inhabitants on Schuylkill below Andrew Rambo's, 1<sup>st</sup> The Parsonage, Peter Cock, Mouns Cock, Theod. Lord, — Kirl, Jno. Hainy."

"October 25, 1736.—Surv'd for James Steel a Tract of Land on Dela. River in the Co of Bucks at a place called the Monettos a little below the great Mountain Begin<sup>s</sup> at a blk Oak by Delaware River thence up by it. . . . This was suveyed in Right of Geo. Palmer to W<sup>m</sup> Allen of whom J. Steel purchased."

"The breadth of Delaware River measured at Philad<sup>a</sup> the 22<sup>d</sup> of Jan<sup>y</sup> 1736

"from the Wharf on High St to the Wharf late of — Cooper is 232 perches & 17 perches more to the House now of Humphrey Day."

"In Planting the Proprietaries Orchard at Springetts<sup>y</sup> the distance of the Trees 9 f. 5 in less than 2 chains. The Fish pond 311 y<sup>d</sup>s at 4d p yard. The Garden on the East side the Walk."

"January 24, 1736.—measured with a wheel, from the end of 2<sup>d</sup> Street continued to the South Side of the City continued the same course S 15 W abt 114 per Wicaco Church Lane runs S 63 $\frac{1}{2}$  E the Church is about 8

per below the lower side thereof thence S 31 W 30 pr a lane runs S 63½ E at 61 And<sup>r</sup> Hamilton's lane . . . to John Moore's line . . . A Morris's gate . . . Jo. Whartons fence . . . C. Brockden's corner . . . C. Brockden's gate the course to his house. . . . to end of lane."

There are notes of a survey made January 27, 1736, on "Delaware River made by a wheel . . . from North side of Vine Street opposite Master's Tide Mill to Fairmans house; to opposite lower end of Petty's Island . . . more opposite to the house late of Capt Palmer now of — White thence ye Same course more . . . oppos. to the upper end of ye Island . . . to ye upper end of ye Meadow at Point no point . . . towards Wilkinsons house . . . opposite to a point below Frankford Cr's mouth . . . below the point River encroaches . . . to Halls house . . . to opposite mouth of Taconink . . . more opposite to the house late of Aaron Goforth . . . to the mouth of Pennipak . . . to E Thomas's lower lane."

WILLIAM PARSONS, "SHOEMAKER."—The following items and names of the customers of William Parsons, shoemaker and sometime surveyor, are extracted from his ledger between the years 1723-1727, in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania:

"Edmund Woolly" provides shoes for himself, wife, and his "boy Andrew," and for Ann Smith, their nurse, a pair of "clogs." Christopher Thomson is charged with "Women's Shoes for the Tallow Chandler and for John Williamson's wife." John Moore pays for shoes for his wife, for "Black Sarah," his negro woman, Mary Howard, "Robert," "William," servants, and his negroes Cæsar and London. Samuel Powel's daughters Deborah and Sarah are purchasers of shoes and clogs. Joseph Drinker's account is a long one, in which the following names appear: sons Joseph, Henry, and John, Edward Hews, Sarah Plowman, John Mills, "Chancellor's Maid," Sarah Elfreth. Parsons evidently rented of James Cooper, whose credit side of the account states, "By rent £3.15.3;" he is debited by repairs and with "Shoes and Goloshoes" for his wife and Rebecca. Francis Rawle buys shoes for his wife, son Joseph, daughter Mary, for his maid and "his son Joseph's Man." The names of his other customers are Ludwig C. Sprogel, William Ballard, William Coleman, John Dilling, William Wall, Thomas Todd, William Freeman, Daniel Pegg, Mathias Tyson, Reynier Tyson, Thomas Potts, William Corker, John Coates, Laurence Reynolds, John Keys, Thomas Redman, Martha Steel, John Carver, John Bond, Nathaniel Zane, Enoch Coates, Jeremiah Elfreth, William Shute, Thomas Spiser, William Lucan, Morris Walker, Jacob Perkins, John Barnes, Margaret Jones, Peter Evans, Sarah Cart, Thomas Griffith, Nicholas Scull, Francis Knowles, Thomas Hart, John Snowden, Isaac Cooper, John Clifton, John North, Benjamin Wood, Jacob Casdrop, William Crosswix, Miles Strickland, Benjamin Norwood, James Lewis, Joshua Tompkins, Philip Denny, Richard Empson, Richard Brockden, Benjamin Peert, John Pane, Thomas Collins, John Inskip, George Wilson, Blackston Engledue, and John Holliday, of Duck Creek.

### Queries.

KNIGHT—BROWN.—William Knight, said to have been a tanner, settled near Philadelphia. His wife's name was Elizabeth. Who can give her maiden name? They had a daughter Elizabeth, who married,



2-1758, William Brown, minister, of East Nottingham, Chester County. Can any one tell where William Knight resided and anything about his ancestry or that of his wife Elizabeth?

BROWN.—William Brown, son of William Brown, who came from England in 1683. Married 1-15-1721, as his second wife, Margaret Davis. Who were the parents of Margaret Davis? After William's death, Margaret married William Kirk. Any information about the above will be appreciated by  
JOHN A. M. PASSMORE.

CITY OF PHILADELPHIA FLAG. — Information is requested as to whether there is any law or ordinance regulating the color or design of the flag of the city of Philadelphia.  
J.

BARNS OR BARNES.—Information is desired concerning the ancestors and descendants of Timothy Barns or Barnes, who was born 19th April, 1741. He married Eunice Munson, and lived in Litchfield, Connecticut, until about 1794, when he removed with his family to Coopers-town, New York. In 1799 he made Clinton, New York, his home. He died December or November 15, 1825, and was interred at New Haven, Connecticut.

Sheffield, Pennsylvania.

BYRON BARNES HORTON.

SEYBERT.—To what or whom can a letter to one of the Philadelphia newspapers refer, beginning "ELOPED OR STRAYED AWAY, My family Doctor, named *Seybert*"? He is described as "5 feet 10 inches high, crooked nose, high forehead, small dark eyes, with a cream coloured skin," said to possess "an universal medicine," supposed to have "gone to Ohio . . . hates a Clintonian . . . pockets full of bottles containing extracts from a newly discovered caucus root, lately found at Washington . . . has made a dust out of Binn's paper and address, so powerful that . . . it will distort your eyes . . . that you can never see right any more. He threatens to force this dust up the nose of every republican in Kentucky, Ohio, and the western part of Pennsylvania . . ." Signed "A HIT, No. 6 South 4th st." Advertisements on other side of the slip, cut from same paper, are dated September, 1812.  
T. S.

### Book Notices.

ACCOUNT OF THE BUCK FAMILY, OF BUCKS COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA, and of the Buckville Centennial Celebration, held June 11, 1892, including the Proceedings of the Buckwampum Literary Association. Edited by William J. Buck. Philadelphia, 1893. 8vo, 143 pp.

Nicholas Buck, the American ancestor of the family, came from near Thionville, Lorraine, in 1752, and settled in Springfield Township, Bucks County, where some years later he took up a tract of land called "Buckhill." The compiler has devoted some space to the antiquity of the family in the valleys of the Rhine and Moselle, and also its American connections. On the title-page the family coat of arms, which was granted prior to 1100, is printed in colors, and the text is illustrated by the old family mansion at Buckville, erected by Captain Nicholas Buck over a century ago, portraits, and fac-simile autographs. The book was



printed for circulation in the family, but a few copies may be obtained of the compiler at \$1.40, post-paid.

RECORDS OF THE PATERSON FIRE ASSOCIATION, 1821-1854, with the Laws relating to the Association. Also Accounts of Fires and other Matters of Interest from Contemporary Newspapers. By William Nelson. Paterson, New Jersey, 1894. 263 pp.

The exact date of the first organization of a company to guard against the destruction of lives and property by fire in Paterson, New Jersey, is not definitely known, but it is believed that one was founded about the year 1815. Mr. Nelson has edited, with notes, the minute-book records of the Paterson Fire Association, covering a period of upward of thirty years, with accounts of fires from contemporary newspapers, which makes a valuable contribution to local history. Among the illustrations are the only Paterson fire-engine in 1821, and the destruction of Little Beaver Mill in 1832. The book is neatly printed and contains an excellent index.

HENDRICK PANNEBECKER, SURVEYOR OF LANDS FOR THE PENNS, 1674-1754, FLOMBORN, GERMANTOWN, AND SKIPPACK. By Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, LL.D. Philadelphia, 1894. 164 pp. One hundred and fifty copies privately printed.

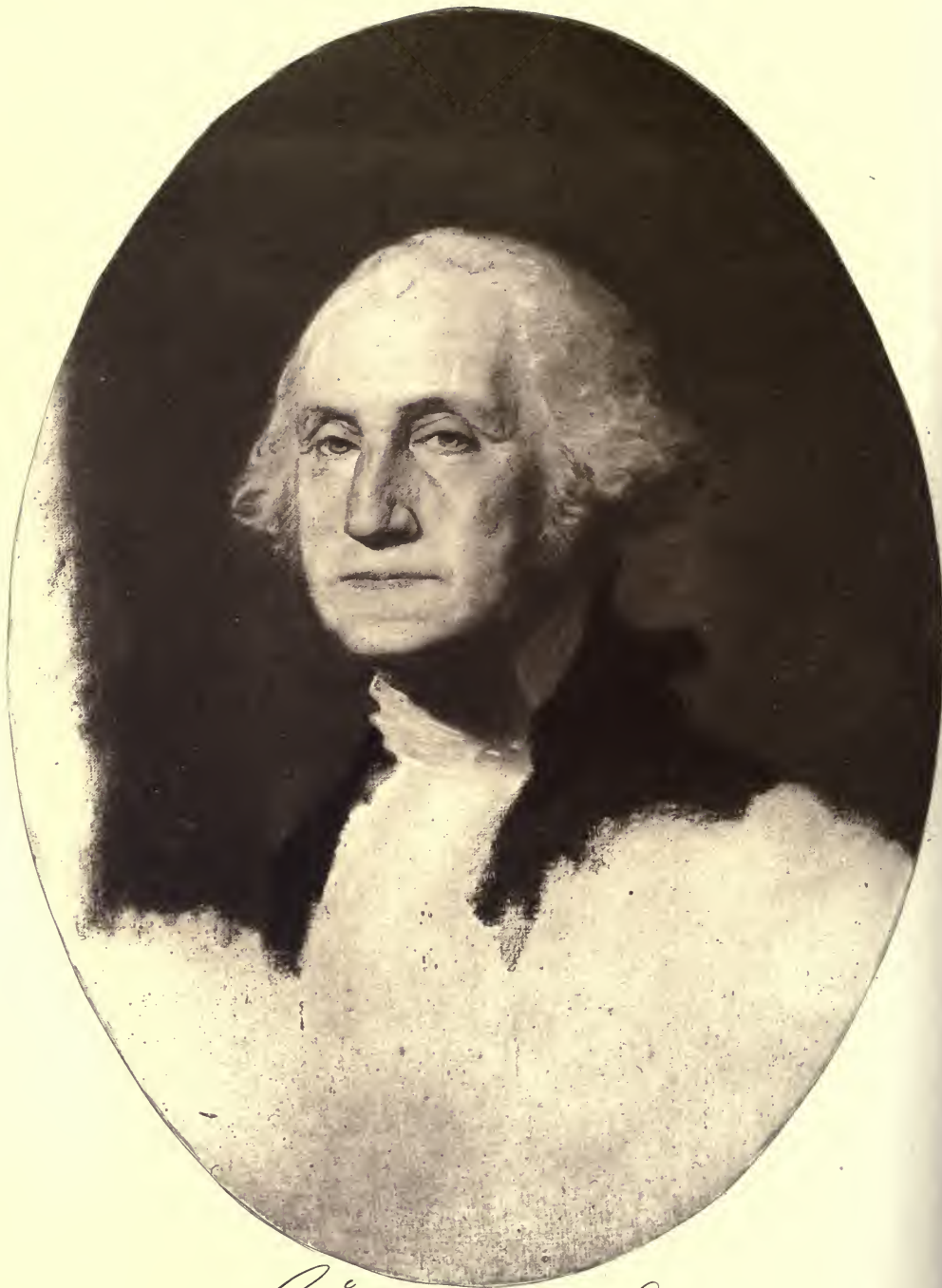
We have received a copy of this valuable contribution to the genealogical history of Pennsylvania. It opens with a sketch of the origin of the present Pennypacker family, which is followed by that of their ancestors, the Pannebakkers (the name signifies "a maker of tiles") of the Netherlands. From the Netherlands the family, about 1658, moved into the Palatinate, and settled at Flomborn, near Worms, where the name became Germanized to Pfannebecker. It was here that the immigrant to Pennsylvania, "Hendrick Pannebecker," was born in 1674. At the close of the seventeenth century we find him a resident of Germantown, possessed of considerable realty, and a surveyor of excellent repute, whose services were in demand in the districts surrounding the capital of the province. In 1702 he removed to Skippack, in the present Montgomery County, where a colony of Mennonites had been settled, which became the ancestral home of the American family. In our war for independence the family was well represented in the patriot army, and Washington, in 1777, made "Pennybacker's Mill" his headquarters for a time during his operations around Philadelphia. In concluding the sketch of his ancestor, Judge Pennypacker comments upon his strength of character and its impress on later generations. His descendants, who number upward of three thousand, have included men who filled prominent positions as statesmen, in medicine, in the law, the sciences, and in the army and navy. In our second war with England and in that with Mexico they did good service for their country, but their proudest record is in that of the late Civil War, when one hundred and three of old Hendrick's descendants, including two major-generals (among them the gallant Galusha Pennypacker, the youngest major-general of the war), fourteen commissioned officers of lower rank, and eighty-seven non-commissioned officers and privates, went forth in defence of the Union,—"a record unequalled by that of any other American family." The book is a fine specimen of the typographer's art; the type is large, the paper hand-made, with uncut edges, and a rubricated title, and is illustrated with the coat of arms of the family, portraits, views of Flomborn and Skippack, fac-similes of letters, surveys, and Bible records.

THE HISTORICAL JOURNAL: A Quarterly Record, devoted principally to Local History, Biography, and Genealogy in Northwestern Pennsylvania. Edited and published by John F. Meginness. Williamsport, Pennsylvania.

We have received the first number of Volume II. of this excellent journal, which comes in a new form and dress, and bespeak for its editor the hearty support and encouragement of all who are engaged in historical research. Among the valuable contributions are "The Great Island: its History,"—an island in the Susquehanna famous in our provincial history; the "Marriage Records of Rev. James Linn, D.D.," who for fifty-eight years was pastor of the Presbyterian congregation at Bellefonte, Pennsylvania, which is preceded by a biographical sketch of that divine; the first instalment of the "Hepburn Family: its Long, Eventful, and Thrilling History in Scotland and America;" besides other interesting local historical matter.

DR. OSWALD SEIDENSTICKER, PROFESSOR AN DEN UNIVERSITÄT VON PENNSYLVANIEN. EIN LEBENSBILD.—A neat pamphlet of seventy-two pages, printed for the Pioneer Society of Philadelphia, containing the proceedings of their memorial meeting on the death of Professor Seidensticker, has been sent to us. It contains a full and interesting biographical sketch by Ernest R. Schmidt, with the addresses of Judge Pennypacker, Franz Ehrlich, Dr. G. Kellner, Professor Edmund J. James, Hermann Faber, and H. A. Rattermann, of Cincinnati, and a list of the published works of the late professor.





*George Washington*

*Untouched Photo Gravure from the original by Stuart,  
in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.  
The property of the Boston Athenaeum.*



THE  
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE  
OF  
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

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VOL. XVIII.

1894.

No. 4.

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WASHINGTON AFTER THE REVOLUTION, 1784-1799.

BY WILLIAM S. BAKER.

[On the 23d day of December, 1783, Washington resigned his commission as Commander-in-Chief of the armies of the Revolution to the Congress of the United States, then in session at Annapolis, Maryland. After a simple but most impressive ceremony, made memorable by the singular beauty and dignity of his address, he left for Mount Vernon, where he arrived toward the close of the following day. It was the evening before Christmas when Washington returned to that home which, through the long and weary struggle, was ever in his mind, and where he hoped, to use his own words, "to spend the remainder of his days in cultivating the affections of good men, and in the practice of the domestic virtues." But the end was not yet! There was to be but a brief period of repose; other and more trying years were before him; other and more trying duties were to be imposed. But when they came, when the new duties and responsibilities were to be met, the old firmness and courage, judgment and decision, were displayed, and, strong alike in peace as in war, the great soul, responsive to the call, was found equal to the task.

We propose, as a sequel to the Itinerary of the Revolution (PENNA. MAG., Vols. XIV., XV., 1890, 1891<sup>1</sup>), to follow Washington through the

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<sup>1</sup> Since published in book form with many additions. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1892. 8vo, pp. 334.

remaining years of his life, keeping our notes as closely as possible to his personal movements, although at times it may be difficult to separate his public acts from those of a more private and personal nature.—W. S. B.]

1784.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 1.

At Mount Vernon: "The public and other papers, which were committed to your charge, and the books in which they have been recorded under your inspection, having come safe to hand, I take this first opportunity of signifying my entire approbation of the manner in which you have executed the important duties of recording secretary, and the satisfaction, I feel in having my papers so properly arranged, and so correctly recorded."—*Washington to Richard Varick.*

In the month of May, 1781, General Washington made arrangements, by authority of Congress, to have all his official papers recorded in volumes. He appointed Colonel Richard Varick to superintend this work,—to classify the papers according to a plan furnished by himself, and to engage such a number of copyists as he should deem expedient. These volumes, thirty-seven in number, containing transcripts of Washington's entire correspondence, official and private, from the beginning to the end of the Revolution, are now the property of the national government, and form one of the most valuable features of its archives. They were purchased with a large amount of other papers in August, 1834, from George Corbin Washington, to whom they were bequeathed by his uncle, Judge Bushrod Washington, the original devisee under the will of General Washington.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 10.

At Mount Vernon: "When you have finished my portrait which is intended for the Count de Solms, I will thank you for handing it to Mr. Robert Morris, who will forward it to the Count de Bruhl (Minister from his Electoral Highness of Saxe at the Court of London), as the channel pointed out for the conveyance of it."—*Washington to Joseph Wright, at Philadelphia.*

Under date of August 4, 1785, the Comte de Solms, "De la Fortress de Königstein en Saxe," acknowledged the receipt of this portrait in the following terms: "My General and my Hero.—I have just received your picture, and I am entirely taken up to give it a sufficient embellishment by placing it between the King of Prussia and his illustrious brother Henry. You see that this is a trio very harmonical. . . . It must be that the picture resembles, for I regard it as the greatest ornament of my fortress."

The sittings for this portrait must have been given in December, 1783, Washington having been in Philadelphia from the 5th to the 15th of that month. Another portrait by Wright—a three-quarter length, presented by Washington to Mrs. Samuel Powel, of Philadelphia, and still in possession of the family at Newport, Rhode Island—may have been executed at the same time. It is signed and dated “J. Wright, 1784.” The *Powel Portrait* is known through an etching executed by Albert Rosenthal, the frontispiece to Baker’s “*Bibliotheca Washingtoniana*,” Philadelphia, 1889.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 14.

At Mount Vernon: “I am truly sensible, Sir, that the extract from the instructions of the executive of Pennsylvania to their delegates, contains another most flattering proof of the favorable opinion they are pleased to entertain of my past services. Every repeated mark of the approbation of my fellow citizens, especially of those invested with so dignified an appointment, demands my particular acknowledgment. \*Under this impression, I cannot but feel the greatest obligations to the Supreme Executive Council of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania. But, as my sentiments on the subject of their instructions have been long and well known to the public, I need not repeat them to your Excellency on the present occasion.”—*Washington to Thomas Mifflin*.

Under date of December 16, 1783, the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania forwarded a paper to the delegates in Congress from that State, instructing them to bring to the early attention of Congress the fact that, as the admiration of the world might make the life of Washington in a very considerable degree public, and his very services to his country subject him to expenses, some testimonial of public gratitude would be proper under the circumstances. The instructions, drawn in a most delicate manner, were transmitted to Washington by President Mifflin before submitting them to Congress. The reply as given above, in accordance with his determination, made known when he received his commission as Commander-in-Chief, to accept no compensation from his country for his services other than his expenses, prevented any further action on the subject.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 18.

At Mount Vernon: “The disinclination of the individual States to yield competent powers to Congress for the federal government, their unreasonable jealousy of that body and of one another, and the disposition, which seems to pervade

each, of being all-wise and all-powerful within itself, will, if there is not a change in the system, be our downfall as a nation.”—*Washington to Benjamin Harrison.*

THURSDAY, JANUARY 22.

At Mount Vernon: “If my commission [as Commander-in-Chief] is not necessary for the files of Congress, I should be glad to have it deposited among my own papers. It may serve *my grandchildren*, some fifty or a hundred years hence, for a theme to ruminate upon, if *they* should be contemplatively disposed.”—*Washington to Charles Thomson.*

“*Annapolis*, February 7th.—With respect to your *commission*, I have to inform you, that, previous to the receipt of your letter, it had been in agitation among the members to have an order passed for returning it to you in a gold box. A motion has accordingly been made to that effect, which was received with general approbation, and referred to a committee to be drawn up in proper terms. The committee have not yet reported. But I have not the least doubt of its being returned to you in a way, that will be satisfactory; and I heartily wish, that this sacred deposit may be preserved by your *children* and children’s children to the latest posterity, and may prove an incentive to them to emulate the virtues of their worthy and great progenitor.”—*Charles Thomson to Washington.*

This intention, it seems, was never fulfilled. The original commission was retained, and is deposited in the Department of State of the United States.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 1.

At Mount Vernon: “At length, my dear Marquis, I am become a private citizen on the banks of the Potomac; and under the shadow of my own vine and my own fig-tree, free from the bustle of a camp, and the busy scenes of public life, I am solacing myself with those tranquil enjoyments, of which the soldier, who is ever in pursuit of fame, the statesman, whose watchful days and sleepless nights are spent in devising schemes to promote the welfare of his own, perhaps the ruin of other countries, as if this globe was insufficient for us all, and the courtier, who is always watching the countenance of his prince, in hopes of catching a gracious smile, can have very little conception.”—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*



WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 11.

Leaves Mount Vernon: On this day Washington set out for Fredericksburg, to pay a visit to his mother, which had been delayed on account of the severity of the weather. He did not return until the 19th.

“ We have been so fast locked up in snow and ice since Christmas, that all kinds of intercourse have been suspended; and a duty which I owed my mother, and intended ere this to have performed, has been forced to yield to the intemperance of the weather.”—*Washington to Charles Thomson, January 22.*

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 20.

At Mount Vernon: “ I am just beginning to experience that ease and freedom from public cares, which, however desirable, takes some time to realize; for, strange as it may seem, it is nevertheless true, that it was not till lately I could get the better of my usual custom of ruminating, as soon as I waked in the morning, on the business of the ensuing day; and of my surprise at finding, after revolving many things in my mind, that I was no longer a public man, nor had any thing to do with public transactions.”—*Washington to General Knox.*

THURSDAY, MARCH 25.

At Mount Vernon: “ I will frankly declare to you, my dear Doctor, that any memoirs of my life, distinct and unconnected with the general history of the war, would rather hurt my feelings than tickle my pride whilst I live. I had rather glide gently down the stream of life, leaving it to posterity to think and say what they please of me, than by any act of mine to have vanity or ostentation imputed to me.”—*Washington to Dr. James Craik.*

The letter from which the above extract is made was in reply to an application made by a Mr. Bowie, through Dr. Craik, for permission to examine such papers as would be necessary to enable him to prepare a memoir of the General, which he had in contemplation. Washington, deeming it improper to have the papers connected with his career during the Revolution made public until Congress thought proper to open its archives to the historian, and as, in his opinion, no accurate history of his life could be

written without consulting them, denied the request, not unwillingly, as it appears.

MONDAY, APRIL 12.

At Mount Vernon: "The estate of General Washington not being more than fifteen leagues from Annapolis I accepted an invitation that he gave me to go and pass several days there, and it is from his house that I have the honor to write to you. After having seen him on my arrival in this continent, in the midst of his camp and in the tumult of arms, I have the pleasure to see him a simple citizen, enjoying in the repose of his retreat the glory which he has so justly acquired. . . . He dresses in a gray coat like a Virginia farmer, and nothing about him recalls the recollection of the important part which he has played except the great number of foreigners who come to see him."—*Chevalier de la Luzerne to Rayneval, April 12, 1784.*

SATURDAY, MAY 1.

At Philadelphia: "On Saturday last [May 1] his Excellency General Washington our late worthy and much respected Commander in Chief arrived in the city, from his seat in Virginia."—*Pennsylvania Gazette, May 5, 1784.*

"On Saturday, the first of May, the sons of St. Tammany<sup>1</sup> met at Mr. Pole's seat on Schuylkill in order to celebrate the day. The company having learned that general Washington dined with the financier general [Robert Morris], they marched with the music before them to his door [Market, between Fifth and Sixth Streets], where they halted and gave his excellency thirteen cheers, and at the same time thirteen cannon were fired on the banks of the Schuylkill."—*Pennsylvania Packet, May 6, 1784.*

SATURDAY, MAY 15.

At Philadelphia: "We have been amazingly embarrassed in the business that brought us here. It is now drawing to

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<sup>1</sup> This society, organized for social purposes, took its name from TAMMEND, an ancient Indian chief of the Lenni Lenape confederacy, remarkable for his good and noble qualities. The fame of this great man extended among the whites, and in the Revolutionary war his admirers among the Pennsylvania troops established him as the Patron Saint of America, under the name of *St. Tamany*. His festival was celebrated on the first day of May in every year. The noted political organization of New York, the "Tammany Society," derives its name from this chief.

a conclusion, and will soon be given to the public."—*Washington to Philip Schuyler*.

Washington visited Philadelphia at this time for the purpose of attending the first general meeting of the Cincinnati. The society met at the City Tavern, Second Street above Walnut, every morning at nine o'clock (Sundays excepted) from Tuesday, May 4, to Tuesday the 18th, when it adjourned. The session of the 18th was short, and Washington in all probability left for Mount Vernon the same day.

The embarrassment in the business referred to by Washington arose from his desire to overcome the popular dissatisfaction excited by the institution of the society, produced mainly by the provision of hereditary distinction. He, therefore, submitted a paper to the meeting, suggesting alterations to the institution, and most of his suggestions were embodied in a proposed amended institution, which was recommended to the State societies for adoption. The State societies, however, regarding the prevailing excitement as a passing storm, withheld their approval and ratification of the proposed amendments, and the society stands now on the same footing that it did on its organization.

#### FRIDAY, MAY 21.

At Annapolis, Maryland: "His excellency general Washington arrived at Annapolis from Philadelphia the 21st. ult. and the next day set off for his seat in Virginia."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, June 8, 1784.

#### WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2.

At Mount Vernon: "I did not hear of your late appointment until I arrived at Annapolis, where I remained but one day, and that occasioned by the detention of my carriage and horses on the Eastern Shore."—*Washington to David Humphreys*.

David Humphreys, of Connecticut, an aide to Washington from 1780 until he resigned his commission, accompanied him on his return to Mount Vernon, where he remained until the middle of January. He was the last officer of the army to take leave of the General.

On the 12th of May, Colonel Humphreys was appointed secretary to the commission for negotiating treaties of commerce with foreign powers. He sailed from New York for France in July. The commission was composed of Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson.

#### THURSDAY, JUNE 24.

At Alexandria, Virginia: Attends the Masonic festival of St. John the Baptist, and dines with the Master and brethren.

ren of Lodge No. 39. The following record was made: "The Worshipful Master, with the unanimous consent of the brethren, was pleased to admit his EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON, as an honorary member of Lodge No. 39."

MONDAY, JULY 5.

At Mount Vernon: "The General being in want of a House Joiner & Bricklayer who understand their respective trades perfectly, would thank Mr. Rumney for enquiring into the terms upon which such workmen might be engaged for two or three years."—*Washington to William Rumney.*

At this time Washington was engaged in the prosecution of improvements at Mount Vernon, the principal being additions to the house originally built by Lawrence Washington (1744), which was of the old gable-roofed style, with only four rooms upon each floor. It was about one-third the size of the present building, and in the alteration it was made to occupy the central portion, the two ends having been built at the same time. The mansion, when completed by General Washington, at the close of 1785 (and as it now appears), was of the most substantial framework, two stories in height, ninety-six feet in length, thirty feet in depth, with a piazza fifteen feet in width, extending along the eastern or river front.

Mr. William Rumney, a shipping merchant of Alexandria, to whom the above quoted letter was addressed, was about to leave for England, and hence the request.

THURSDAY, JULY 15.

At Mount Vernon: Answers an address of the General Assembly of Virginia, voted on the 22d of June, and presented to him at Mount Vernon, a few days afterward, by a joint committee of the two Houses, headed by James Madison.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 20.

At Mount Vernon: "I thank you for your favor of the 16th of June by the Marquis de Lafayette, who arrived here three days ago."—*Washington to Count de Rochambeau.*

Lafayette arrived at New York on the 4th of August, after a passage of thirty-four days from France. He remained a short time in New York to receive the congratulations of the citizens, and also in Philadelphia, and



then hastened forward to Mount Vernon, which place he reached, as stated on the 17th. He stayed at Mount Vernon twelve days.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 1.

Leaves Mount Vernon: "*September 1.*—Having found it indispensably necessary to visit my Landed property West of the Apalacheon Mountains, and more especially that part of it which I held [in Fayette County, Pennsylvania] in Co-partnership with M<sup>r</sup> Gilbert Simpson.—Having determined upon a tour into that Country,—and having made the necessary preparations for it,—I did, on the first day of this Month (September) set out on my journey.

"Having dispatched my equipage about 9 o'clock A.M.; consisting of 3 Servants & 6 horses, three of which carried my Baggage, I set out myself in company with Doctor James Craik; and after dining at M<sup>r</sup> Sampson Trammells (ab<sup>t</sup> 2 Miles above the Falls Church) we proceeded to Difficulty Bridge, and lodged at one Shepherds Tavern 25 Miles."—*Washington's Diary.*

"*September 2.*—About 5 o'clock we set out from Shepherds; and leaving the Baggage to follow slowly on, we arrived about 11 O'clock ourselves at Leesburgh where we Dined—The Baggage having joined we proceeded to M<sup>r</sup> Israel Thompsons & lodged mak<sup>s</sup> ab<sup>t</sup> 36 M. *September 3.*—Having business to transact with my Tenants in Berkeley; & others were directed to meet me at my Brothers (Col<sup>o</sup>. Charles Washington's<sup>1</sup>), I left Doct<sup>r</sup> Craik and the Baggage to follow slowly, and set out myself about Sun Rise for that place—where after Breakfasting at Keys<sup>s</sup> ferry [on the Shenandoah] I arrived about 11 O'clock—distant ab<sup>t</sup> 17 Miles. Col<sup>o</sup> Warner Washington,<sup>2</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Wormeley, Gen<sup>l</sup> [Daniel] Morgan, M<sup>r</sup> Trickett and many other Gentlemen came here to see me. *September 4.*—Having finished my business with my Tenants . . . and provided a Waggon for the transportation of my Baggage to the Warm Springs (or Town of Bath) to give relief to my Horses, which from the extreme heat of the Weather began to Rub & gaul, I set out after dinner and reached Capt<sup>n</sup> Stroods a substantial farmers betw<sup>n</sup> Opecken [Opequan] Creek & Martinsburgh—distant by estimation 14 Miles from my Brothers. *September 5.* Dispatched my Waggon (with

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Washington resided at what is now Charlestown, Jefferson County, West Virginia, laid out in 1786, and named from his Christian name.

<sup>2</sup> A son of John Washington, the elder brother of Augustine, the father of General Washington. He resided at Fairfield, Frederick (now Clarke) County, Virginia.

the Baggage) at daylight; and at 7 o'clock followed it.—bated at one Snodgrass, on Back Creek—and dined there, about 5 o'clock P.M. we arrived at the Springs—or Town of Bath [now Berkeley Springs, Morgan County, West Virginia] after travelling the whole day through a drizzling Rain, 30 Miles."—*Washington's Diary.*

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 6.

At Bath, Virginia: "*September 6.* Remained at Bath all day, and was showed the Model of a Boat constructed by the ingenious M<sup>r</sup> [James] Rumsey for ascending rapid currents by mechanism; the principles of this were not only shown & fully explained to me, but to my very great satisfaction, exhibited in practice in private under the injunction of Secresy, until he saw the effect of an application he was about to Make to the Assembly of this State, for a reward. . . . Having obtained a Plan of this Town (Bath) and ascertained the situation of my lots therein . . . & M<sup>r</sup> Rumsey being willing to undertake those Buildings [a dwelling-house, kitchen, and stable], I have agreed with him to have them finished by the 10<sup>th</sup> of next July."—*Washington's Diary.*

"*September 7.*—Having hired three Pack horses—to give my own greater relief—I sent my Baggage of this day about one Oclock, and ordered those who had charge of it, to proceed to one Headricks at 15 Miles Creek, distant ab<sup>t</sup> ten Miles, to night, and to the old Town next day. *September 8.*—Set out about 7 o'clock with the Doct<sup>r</sup> (Craik) his son William and my Nephew Bushrod Washington, who were to make the tour with us,—about ten I parted with them at 15 Miles Creek, & recrossed the Potomack (having passed it ab<sup>t</sup> 3 Miles from the Springs before) to a tract of mine on the Virginia Side, which I find exceedingly Rich, & must be very valuable. . . . After having reviewed this Land I again crossed the River [to Maryland] & getting into the waggon Road pursued my journey to the old Town where I overtook my Company & baggage—lodged at Col<sup>o</sup> [Thomas] Cresaps—ab<sup>t</sup> 35 Miles this day. *September 9.*—The day proving rainy we remained here [Old Town]. *September 10.*—Set off a little after 5 o'clock altho' the morning was very unpromising,—finding from the Rains that had fallen, and description of the Roads, part of which between the old Town & this place (old Fort Cumberland) we had passed, that the progress of my Baggage would be tedious. I resolved (it being necessary) to leave it to follow; and proceed on myself to Gilbert Simpson's. . . . Accordingly, leaving Doct<sup>r</sup> Craik, his Son, and My Nephew with it, I set out with one Servant only—dined at M<sup>r</sup> Gwins at the Fort [? Fork] of the Roads leaving [? leading] to Winchester and the old Town, distant from the latter

ab<sup>t</sup> 20 Miles & lodged at Tumbersons at the little Meadows [Somerset County, Pennsylvania] 15 Miles further. *September 11.*—Set out at half after 5 o'clock from Tumbersons, & in about 1½ Miles came to what is called the little crossing of the Yohiogany. . . . Breakfasted at one Mounts or Mountains, 11 Miles from Tumberson's; the Road being exceedingly bad, especially through what is called the Shades of death.—Bated at the great crossing [of the Youghiogheny River or Braddock's road, now Somerfield] which is a large Water, distant from Mounts' 9 Miles, and a better Road than between that and Tumbersons—Lodged at one Daughertys a Mile & half short of the Great Meadows . . . distant from the crossing 12 Miles."—*Washington's Diary.*

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 12.

At Fayette County, Pennsylvania: "*September 12.*—Left Daughertys about 6 o'clock—stopped awhile at the Great Meadows and viewed a tenement I have there . . . is a very good stand for a Tavern. Dined at Mr Thomas Gists [Mount Braddock] at the Foot of Laurel, distant from the Meadows 12 Miles, and arrived at Gilbert Simpsons about 5 o'clock 12 Miles further."—*Washington's Diary.*

The tenement at Great Meadows, in what is now Wharton Township, Fayette County, Pennsylvania, and which Washington considered "a very good stand for a Tavern," was on a tract of land containing two hundred and thirty-four acres, acquired by him in 1767. It included the site of *Fort Necessity*, a stockade hastily constructed by Washington, when a colonel in the Virginia service, to resist the attack of a superior body of French and Indians under the command of M. Coulan de Villiers, and made memorable by its surrender to that officer on July 3, 1754. The entire tract was sold by the executors of the last will and testament of Washington to Andrew Parks, of Baltimore. In the schedule attached to the will this property is referred to as follows: "This land is valuable on account of its local situation and other properties.—It affords an exceeding good stand on Braddock's Road from Fort Cumberland to *Pittsburgh* and besides a fertile soil possesses a large quantity of natural meadow fit for the scythe.—It is distinguished by the appellation of the Great Meadows, where the first action with the French in the year 1754 was fought."

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 13.

At Fayette County, Pennsylvania: "*September 13.*—I visited my Mill, and the several tenements on this Tract (on which Simpson lives)—I do not find the land in *general* equal to my expectations of it."—*Washington's Diary.*

The tract referred to, "on which Simpson lives," comprised about sixteen hundred acres, and was situate at and near the present town of Perry-



opolis, Perry Township, Fayette County, Pennsylvania. It was located for Washington by Captain William Crawford in 1769, and was visited by him in 1770. Gilbert Simpson, who had superintended the erection of a mill on the premises, which, however, was not finished until the spring of 1776, seems also to have been a copartner in the management of the estate. The property was sold in 1795 to Colonel Israel Shreve, of New Jersey, under articles of agreement, and in 1802 the executors of the last will and testament of Washington conveyed it to the heirs of Colonel Shreve, who had died in 1799.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 14.

At Fayette County, Pennsylvania: “*September 14.*—Remained at M<sup>r</sup> Gilbert Simpsons all day,—before Noon Col<sup>o</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Butler and the officer Commanding the Garrison at Fort Pitt a Capt<sup>n</sup> Luckett came here—as they confirmed the reports of the discontented temper of the Indians and the Mischiefs done by some parties of them—and the former advised me not to prosecute my intended trip to the Great Kanahawa. I resolved to decline it.”—*Washington's Diary.*

“*September 15.*—This being the day appointed for the Sale of my moiety of the Co-partnership Stock—many People were gathered (more out of curiosity I believe than from other motives) but no great Sale made.—My Mill I could obtain no bid for. *September 16.*—Continued at Simpsons all day in order to finish the business which was begun yesterday—Gave leases to some of my Ten<sup>ts</sup> on the Land whereon I now am. *September 17.*—Detained here by a settled Rain the whole day—which gave me time to close my Acc<sup>ts</sup> with Gilbert Simpson, & put a final end to my Partnership with him.”—*Washington's Diary.*

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 18.

At Washington County, Pennsylvania: “*September 18.*—Set out with Doct<sup>r</sup> Craik for my Land on Millers Run (a branch of Shurtees [Chartiers] Creek)—crossed the Monongahela at Deboirs [Devore's] Ferry—16 miles from Simpsons—bated at one Hamiltons about 4 Miles from it, in Washington County and lodged at a Col<sup>o</sup> Cassons [Canon] on the Waters of Shurtees Creek—a kind, hospitable Man; & sensible.”—*Washington's Diary.*

“*September 19.*—Being Sunday, and the People living on my Land apparently very religious, it was thought best to postpone going among them till tomorrow.”—*Washington's Diary.*



## MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 20.

At Washington County, Pennsylvania: "September 20.—Went early this Morning to view my Land & to receive the final determination of those who live upon it."—*Washington's Diary*.

The land on Miller's Run, in what is now Mount Pleasant Township, Washington County, Pennsylvania, was held by Washington under a military patent from Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia. It comprised two thousand eight hundred and thirteen acres, and was described as "being in Augusta County, Vir. on the waters of Miller's Run, one of the branches of Chartiers Creek, a branch of the Ohio." A number of families (Scotch-Irish) had settled on this land, and Washington passed most of Monday, September 20, in endeavoring to arrange with them for the purchase of the whole tract. No agreement, however, could be made, and subsequently ejectment suits were brought, which were successful. The tract was sold in June, 1796, for twelve thousand dollars.

Washington passed the night of the 20th at the house of Colonel John Canon, the site of the present Canonsburg, laid out in 1787.

## TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 21.

Leaves Washington County: "September 21.—Accompanied by Col<sup>o</sup> Casson & Capt<sup>a</sup> Swearingin [sheriff of the county] who attended me to Debores ferry on the Monongahela which seperates the Counties of Fayette & Washington, I returned to Gilbert Simpson's in the afternoon; after dining at one Wickermans [Wickerham's] Mill near the Monongahela."—*Washington's Diary*.

"September 22.—After giving instructions to Major Thomas Freeman respecting his conduct in my business, and disposing of my Baggage which was left under the care of M<sup>r</sup> Gilbert Simpson . . . I set out for Beason [Beeson] Town [now Uniontown, the county-seat of Fayette County] in order to meet with & engage M<sup>r</sup> Tho<sup>s</sup> Smith to bring Ejectments & to prosecute my Suit for the Land in Washington County. . . . Reached Beason Town about dusk (about the way I came) 18 Miles . . . my Baggage under the care of Doct<sup>r</sup> Craik and Son, having, from Simpsons, taken the Rout by the New (or Turkey foot) Road as it is called (which is said to be 20 Miles near than Braddocks). . . . My Nephew and I set out about Noon [on the 23d], with one Col<sup>o</sup> Philips for Cheat River."—*Washington's Diary*.

## THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 23.

At Fayette County, Pennsylvania: "September 23.—Arrived at Col<sup>o</sup> Philips ab<sup>t</sup> five o'clock in the afternoon 16

Miles from Beason Town & near the Mouth of Cheat River. . . .

“*September 24.*—Set of in the Morning of the 24<sup>th</sup> (accompanied by Col<sup>o</sup> Philips) and crossed it [Cheat River] at the Mouth, as it was thought the River was too much swelled to attempt the ford a little higher up.”—*Washington's Diary.*

Washington passed the night of the 24th at the house of Captain Samuel Hanway, about three miles south of Cheat River, in Monongalia County, Virginia, now West Virginia. Captain Hanway was the surveyor of Monongalia County. On the 25th he resumed his journey, setting out before sunrise and lodging that night in the rain, with no shelter or cover other than his cloak. On the 26th he reached a Mr. Logston's, and left a little after daybreak on the following day, crossing the Stony River after a ride of four miles, gaining at ten miles “the summit of the Alligany Mountain,” and arriving at “Col<sup>o</sup> Abrah<sup>m</sup> Hites at Fort pleasant on the South Branch [of the Potomac] about 35 miles from Logstons a little before the Suns setting,” where he remained all of the next day, the 28th.

#### WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29.

Leaves Fort Pleasant, Virginia: “*September 29.*—Having appointed to join Doct<sup>r</sup> Craik and my Baggage at Col<sup>o</sup> Warner Washingtons, but finding it required only one day more to take the Rout of M<sup>r</sup> Tho<sup>s</sup> Lewis's (near Stanton) . . . I sent my Nephew Bushrod Washington to that place to request the Doct<sup>r</sup> to proceed & accompanied by Capt<sup>n</sup> Hite son to the Colonel I set out for Rockingham, in which county M<sup>r</sup> Lewis now lives since the division of Augusta.”—*Washington's Diary.*

The night of the 29th was passed on the North Fork of the Shenandoah, at the house of one “Fishwaters in Brocks gap, about Eight Miles from the foot of the Mountain—12 from Rudibort's [where he had dined] & 36 from Colon<sup>l</sup> Hites,” arriving at Mr. Lewis's on the 30th “about Sundown, after riding about 40 Miles—leaving Rockingham C<sup>t</sup> House to the right about 2 Miles.” Washington remained at Mr. Lewis's until October 2, setting off very early on that day, accompanied by Mr. Lewis, “to the foot of the bleu Ridge at Swift run gap, 10 Miles,” where he baited and proceeded over the mountain, lodging at night at a Widow Yearly's, twelve miles farther. On the following day, October 3, he took breakfast at Culpeper Court-House, and lodged at Captain John Ashby's.

## MONDAY, OCTOBER 4.

At Mount Vernon: "October 4.—Notwithstanding a good deal of Rain fell in the Night and the continuance of it this morning (which lasted till about 10 oclock) I breakfasted by Candlelight, and Mounted my horse soon after day break; & having Capt<sup>a</sup> Ashby for a guide thro' the intricate part of the Road (which ought tho' I missed it, to have been by Prince William old Court H<sup>o</sup>) I arrived at Colchester,<sup>1</sup> 30 Miles to Dinner; and reached home before Sun down; having travelled on the same horses since the first day of September by the computed distances 680 Miles."—*Washington's Diary*.

## SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 14.

At Richmond, Virginia: "Last Sunday [November 14], in the afternoon, came to this city, his Excellency General George Washington, Esq. The next day was ushered in with the discharge of thirteen cannon, when every countenance showed the most heartfelt gladness on seeing our illustrious and beloved General in the Capital of the State, and in the bosom of peace. In the evening the city was illuminated and every demonstration of joy was shown on the pleasing occasion. The corporation of the city waited on his Excellency with an address, which he answered."—*Richmond paper*, November 20, 1784.

"On Thursday [November 18], the merchants of the city gave an elegant dinner to his Excellency General Washington; the same day came from Boston, the Marquis de la Fayette, accompanied with Captain Grandchain, of the navy of his most Christian Majesty, and the Chevalier Caraman. The two Houses of Assembly appointed committees to wait upon his Excellency and the Marquis de la Fayette, who severally addressed them."—*Idem*.

## FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 19.

At Richmond: "Last night [November 19] the corporation of the city gave an elegant ball in honor to our illustrious and much beloved visitor General Washington."—*Richmond paper*, November 20, 1784.

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<sup>1</sup> Seven miles southwest of Mount Vernon.

Washington visited Richmond for the purpose of meeting the Marquis de Lafayette, who, after leaving Mount Vernon in August, had made a tour of the Eastern States. At Boston he embarked on board the French frigate "Nymphe," for the Chesapeake Bay, and landed at Yorktown. He met Washington at Richmond on the 18th of November (as stated) and accompanied him to Mount Vernon, where he made a second visit of about a week.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 25.

At Mount Vernon: "I have had the honor to receive your favor of the 11th of June, accompanied with your *Remarks and Inquiries concerning America*. The honorable mention, which you make of me in both, is far above my deserts. . . . It is a matter of regret to me, that my want of knowledge in the French language will not allow me to become acquainted with all the beauties of your *Spectator*." — *Washington to Joseph Mandrillon*.

Joseph Mandrillon was born at Bourg-en-Bresse, France, in 1742. Having embraced the mercantile profession, he established himself at Amsterdam, from whence he made a voyage to the United States, and afterward published the results of his observations in a 12mo volume, entitled "Le Spectateur Américain," Amsterdam, 1784, a copy of which he seems to have sent to Washington. From his "Portrait of General Washington" in this book we make the following extract:

"If ever mortal enjoyed his whole reputation during his lifetime, if ever a citizen has found in his own country a reward for his services and abilities, it is my hero; every where fêted, admired, caressed, he every where sees hearts eager to render him homage; if he enters a town, or if he passes through a village, old and young men, women and children, all follow him with acclamations; all load him with blessings; in every heart he has a temple consecrated to respect and friendship. How I love to imagine to myself the French general (M. de Rochambeau) equally the idol and the hero of his army, saying at table as he sat near Washington, that he had never known what true glory was, nor a truly great man, until he became acquainted with him. When America, overthrown by the dreadful revolutions of nature, shall no longer exist, it will be remembered of Washington, that he was the defender of liberty, the friend of man, and the avenger of an oppressed people."

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 29.

At Annapolis, Maryland: "On Monday, the 29th of November, 1784, general Washington arrived at Annapolis, accompanied by the Marquis de la Fayette. On the day following, the general assembly of this State, being then in



session, to manifest their gratitude and attachment to those distinguished men, directed an elegant ball to be provided for their entertainment. The evening was crowned with the utmost joy and festivity, the whole company being made happy by the presence of two most amiable and all-accomplished men, to whom America is so deeply indebted for her preservation from tyranny and oppression.”—*Annals of Annapolis*.

At Annapolis, Washington bade a final adieu to Lafayette. From thence the marquis proceeded to Trenton, where Congress was then sitting, reaching that place on December 8. On the 25th of the month he embarked at New York for France, on board the frigate “*Nymphe*.”

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 5.

At Mount Vernon: “I met the Marquis de La Fayette at Richmond—brought him to this place, conducted him to Annapolis, saw him on the road to Baltimore, and returned.”—*Washington to General Knox*.

“December 8.—The peregrination of the day in which I parted from you ended at Marlborough [Maryland]. The next day, bad as it was, I got home before dinner. In the moment of our separation, upon the road as I travelled, and every hour since, I have felt all that love, respect, and attachment for you, with which length of years, close connexion, and your merits have inspired me. I often asked myself, as our carriages separated, whether that was the last sight I ever should have of you?”—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette*.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 14.

At Mount Vernon: “The Assemblies of Virginia and Maryland have now under consideration the extension of the inland navigation of the rivers Potomac and James, and opening a communication between them and the western waters. They seem fully impressed with the political as well as the commercial advantages, which would result from the accomplishment of these great objects, and I hope will embrace the present moment to put them in a train for execution.”—*Washington to Richard Henry Lee*.

The importance of connecting the western with the eastern territory by a system of inland navigation had from an early period attracted the atten-

tion of Washington, and prior to the Revolution he had made some efforts to bring the subject to public notice. During his western trip in September the matter was constantly in his mind, and after his return he wrote a long letter to Benjamin Harrison, Governor of Virginia, in which he detailed the advantages, both in a commercial and political point of view, which might be derived from opening the Potomac and James Rivers as high as should be practicable. This letter was communicated to the Assembly of Virginia, and led to the organization of the James River and Potomac Canal Companies. Thus it will be seen that during the first year after the close of the Revolution, Washington set in motion that vast scheme of internal improvements which has had a powerful and salutary influence upon the destinies of the country.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 23.

At Annapolis: "I am here [since December 20] with General Gates, at the request of the Assembly of Virginia to fix matters with the Assembly of this State respecting the extension of the inland navigation of the Potomac, and the communication between it and the western waters." — *Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*

An exact conformity between the acts of Virginia and of Maryland being indispensable to the improvement of the Potomac, Washington was requested to wait upon the Assembly of Maryland, in order to agree on a bill which might receive the sanction of both States.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 28.

At Annapolis: "The proceedings of the conference, and the Act & Resolutions of this Legislature consequent thereupon (herewith transmitted to the Assembly) are so full & explanatory of the motives which governed in this business, that it is scarcely necessary for me to say any thing in addition to them; except that this State seem highly impressed with the importance of the objects w'ch we have had under consideration,—and are very desirous of seeing them accomplished. . . .

"It is now near 12 at Night, and I am writing with an Aching head, having been constantly employed in this business since the 22d, without assistance from my Colleagues — Gen'l Gates having been sick the whole time & Col° Blackburn not attending." — *Washington to James Madison.*

“*Mount Vernon*, January 5, 1785.—I am just returned from Annapolis to which place I was requested to go by our Assembly (with my bosom friend Genl. G—tes, who being at Richmond contrived to edge himself into the commission) for the purpose of arranging matters and framing a Law which should be similar in both States, so far as it respected the river Potomack which separates them. I met the most perfect accordance in that legislature; and the matter is now reported to ours, for its consideration.”  
—*Washington to General Knox.*

## 1785.

## SATURDAY, JANUARY 1.

At Mount Vernon: “*January 1.*—Col<sup>o</sup> Bassett, who brought his daughter Fanny to this place to remain on the 24<sup>th</sup> of last Month set off on his return to the Assembly now sitting at Richmond.”—*Washington's Diary.*

Colonel Burwell Bassett, of “*Eltham*,” New Kent County, Virginia, married for a second wife Anna Maria Dandridge, a sister of Mrs. Washington. His daughter Fanny married George Augustine Washington, a nephew of General Washington (son of his brother Charles), at Mount Vernon, October 15, 1785.

## MONDAY, JANUARY 3.

At Mount Vernon: “*January 3.*—Doct<sup>r</sup> Stuart—his wife—Betsy & Patcy Custis who had been here since the 27<sup>th</sup> Ulto returned home.”—*Washington's Diary.*

“*Betsy & Patcy Custis*” (Elizabeth Parke and Martha Parke Custis) were the eldest children of Mrs. Dr. Stuart, by her first husband, John Parke Custis, the son of Mrs. Washington, who died in November, 1781. The younger children, Eleanor (“*Nelly*”) Parke and George Washington Parke, had been adopted by Washington and were living at Mount Vernon. With the exception of the latter, all the others were born at “*Abingdon*,” a plantation on the Potomac River immediately above Alexandria, and where the family were living at this time. Dr. David Stuart married Mrs. Custis, who was the daughter of Benedict Calvert, of Mount Airy, Prince George's County, Maryland, in the fall of 1783. He was a frequent visitor at Mount Vernon, and was held in much respect by Washington.

## WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 19.

At Mount Vernon: “*January 19.*—Employed until dinner in laying out my Serpentine Road & Shrubberies adjoining.—Just as we had done dinner a M<sup>r</sup> Watson—late of the House of Watson & Cossoul of Nantes—came in, and

stayed all Night. *January 20.*—M<sup>r</sup> Watson went away after breakfast.”—*Washington's Diary.*

“I had feasted my imagination for several days in the near prospect of a visit to Mount Vernon, the seat of Washington. No pilgrim ever approached Mecca with deeper enthusiasm. I arrived there, in the afternoon of January 23d [?] '85. . . . I found him at table with Mrs. Washington and his private family, and was received in the native dignity and with that urbanity so peculiarly combined in the character of a soldier and eminent private gentleman. He soon put me at ease, by unbending in a free and affable conversation. . . .

“The first evening I spent under the wing of his hospitality, we sat a full hour at table by ourselves, without the least interruption, after the family had retired. I was extremely oppressed by a severe cold and excessive coughing, contracted by the exposure of a harsh winter journey. He pressed me to use some remedies, but I declined doing so. As usual after retiring, my coughing increased. When some time had elapsed, the door of my room was gently opened, and on drawing my bed-curtains, to my utter astonishment, I beheld Washington himself, standing at my bed-side, with a bowl of hot tea in his hand.”—*Memoirs of Elkanah Watson.*

#### THURSDAY, JANUARY 27.

At Mount Vernon: “*January 27.*—Made M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Lund Washington a morning visit—from thence I went to Belvoir and viewed the ruined buildings of that place.”—*Washington's Diary.*

Lund Washington, manager of the Mount Vernon estate during the Revolution, was a third cousin of General Washington. He resided at “Hayfield,” a plantation about four miles from Mount Vernon. “Belvoir,” the estate and residence of Sir William Fairfax, a cousin and agent of Lord Thomas Fairfax, the owner of an immense landed estate in the northern neck of Virginia, was situated on the Potomac, four miles below Mount Vernon. On the death of Sir William in 1757, it descended to his son George William Fairfax, the friend and neighbor of George Washington. Mr. Fairfax went to England in 1773, and died at Bath, April 3, 1787. As he had no children, “Belvoir” was devised to Ferdinando, the son of his brother, the Rev. Bryan Fairfax. The mansion-house was destroyed by fire shortly after his leaving America.

#### WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 2.

At Mount Vernon: “*February 2.*—Employed myself (as there could be no stirring without) in writing Letters by the Post and in Signing 83 Diplomas for the members of the Society of the Cincinnati—and sent them to the care of



Col<sup>o</sup> Fitzgerald in Alexandria—to be forwarded to General [Otho H.] Williams of Baltimore—the Assistant Secretary of the Society.”—*Washington's Diary*.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 5.

At Mount Vernon: “Captain Haskell, in the ship *Mary*, arrived at Alexandria a few days ago; but a frost, which at present interrupts the navigation of the river, has prevented my sending for the chimney-piece. By the number of cases, however, I greatly fear it is too elegant and costly for my room and republican style of living.”—*Washington to Benjamin Vaughan*, at London.

This chimney-piece, one of the special ornaments of the mansion at Mount Vernon, was originally made for Samuel Vaughan, a resident of London, and a great admirer of Washington. It was wrought in Italy from the finest white and sienite marbles for Mr. Vaughan's own use. At the time of its arrival in England, that gentleman was informed of the improvements then in progress at Mount Vernon, and, without unpacking it, he directed his son (Benjamin Vaughan) to send it at once to Washington. An interesting description of this work of art will be found in Lossing's “Mount Vernon and its Associations.”

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 12.

At Alexandria, Virginia: “*February 12.*—Received an Invitation to the Funeral of W<sup>m</sup> Ramsay Esq<sup>r</sup> of Alexandria—the oldest Inhabitant of the Town; & went up—walked in procession as a free mason—M<sup>r</sup> Ramsay in his life time being one & now buried with the ceremony & honors due to one.”—*Washington's Diary*.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 22.

At Mount Vernon: “*February 22.*—Removed two pretty large & full-grown lilacs to the N<sup>o</sup> Garden gate—one on each side taking up as much dirt with the roots as c<sup>d</sup> be well obtained. . . . I also removed from the woods and old fields, several young trees of the sassafras, Dogwood & Redbud, to the Shrubbery on the N<sup>o</sup> side the grass plot. *February 28.*—Planted all the Mulberry trees, Maple trees, & Black gums in my Serpentine walks—and the Poplars on the right walk.”—*Washington's Diary*.

Washington took great pleasure in planting trees and shrubbery, and the diaries of 1785-86 show that in these years he was much engaged in that business. On the west front of the mansion he laid out a fine lawn upon a level surface of about twenty acres, and around it made a serpentine carriage-way, on each side of which he planted a great variety of shade-trees, some of which are still standing. The lawn, the oval grass-plot, and the gardens were laid out according to a plan drawn by himself, and still remain unchanged as to form.

TUESDAY, MARCH 8.

At Mount Vernon: "Some imperfect miniature cuts I send you under cover with this letter. They were designed for me by Miss D' Hart of Elizabethtown, and given to Mrs. Washington, who, in sparing them, only wishes they may answer your purpose. For her I can get none cut yet." — *Washington to William Gordon.*

A silhouette published in volume four of the illustrated edition of Irving's "Life of Washington," inscribed "From the original (cut with scissors) by Miss De Hart, Elizabethtown, N. J. 1783," is, we presume, a reproduction of one of the "imperfect miniature cuts" referred to in the above letter. It is extremely unlike any known profile of Washington. Miss De Hart visited Mount Vernon in October, 1786. She remained from the 26th to the 28th.

MONDAY, MARCH 28.

At Mount Vernon: On this day, under the auspices of Washington, George Mason and Alexander Henderson, of Virginia, and Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Thomas Stone, and Samuel Chase, of Maryland, joint commissioners of the two States divided by the Potomac, met at Mount Vernon.

The commissioners, after preparing the terms of a compact between the two States for the jurisdiction over the waters of the Chesapeake Bay and the rivers that were common to both States, took up matters of general policy, and decided to recommend to the two States a uniformity of duties on imports, a uniformity of commercial regulations, and a uniformity of currency. From this resulted (January, 1786) a proposition from Virginia that a convention from all the States should be held to regulate the restrictions on commerce for the whole, the commissioners to meet at Annapolis on the first Monday in September, 1786. The invitations to the States were made through the executive of Virginia, although Maryland had made (December, 1785) the first move in the matter.

MONDAY, APRIL 18.

At Alexandria: "April 18.—Rid to Alexandria to the Election of Delagates for this County and dined at Col<sup>o</sup> [John] Fitzgeralds—Col<sup>o</sup> Lynne & Doct<sup>r</sup> [David] Stewart were chosen,—& for whom I gave my support."—*Washington's Diary*.

THURSDAY, APRIL 21.

At Abingdon, Virginia: "April 21.—After an early dinner, I went up in my Barge to Abingdon, in order to bring M<sup>r</sup> John Lewis (who had lain there sick for more than two months) down—Took my Instruments, with intent to Survey the Land I hold by purchase on 4 Mile Run [three miles above Alexandria] of Geo: & Ja<sup>s</sup> Mercer Esq<sup>r</sup> Called at Alexandria & staid an hour or two."—*Washington's Diary*.

"April 22.—Took an early breakfast at Abingdon; & accompanied by Doct<sup>r</sup> Stewart & Lund Washington, and having sent for M<sup>r</sup> Moses Ball (who attended); I went to a Corner of the above Land, within about 3 poles of the Run (4 Miles Run) a white Oak, 18 inches in diameter, on the side of a hill ab<sup>t</sup> 150 yards below the Ruins of an old Mill & 100 below a small Branch which comes in on the N<sup>o</sup> E<sup>t</sup> side,—and after having Run one course & part of another, My Servant William<sup>1</sup> (one of the Chain Carriers) fell, and broke the pan of his knee w<sup>ch</sup> put a stop to my surveying; & with much difficulty I was able to get him to Abingdon, being obliged to get a sled to carry him on, as he could neither Walk, stand, or Ride:—At M<sup>r</sup> Adam's Mill I took Lund Washingtons horse & came home."—*Washington's Diary*.

SUNDAY, APRIL 24.

At Mount Vernon: "April 24.—An Express arrived with the acc<sup>t</sup> of the Deaths of M<sup>rs</sup> Dandridge & M<sup>r</sup> B.[artholomew] Dandridge, the Mother and Brother of M<sup>rs</sup> Washington."—*Washington's Diary*.

THURSDAY, APRIL 28.

At Mount Vernon: "April 28.—To Dinner M<sup>r</sup> Pine a pretty eminent Portrait & Historical Painter arrived in order to take my picture from the life & to plan it in the Historical pieces he was about to draw.—This Gentleman stands

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<sup>1</sup> William ("Billy") Lee was Washington's body-servant during the Revolutionary war. He survived his master, who, by his will, gave him his freedom and an annuity of thirty dollars.

in good estimation as a Painter in England ;—comes recommended to me from Col<sup>o</sup> Fairfax—M<sup>r</sup> Morris—Gov<sup>r</sup> Dickenson—M<sup>r</sup> Hopkinson & others.”—*Washington's Diary*.

Robert Edge Pine, a painter of considerable merit, was born in London in the year 1742. He came to America in 1784, for the purpose of obtaining portraits of the heroes and patriots of the Revolution, in order to introduce them in historical pictures commemorating the events of that period. Pine remained three weeks at Mount Vernon, leaving May 19, and besides that of Washington, painted also the portraits of the two grandchildren of Mrs. Washington. He died at Philadelphia, November 19, 1788, before carrying out his design of painting the historical pictures. His portrait of Washington was engraved for Irving's "Life of Washington;" it was at that time (1856) in the possession of the late J. Carson Brevoort, of Brooklyn, New York.

#### FRIDAY, APRIL 29.

Leaves Mount Vernon: "April 29.—I set off for the appointed meeting of the Dismal Swamp Company at Richmond.—Dined at Dumfries & lodged at My Sister Lewis's [Betty, wife of Fielding Lewis] (after visiting at my Mother) in Fredericksburgh."—*Washington's Diary*.

"April 30.—Dined at General [Alexander] Spotswoods, and lodged at M<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Baylor's (New Market)—May 1.—Took a late breakfast at Hanover C<sup>t</sup> House—Went from thence to M<sup>r</sup> Peter Lyon's where I intended to dine, but neither he nor M<sup>rs</sup> Lyon being at home, I proceeded to, & arrived at Richmond about 5 o'clock in the aftern<sup>n</sup>—Supped, & lodged, at the Governours [Patrick Henry]."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### MONDAY, MAY 2.

At Richmond: "May 2.—Received, and accepted an invitation to dine with the Sons of Saint Taminy, at M<sup>r</sup> Andersons Tavern, and accordingly did so, at 3 o'clock. About Noon, having assembled a sufficient number of the Proprietors of the Swamp, we proceeded to business in the Senate Chamber; & continued thereon 'till dinner, when we adjourned 'till nine o'clock next day."—*Washington's Diary*.

"May 3.—Met according to adjournment, & finished the business by 3 o'clock—Dinner at the Governours. May 4.—After doing a little business, & calling upon Judge [James] Mercer and the Attorney General [Edmund Randolph], I left Richmond about 11 o'clock—Dined at one Winslow's ab<sup>t</sup> 8 Miles from the City, & lodged at Clarks Tavern 10 Miles above



Hanover Court House. *May 5.*—Breakfasted at Bowling Green—Dined with my Sister Lewis in Fredericksburgh—spent half an hour with my Mother—and lodged at Stafford C<sup>t</sup> House (at one Taylors Tavern). *May 6.*—Breakfasted at Dumfries, & dined at home.”—*Washington's Diary.*

SUNDAY, MAY 15.

At Mount Vernon: “*May 15.*—General [John] Cadwallader came here yesterday. *May 17.*—General Cadwallader went away after Breakfast.”—*Washington's Diary.*

TUESDAY, MAY 17.

At Alexandria: “*May 17.*—I went to Alexandria to the appointed meeting of the Subscribers to the Potomack Navigation. Upon comparing & examining the Books of the different Managers, it was found, including the Subscriptions in behalf of the two States, & the 50 Shares which the Assembly of Virginia had directed to be Subscribed for me (& which I then declared I would only hold in trust for the State) that their were 403 Shares Subscribed; which being more than sufficient to constitute the Company under the Act—the Subscribers proceeded to the choice of a President & 4 Directors;—the first of which fell upon me the votes for the other four fell upon [Ex] Governors [Thomas] Johnson & [Thomas Sim] Lee of Maryland—and Colonels [John] Fitzgerald & [George] Gilpin of this State.—Dined at Lomaxs and returned in the afternoon.”—*Washington's Diary.*

“*May 30.*—I went to Alexandria to meet the Directors of the Potomack C<sup>o</sup>—Dined at Col<sup>o</sup> Fitzgerald and Returned in the Evening.”—*Washington's Diary.*

SATURDAY, JUNE 4.

At Mount Vernon: “*June 4.*—In the Afternoon the celebrated M<sup>rs</sup> Macaulay Graham & M<sup>r</sup> Graham her Husband arrived here. *June 8.*—Placed my Military Records into the Hands of M<sup>rs</sup> Macaulay Graham for her perusal & amusement. *June 14.*—About 7 oclock M<sup>r</sup> Graham & M<sup>rs</sup> Macaulay left this on their Return to New York—I accompanied

them to M<sup>r</sup> Digges's<sup>1</sup> to which place I had her Carriage & horses put over—M<sup>r</sup> Digges escorted her to Bladensburgh.” — *Washington's Diary*.

Mrs. Catharine Macaulay Graham, historian and controversialist, was the youngest daughter of John Sawbridge, Esq., of Olantigh, Kent, England. Her first husband (1760) was Dr. George Macaulay, her second (1778) William Graham. Her most famous production was the “History of England from the Accession of James I. to that of the Brunswick Line,” eight volumes, 1763–1783, which attracted great attention at the time, but has now dropped into oblivion. Her visit to America was solely for the purpose of seeing Washington, with whom she had previously maintained a correspondence. She died in 1791, at the age of sixty.

THURSDAY, JUNE 30.

At Mount Vernon: “June 30.—Dined with only M<sup>rs</sup> Washington which I believe is the first instance of it since my retirement from public life.” — *Washington's Diary*.

FRIDAY, JULY 1.

At Alexandria: “July 1.—Went to Alexandria to a meeting of the Board of Directors, who by Advertisement were to attend this day for the purpose of agreeing with a Manager and two assistants to conduct the Undertaking of the Potomack Navigation—but no person applying with proper Credentials the Board gave the applicants until thursday the 14th to provide these & for others to offer.

“Returned in the Evening accompanied by Col<sup>o</sup> Bassett & Col<sup>o</sup> Spait [Richard D. Spaight], a Member of Congress for the State of N<sup>o</sup> Carolina.” — *Washington's Diary*.

TUESDAY, JULY 5.

At Mount Vernon: “July 5.—After dinner M<sup>r</sup> Govourn<sup>r</sup> Morris and M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Craik came in.” — *Washington's Diary*.

“July 6.—General [Benjamin] Lincoln & his Son came to Dinner & returned afterwards. July 7.—M<sup>r</sup> Govourn<sup>r</sup> Morris went away before Break-

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. George Digges was a wealthy planter on the Potomac, in Prince George's County, Maryland. His estate, known as “Warburton,” was in full view of the mansion at Mount Vernon, and the intercourse between the two families was frequent and very friendly. The plantation included the site of Fort Washington.

fast as did M<sup>r</sup> Craik—Col<sup>o</sup> Bassett & M<sup>r</sup> Geo: Washington accompanied the former as far as Alexandria—M<sup>r</sup> Arthur Lee came to Dinner, to which Col<sup>o</sup> Bassett & G. W. returned.”—*Washington's Diary*.

## THURSDAY, JULY 14.

At Alexandria: “*July 14.*—Went through my Harvest field at Muddy hole to Alexandria, to a meeting of the Directors of the Potomack Company—Agreed with M<sup>r</sup> James Rumsey to undertake the Management of our Works—and a M<sup>r</sup> [Richardson] Stuart from Baltimore as an Assistant—Gave them directions—passed some acc<sup>ts</sup>—paid my quota of the demand for these purposes to M<sup>r</sup> [William] Hartshorne the Treasurer—Made M<sup>rs</sup> Dalby a visit—and came home in the evening.

“Found M<sup>r</sup> Bryan Fairfax<sup>1</sup> & his son Ferdinando here at my return who had come down before dinner.”—*Washington's Diary*.

## TUESDAY, JULY 26.

At Mount Vernon: “*July 26.*—On my return [from dining with Lund Washington], found M<sup>r</sup> Will Shaw whom I had engaged to live with me as a Book Keeper, Secretary &c. here.”—*Washington's Diary*.

Mr. Shaw remained at Mount Vernon in the capacity of book-keeper, etc., until August 25, 1786, when he left for Philadelphia, to embark for the West Indies.

## WEDNESDAY, JULY 27.

At Mount Vernon: “*July 27.*—M<sup>rs</sup> [Philip R.] Fendal, Miss Lee (eldest daughter of [Richard Henry Lee] the Presid<sup>t</sup> of Congress) Miss Nancy Lee, Grand daughter of Rich<sup>d</sup> Lee Esq<sup>r</sup> of Maryland—M<sup>r</sup> Cha<sup>s</sup> Lee—& M<sup>r</sup> Law<sup>o</sup> Washington, Lund Washington & their Wives—and M<sup>r</sup> Law<sup>o</sup> Washington, Son of Lawrence & M<sup>r</sup> Tho<sup>s</sup> Washington Son to Robert all dined here and went away in the Afternoon.”—*Washington's Diary*.

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<sup>1</sup> Brother of George William Fairfax, of “Belvoir,” and rector of Christ Church, Alexandria, 1790–1792.

## MONDAY, AUGUST 1.

At George Town, Maryland: “August 1.—Left home at 6 Oclock P. [? A.] M. and after escorting Fanny Bassett to Alexandria I proceeded to Doct<sup>r</sup> Stuarts [at Abingdon] where I breakfasted; and from thence went to George Town to the Annual Meeting of the Potomack Company appointed to be held at that place. . . . Dined at Shutters Tavern, and lodged at M<sup>r</sup> Oneals.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“August 2.—Left George Town about 10 Oclock, in Company with all the Directors except Gov<sup>r</sup> Lee. . . . We dined at M<sup>r</sup> Bealls Mill 14 Miles from George Town and proceeded to a M<sup>r</sup> Goldsboroughs, a decent Farmers House at the head of the Seneca Falls,—about 6 Miles and 20 from George Town. August 3.—Having provided Canoes and being joined by M<sup>r</sup> Rumsey the principal Manager, & M<sup>r</sup> Stewart an assistant to him, in carrying on the Works, we proceeded to examine the falls; and beginning at the head of them went through the whole by Water, and continued from the foot of them to the Great Falls. . . . Returned back by the way of M<sup>r</sup> Bealls Mill to our old Quarters at M<sup>r</sup> Goldsboroughs,—the distance as estimated 8 Miles. August 4.—Engaged nine labourers with whom to commence the Work.”—*Washington's Diary*.

## FRIDAY, AUGUST 5.

At Frederick Town, Maryland: “August 5.—After Breakfast, and after directing M<sup>r</sup> Rumsey when he had marked the way and set the labourers to work to meet us at Harpers ferry on the Evening of the Morrow (at the conflux of the Shannondoah with the Potomack) myself and the Directors set out for the same place by way of Frederick Town (Maryland)—Dined at a Dutchmans 2 Miles above the M<sup>o</sup> of Monocasy & reached the former about 5 o'clock—Drank Tea—supped—and lodged at Gov<sup>r</sup> [Thomas] Johnsons.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“In the Evening the Bells Rang, & Guns were fired; & a Committee waited upon me by order of the Gentlemen of the Town to request that I w<sup>d</sup> stay next day and partake of a publick dinner which the Town were desirous of giving me—But as arrangements had been made, and the time for examining the Shannondoah Falls, previous to the day fixed for receiving labourers into pay, was short I found it most expedient to decline the honor.”—*Washington's Diary*.



SATURDAY, AUGUST 6.

At Harper's Ferry: "August 6.—Breakfasted in Frederick Town, at Gov<sup>r</sup> Johnsons, and dined at Harpers Ferry—took a view of the River, from the Banks as we road up the bottom from Pains falls to the Ferry, as well as it could be done on Horse back.—Sent a Canoe in a Waggon from the Ferry to Keepriest Furnace in ord<sup>r</sup> to descend the Falls therin to-morrow."—*Washington's Diary*.

"August 7.—About Sunrising, the Directors & myself Rid up to Keeprieste, where Canoes were provided, in which we crossed to the Maryland side of the River and examined a Gut, or swash, through which it is supposed the Navigation must be conducted. . . . Having examined this passage, I returned to the head of the fall and in one of the Canoes with two skilful hands descended them with the common curr<sup>t</sup> in its natural bed. . . . Here (at the Ferry) we breakfasted; after which we set out to explore the Falls below; . . . At the foot of these Falls The Directors & myself (Gov<sup>r</sup> Lee having joined us in the Evening before) held a meeting. . . . Gov<sup>r</sup> Lee left us at this place—the rest of us returned to the Tavern at Harpers Ferry."—*Washington's Diary*.

MONDAY, AUGUST 8.

At Harper's Ferry: "August 8.—This being the day appointed for labourers to engage in the work we waited to see the issue until Evening. . . . Many Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood visited us here to day. . . . A few hands offered and were employed."—*Washington's Diary*.

"Having provided a light & convenient Boat—hired two hands to work her—and laid in some Stores, Colonels Fitzgerald & Gilpin, and myself embarked in it about 6 O'clock P. M. In this Boat we passed through the Spout, and all the other Falls and Rapids, and breakfasted at a Capt<sup>n</sup> Smiths on the Maryland side; to which place our horses had been sent the Evening before—after which and dining on our prog at Knowlands Ferry (about 15 Miles from Harpers) we lodged at the House of a M<sup>r</sup> Taylor, about three Miles above the Mouth of Goose Creek, and about 10 M. below Knowlands. August 10.—Before Sun rise we embarked, and about Nine O'clock arrived at the head of the Seneca Falls and breakfasted with our old Landlord M<sup>r</sup> Goldsborough to which place our horses had proceeded the over Night from Capt<sup>n</sup> Smiths. . . . After Breakfasting, and spending some time with the labourers at their different Works, of blowing, removing Stone, and getting Coal wood &c—we left the Seneca Falls about 2 o'clock A. [? P.] M., & crossing the River about half a mile below them and a little above Capt<sup>n</sup> Trammels we got into the great Road from Leesburgh to Alexandria and

about half after Nine O'clock in the Evening I reached home after an absence from it of 10 days."—*Washington's Diary.*

SATURDAY, AUGUST 13.

At Mount Vernon: "The great object for the accomplishment of which I wish to see the inland navigation of the rivers Potomack and James improved and extended is to connect the western territory with the Atlantic states. All others with me are secondary; though I am clearly of opinion that it will greatly increase our commerce and be an immense saving in the article of transportation and draft cattle to the planters and farmers who are in a situation to have the produce of their labor water-borne. . . . I have already subscribed five shares to the Potomack navigation; and enclosed I give you a power to put my name down for five shares to that of James river."—*Washington to Edmund Randolph.*

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 31.

At Mount Vernon: "*August 31.*—This day I told Doct<sup>r</sup> Craik that I would contribute One hundred Dollars p<sup>r</sup> Annum, as long as it was necessary, towards the Education of His Son Geo Washington either in this Country or in Scotland."—*Washington's Diary.*

Dr. James Craik, a graduate of the University of Edinburgh, was born in Scotland, and settled in Virginia in the year 1753. He joined the expedition to the Ohio in 1754, and was with Colonel Washington at the battle of the Great Meadows and the surrender of "Fort Necessity," in July of that year. Dr. Craik was in the Braddock campaign of 1755, and remained attached to the Virginia troops until about 1763. He also served as a surgeon in the Revolutionary war. The friendship formed between Washington and the doctor in 1754 lasted through their lives, and he was a frequent and most welcome guest at Mount Vernon. He attended the General in his last illness, and was remembered in his will as his "compatriot in arms and old and intimate friend." Dr. Craik died February 6, 1814, at the age of eighty-two.

(To be continued.)

## COLONIAL MAYORS OF PHILADELPHIA.

HUMPHREY MORREY, FIRST MAYOR, 1691-1692.

BY JOSIAH GRANVILLE LEACH.

One of the interesting results growing out of the researches of Hon. Boies Penrose and Edward P. Allinson, Esq., incident to their "Philadelphia, 1681-1887: a History of Municipal Development," was the discovery of the charter, signed by "Thomas Lloyd, Deputy Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, with the advice and assent of the Provincial Council at Philadelphia, the twentieth day of the Third Month, in the Third Year of the Reign of William and Mary, King and Queen of England *Anno Domini* one thousand six hundred ninety and one," by and under which a city government was first established for Philadelphia. Until this discovery there were known to exist but shadowy evidences of the establishment of such a government prior to the charter of 1701. Indeed, so shadowy were they that the latter instrument had come to be recognized as the first charter.<sup>1</sup>

The disclosure of the charter of 1691 has invested the name of the early colonist, Humphrey Morrey, with a greater degree of historical interest than before attached to it, since he is therein named and constituted the "present Mayor." He thus became "the first Mayor of Philadelphia," an honor before attached to the Honorable Edward Shippen, first mayor under the charter of 1701.

The date and place of Humphrey Morrey's birth have not been ascertained. The first known mention of him is in a letter from Robert Turner to William Penn, in which, under date of Philadelphia, August 3, 1685, Turner writes, "Humphrey Morrey, from New York, has built a large

<sup>1</sup> For a transcript of the charter of 1691, refer to page 504.—ED. PENNA. MAG.

Timber House, with Brick Chimnies," thus indicating that he had resided in New York and but recently come to Philadelphia.

Being a merchant, his removal was probably due to the fact that Philadelphia then afforded a better field for mercantile pursuits than New York, or, possibly, he was moved to make the change because of his Quaker predilections. That he brought with him a considerable estate and that happy accompaniment, a good reputation, and that he was forthwith assigned rank among the prominent men of the city, are indicated in events succeeding his arrival.

Some three months after the date of Turner's letter to Penn, Humphrey Morrey was appointed a justice of the peace, by virtue of which commission he became also one of the judges of the County Courts. This appointment is noted on the records of the Provincial Council, under date November 6, 1685. The minute reads,—

“Ordered a General Commission of the peace be Drawn for ye County of Philadelphia, and to put in these persons following, vizt.: James Claypoole,<sup>1</sup> William Frampton,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *James Claypoole*, the first named in the commission, became the President Judge of the Courts. On the organization of the Free Society of Traders in London, May 29, 1682, he was chosen treasurer, and retained the office until his death, August 6, 1687. He was commissioned an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, September 14, 1685, and November 18, 1686, was appointed Register-General of the Province, and during the year he died was chosen a member of the Provincial Council. He was one of the most noted of the early colonists. (See Claypoole Genealogy.)

<sup>2</sup> *William Frampton* was admitted a “freeman” in New York City, October 1, 1683, about which time he settled in Pennsylvania. He was a merchant and brewer. James Claypoole, in a letter dated at Philadelphia, Tenth month 2, 1683, writes, “Wm. Frampton is on the other side of me building a great brew house,” and Robert Turner, in a letter of August 3, 1685, to Penn, writes, “William Frampton has built a good Brick-house, by his Brew house and Bake house, and let the other for an Ordinary.” Frampton had business and property interests in Kent County, Delaware, and in 1685 was chosen one of the representatives of that county in the Provincial Council, in which office, as well as that of the justiceship, he was serving at his decease in 1686.



Humphrey Morrey, William Salway,<sup>1</sup> John Bevan,<sup>2</sup> Lacy Cock,<sup>3</sup> William War[d]ner, sen.,<sup>4</sup> Robert Turner<sup>5</sup> and John Moon.”

<sup>1</sup> *William Salway*, of Taunton, County Somerset, England, bought land in Pennsylvania, June 28, 1683, about which time he emigrated to the Province. He was in judicial office here from November 6, 1685, until his death, in 1695; presided over the County Courts during Governor Fletcher's administration; was appointed Associate Justice of the Supreme Court by Fletcher; served in the Assembly in 1687, 1690, 1692; was Clerk of Assembly, 1692-1694, and a member of the Provincial Council in 1693. He was one of the earliest manufacturers in Philadelphia.

<sup>2</sup> *John Bevan*, born in Wales, 1646; was well descended; came to Philadelphia in 1683; member of the Assembly in 1687, 1695, 1699, and 1700; returned to Wales with his wife and youngest daughter, Barbara, in 1704, and died there about 1722. He was a preacher of note in the Society of Friends.

<sup>3</sup> *Lacy (Lawrence) Cock* was a son of Peter Cock, a leading Swedish colonist, who had lived in the Province over fifty years, and had been a magistrate under the Swedes, Dutch, and English. Lawrence was a military captain and otherwise prominent in public affairs before Penn came. In 1680 he was a justice of the Upland Court, in which office he was continued by Markham. He was a member of Penn's first Council and of later Councils, and was in the Assembly many years.

<sup>4</sup> *William Wardner* was a large land-owner; deputy sheriff for "Upland and Dependencies," 1679; was commissioned a justice of the Upland Court, 1681; was continued in judicial office by Governor Markham, and sat in the first Provincial Council; and was a member of the Assembly from Philadelphia, 1682, 1683.

<sup>5</sup> *Robert Turner*, an Irish gentleman of fortune and one of the most eminent of the early colonists, was the intimate friend and confidential adviser of Penn. His name is in the list of "First Purchasers" from Penn, six thousand acres being credited to him. He was one of the "Twenty-four Proprietors" to whom the Duke of York released East Jersey, and in 1685 he was a member of both the Assembly and Governor's Council of West Jersey. In the previous year he was commissioned one of the first justices of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. In 1686 he entered the Provincial Council, and from February 9, 1688, till December 18, 1688, was one of the five commissioners who conducted the government of the Province, and for many years held the important position of Register-General. Turner's daughter, Martha, married Francis Rawle, the founder of the eminent family of that name in this city, and who, by the aforementioned charter of 1691, was constituted one of the six aldermen of the city.

For unknown reasons, the above gentlemen delayed to qualify until February 1, 1686, when they were "summoned by ye Sheriff to appear before ye Council to be attested, they not having yett satt by Virtue of this mentioned Commission." Responding, they accordingly appeared, and, with the exception of Robert Turner (who asked to be excused from serving, stating that "he would give his reason some other time"), were attested after the manner of their day.

One month later they held their first Court, the "Thirty Seventh" under Penn, and, singularly enough, one of the parties involved in the first case tried before them was their fellow-justice, John Moon. The subject-matter of this suit<sup>1</sup> indicates that the imperfections of human nature came to the surface then in as full degree as now.

The next known concerning Judge Morrey is as a petitioner to the Council. At its session of September 3, 1686, "The Petition of James Claypoole, John Goodson and Humphrey Morrey, was Read, complaining against ye Clark of ye County Court of Philadelphia, requesting he might be Dismissed of his Employment and ye David Lloyd might be placed therein. The Answer was, it shall be further considered off." "Ye Clark of ye County Court" was one Patrick Robinson, and, while the above-mentioned record does not specify the grounds of complaint against him, from the action of the Council on the 21st of the same month, when his case was "considered off," it is clear that he was charged with being uncivil and disrespectful in his official capacity towards the petitioners, in their office as magistrates. The minute reads, "Patrick Robinson was admitted upon his submission to remaine three months longer in his office of Clark, at which time he promises to resigne ye same, with the Records thereunto belonging, and with his owne hand endorsed ye same on his Comission, promising further in ye meantime to behave himself civilly and Respectfully to ye Magistrates and peaceably to all Persons, or for ye first

<sup>1</sup> "Pennsylvania Colonial Cases," by Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, LL.D.

offence comitted in ye nature to have his Comission forthwith cancelled." If, when Robinson made the said promises, he intended to keep them, he soon changed his mind, for two weeks later he gave similar offence to the judges of the Supreme Court, and, on their complaint of his ill behavior, the Council peremptorily dismissed<sup>1</sup> him from office and commissioned David Lloyd, whose appointment Claypoole, Goodson, and Morrey had recommended.

In 1687, Morrey was elected to the Assembly, and again chosen in 1690. During the following year he became mayor, as previously stated, but the length of his official term has not been ascertained. The only known scrap of evidence relating to his mayoralty is contained in the proceedings of the Provincial Council of Sixth month 3, 1691, three months after the date of the charter; and for the preservation of this fragment we are indebted to the officials and citizens of Philadelphia who, in 1753, conducted a movement to secure the dedication of the Blue Anchor landing for public use forever, and caused a record of their action to be made in the Recorder's Office at Philadelphia.

The minutes of the Provincial Council for 1691 are lost, but in the record above mentioned is found the following extract from the minutes of August 3, 1691,—viz. :

“ Present, Thomas Lloyd, Deputy Governor and six Councillors. Humphrey Morrey, the present Mayor of the city of Philadelphia, on behalf of the said city moves the Governor and Council to lay out and regulate the landing place near the Blue Anchor. Whereupon it was ordered that the said Mayor and the Aldermen of Philadelphia have notice

<sup>1</sup> The decree of the Council did not long relegate Robinson to the shades of private life, for within a few months Register-General Markham made him his deputy, in which position he displaced Lloyd. On October 11, 1691, Robinson was commissioned Attorney-General by Penn, and April 26, 1693, he was called by Governor Fletcher, upon his supersedure of Penn in the government, to a seat in the Council, of which body he was shortly chosen clerk and secretary of the Province, retaining the same until 1701, when he was succeeded by the distinguished James Logan.



to attend the Governor and Council about the 8th hour in order to view the said landing."

But little else is known of the existence of a city government under the charter. It is thought by many who have given the subject attention, that the charter did not continue long in force. Possibly, when it reached Penn, in England, he vetoed it, or, receiving his approbation, it was rejected by the Crown, or, as is suggested by Allinson and Penrose, in their work already alluded to, "it is possible that when Penn was deprived of his government, in 1692, and supplanted by Governor Fletcher, the charter may have been considered and treated as a nullity."

By the provisions of the charter the mayor was to be chosen annually, and within three days of his election was required to make his attestation before the governor or his deputy for the time being "for his allegiance to the King and Queen, &c." If elections had taken place, it is likely that some mention of the mayor's "attestation" would have appeared in the records of the Council, such references being frequent in cases arising under the charter of 1701.

There is evidence,<sup>1</sup> however, that the charter continued in force, with Morrey as mayor, as late as December, 1692, and it may be presumed that the charter election had not been held, and that the mayor remained in office, as provided for in such contingency.

In 1692, Mayor Morrey bore a conspicuous part in that historical controversy respecting George Keith, Thomas Budd, William Bradford, and others, which shook the very foundations of the social, political, and religious world hereabout, and attracted attention throughout the American colonies and abroad. He was one of the judges who (August 24, 1692) caused the arrest of William Bradford, printer, and John MacComb, tavern-keeper, for "publishing, uttering and spreading a malicious and seditious paper," and who, on the following day, at a "private session" of the court, framed the famous proclamation against

<sup>1</sup> Article by Judge Pennypacker in PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. XV. p. 345.



“George Keith and his printed address,” and caused it to be read by the common crier in the market-place. And he was also one of the judges to whom was “transmitted the New England spirit of persecution, and who was found persecuting the true Christian-Quaker in tryal of Peter Boss, George Keith, Thomas Budd and William Bradford at the session held at Philadelphia the Ninth, Tenth and Twelfth Days of December, 1692.” (See “New England Spirit of Persecution,” etc., by George Keith. Printed by William Bradford, in 1693.)

When Governor Fletcher began his administration by virtue of his commission from the Crown, he offered to continue Morrey in his judicial office, but he “refused to be continued,” doubtless because of his attachment to Penn and lack of sympathy with Fletcher.

Two years later Morrey joined with Edward Shippen, Isaac Norris, William Carter, Thomas Wharton, and other leading citizens, in an important memorial to the Assembly, which set forth some of the chief grievances of the people of Philadelphia, and, in many cases, suggested the relief to be applied thereto. One feature of the memorial is particularly noteworthy. The petitioners pray that the persons put in office be men “of good repute and Christian conversation, without any respect to any profession or persuasion in religion,” thereby showing a spirit of religious toleration most commendable, but in marked contrast with the spirit manifested in the Keith-Budd-Bradford controversy.

Another and a higher political honor yet awaited Humphrey Morrey. It came to him on October 11, 1700, when, upon the invitation of Penn himself, he accepted a seat in the Council, in which noted body Morrey served during that and the following year. With this office he seems to have ended his public career, doing so, possibly, on account of his advancing years, or because of his retirement from an active business life in the city to his country-seat in Cheltenham Township. That he retired there, and there spent the closing years of his life in the cultivation of his lands, is infer-

able from his last will and testament, in which he described himself as "yeoman of Cheltenham township." Here was afforded him ample opportunity for sheep breeding, in which industry he had been earlier interested, as shown by the minutes of the Commissioners of Property, under date Sixth month 16, 1690, when "the Petition of Humphrey Morrey and James Fox for themselves and in behalf of others concerned in a flock of sheep in Philadelphia was read, Requesting a Convenient piece of land somewhere about the town for keeping them. Ordered that about Sixty acres be laid out in Squares between the Broad Street and so far towards Dellaware as Conviently may be, so that it be near Dock Street and Walnut Street."

Mayor Morrey was possessed of large wealth. Immediately upon his arrival in Philadelphia he began the purchase of valuable pieces of real estate, on one of which he built his "large Timber House," and on another the warehouse in which he conducted his mercantile pursuits.

At one time he owned the greater portion of the block bounded by Front, Second, Chestnut, and Walnut Streets.<sup>1</sup> In the tax list of 1693 his estate was assessed at over six hundred pounds, there being then but six others whose estates were valued higher. He died February 2, 1715-16. His will bears date September 18, 1715, and was proved May 7, 1716. Most of his large estate he gave to his son Richard and his grandson Humphrey Morrey. Among his bequests are ten pounds each to the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, his brother Leonard, and his cousin John. His wife Ann (maiden name unknown) died in Philadelphia, October 15, 1693.

John, a son of Mayor Morrey, died September 10, 1698, having married Sarah, daughter of John and Rebecca Baynton Budd, and granddaughter of Thomas Budd, the Free Christian Quaker "persecuted" by John's father, as before mentioned. He was father of Humphrey, the grandson named in the will of Mayor Morrey.

His son Richard died between August 3, 1753, and

<sup>1</sup> PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. XIV. p. 72.

January 30, 1754, since his will bears the former and was proved the latter date. In the will he is described as "gentleman," and by it he gave his entire estate to his wife Sarah, who, with his brother-in-law, John Beesley, was appointed to execute the same, with Dr. William Chancellor and Mr. Jenkins Jones as "overseers." His estate included a leasehold interest in London. He evidently left no issue surviving him, but had by a former wife, Ann, a son Thomas, who died in 1735. He married his second wife, Sarah, June 2, 1746 (records of Trinity Church, Oxford), daughter of Stephen and Sarah (Morgan) Beesley, and at the time of her marriage the widow of an Allen, having, it is said, previously married a Williams. Thomas Morrey, the son, was a man of estate and cultivation, and presumably, from a mention in his will, a convert to the Episcopal faith. He was a widower and childless at his death. In his will, dated September 8, 1735, and proved October 25 of the same year, he described himself as "of Cheltenham, gentleman," and gives to St. Thomas's Church, at Whitmarsh, fifty pounds towards building a "vestry-house;" to his father his books; to his "mother, Ann Morrey, all the rents, issue and profits of my house at Tower Hill, London, for her natural life, and after her decease to my father, and after his decease to my cousins, John Morrey's children, at the Meer, in Cheshire, in Old England;" to his "sister," Matilda Kimball, two hundred acres of land, part of four hundred acres at Neshaminy Creek, and to her children the other two hundred acres; to Mary Kimball (*alias* Hicks), three pounds; to the poor of Philadelphia, ten pounds; to Dr. Christopher Witt, a microscope; and to Mr. Howe, minister of Whitmarsh Church, two pounds to preach a funeral sermon from Micah vi. 6-9 inclusive.

The younger Humphrey Morrey, son of John and grandson of the mayor, was baptized (then an adult) December 18, 1709 (records of First Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia). He was a merchant and distiller, and by inheritance and acquisition became possessed of large wealth. A codicil to his will is dated August 6, 1735, and was proved



seven days later, showing that he must have died in the mean time. As there is no mention of wife or children, it is probable that he died unmarried and without issue. By his will, dated November 7, 1732, he bequeathed unto his "cousins," John Crapp, three hundred pounds and a negro called "Cipio;" Sarah Shippen, three hundred pounds; Jane Jones, one hundred and fifty pounds; Rebecca Crapp, one hundred and seventy pounds; Blathwait Jones, one hundred and fifty pounds; and John Jones and Susanna Jones, seventy-five pounds each. In the codicil it is stated that his cousins, John Crapp and Sarah Shippen, were deceased, and by it he gave to "the children of my cousin, Edward Shippen, to wit: Edward, Sarah and Joseph, £133 6sh. each, with all the share of the residue of my estate given to their mother;" to "Mary Crapp, the widow of John, £5;" to his aunt, Sarah Robinson, one hundred pounds, and added fifty pounds to the legacy of his cousin, Blathwait Jones. His "cousins," Edward Shippen and William Allen, Esquires, and William Paschall, are made his executors. The relationship to his "cousins" Edward Shippen and William Allen, Esquires, both of whom became mayors of Philadelphia, arose through the marriage of Edward Shippen to Sarah Plumley, whose mother (a Budd) was sister to the mother of Humphrey Morrey, and the marriage of William Allen's father to Mary Budd, another sister. It is interesting to note in this connection that the mother of Edward Shippen's wife became the second wife of the said Edward's father, Joseph Shippen.

From manuscripts among the Shippen papers in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania it would appear that the cousins, Humphrey Morrey and Edward Shippen, were at one time copartners in business.

Richard Morrey, the son, who died 1753-54, was the last descendant of the first mayor of Philadelphia who bore his name, and while his blood may continue to flow in the female line, no satisfactory data to that effect have been obtained by the writer.







MARKET SQUARE, GERMANTOWN, PRIOR TO 1823.

THE MIDDLE WARD FIRE COMPANY, OF  
GERMANTOWN.

BY THOMAS H. SHOEMAKER.

[The picture of Market Square was painted prior to 1835 by William Britton, teacher of drawing in the town, to whose ready pencil we are indebted for numerous places of interest thus preserved. The market shed and fire-engine house speak for themselves, while the tallest house on the left served as the capital of Pennsylvania during the epidemic of yellow fever in 1793, and consequently Governor Mifflin and his Secretary of State Alexander J. Dallas were to be seen there daily, while the house adjoining below served the same purpose for Thomas Jefferson, as Secretary of State for the United States, and by Mr. Randolph, as Attorney-General.]

In tracing the history of the Volunteer Fire Department of Philadelphia, we find it originated in 1695 in the very humble requirement that each householder should keep at his dwelling "a swab twelve or fourteen feet long, and a bucket or pail to be ready in case of fire under penalty of ten shillings." This served all purposes until 1718, when the city purchased a small hand-engine, and later, in 1730, three others.

The little settlement at Germantown, having an eye, no doubt, on these progressive improvements, determined to also protect itself from fire by following the good example set, and we can readily imagine the importance of the town meetings which followed, until they culminated in 1764 in the division of the town into three parts, each of which was to have a fire company of its own, and to be known respectively as the Upper Ward Fire Company, Middle Ward Fire Company, and Lower Ward Fire Company. In later days they changed their names as follows: the first became the Franklin Fire Company No. 6, whose house stood on Main, above Franklin Street; the second, whose history we have, becoming the Washington Fire

Company, located on Haines Street; while the third became the Columbia Fire Company, located on Duy's Lane, just in from Main Street. There was always great rivalry between the Washington and Columbia Companies as to which was the oldest, each claiming the honor, and each the same number, of course,—No. 5. The claim made by the Washington to it could not certainly have been based on being the earliest in service, as their own minutes show that before their company was formed there was already an engine in the lower part of the town; but be the facts as they may, the dispute gave rise to endless contention, only settled when the companies disbanded.

To properly appreciate the social position these companies occupied in the community at that time, we must dismiss the impression left by the later days of the Volunteer Department, when they became a mere byword for rowdiness in too many cases, and remember that at the time in question there was practically, if not absolutely, no fire insurance; hence the property owner could not calmly view the destruction of his buildings, as now, knowing that the loss would be borne by others. The persons, therefore, who originated these companies for united protection were the ones who suffered loss when it occurred,—*i.e.*, the better class and householders.

In addition to the fire companies there were three hook-and-ladder stations. These were not companies, but merely sheds in which were hung several ladders thirty to forty feet long and the same number of hooks, the latter very much like immense ice-hooks, attached to poles some thirty feet long, heavy and strong, the powerful hook being of course driven into one end, while to the other two chains were attached; to these chains, when necessary, long ropes could be fastened, so that when the hook was driven into the top of a small frame house, a string of men could topple it over and drag it away, if desired; so, too, with hay-stacks or other similar objects.

One station was at Wintercast's house, now Main and Jefferson Streets; the next at Market Square, under the



market shed; while the third was against Samuel Billmeyer's house, Main and Upsal Streets.

Another portion of the equipment were the leather buckets, two of which each member of the company kept in perfect order. They hung in the hall of his house, on either side of the front door, marked with his name above and the company he belonged to below, while inspectors dropped in occasionally to see that they were in their proper place and in good condition, a heavy fine being imposed if found otherwise. The bucket wagon completed the outfit; it was a light frame wagon, with sides something like those we now see used for hauling empty barrels, only very much smaller, its light weight making it easy to pull, while the buckets were tossed in it to go to or return from the fire. These buckets practically took the place of hose, as the engines had to be placed within twenty-five or thirty feet of the fire, so that the water was conveyed in the buckets from the pump to the water-box in the engine by means of a double line of people, women as well as men usually forming it, the full buckets going one way and the empty ones returning the other.

This primitive apparatus seems to have rendered a good account of itself, as there were no "sky-scrapers" to deal with in those days, the houses being mostly two stories, while grist-mills and barns were about the only other buildings extant.

The minutes of the Middle Ward Fire Company have been carefully preserved, except for some twenty years prior to 1800, and are now in the possession of Mr. Thomas A. McDowell, No. 2507 North Seventh Street, and from them the history of the company is gleaned. They begin as follows:

"A number of the People of the said Town of Germantown being Zealous for the preservation of their own & fellow Towns peoples Houses Goods & Effects In case of Fire &c And an Engine being Ready Provided by the Inhabitants of the Lower end of ye Town & there also Stationed. It was thought necessary that Two more Fire Engines Should be provided & stationed at the upper parts of the Town the abovesd-People met on

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the 28th day of January Anno Dom 1764 in order to Consult on the above Ocasion & they did then propose to raise a sum of Money by Subscription in order to procure two Engines as Soon as they Conveniently can, the one to be kept at or near y<sup>e</sup> Dwelling House of Leonard Stoneburner, and the other as near the Middle, between the s<sup>d</sup> upper & Lower Engine, as it conveniently can be Stationed; And John Bowman, Christopher Meng, Leonard Stoneburner, & Kelian Wise were appointed Collectors of the Subscription Moneys. A true Copy of the Subscribers Names & Sum therto Annexed Runs as Follows.

Samuel Ashmead Esqr . . . . .	£1. 0.0	Benjamin Engles Widow . . . . .	£3. 0.0
Hartman Adams . . . . .	1. 5.0	John Engle . . . . .	1.10.0
William Ashmead . . . . .	1. 5.0	Paul Engle Sen <sup>r</sup> . . . . .	1.10.0
Barbara Adams . . . . .	5.0	Jacob Enters . . . . .	10.0
Paxon Allsence . . . . .	15.0	Jacob Fisher . . . . .	4.6
Mathias Adams . . . . .	1.10.0	Lenhart Fraylich . . . . .	15.0
Peter Ax . . . . .	1. 0.0	John Gorges . . . . .	10.0
John Adams . . . . .	15.0	Abraham Griffith . . . . .	1. 0.0
Jacob Bowman . . . . .	2.10.0	Catherine Gensale . . . . .	2.10.0
Charles Bensel . . . . .	3. 0.0	Adolph Gillman . . . . .	10.0
Lewis Bidding . . . . .	1. 5.0	Joseph Gorgas . . . . .	15.0
George Bringhurst . . . . .	1. 5.0	Conrad Good . . . . .	15.0
Peter Bokeus . . . . .	1. 0.0	Christopher Gaufman . . . . .	5.0
John Bokeus . . . . .	7.6	Daniel Hess . . . . .	7.6
Jacob Bowman . . . . .	1. 0.0	Fronica Hagerman . . . . .	2.0
Henry Bengel . . . . .	7.6	Moses Hall . . . . .	5.0
George Bickess . . . . .	1. 0.0	Jacob Hall . . . . .	1.10.0
Ulrick Buttner . . . . .	5.0	John Hesser . . . . .	1. 0.0
Elizabeth Boyer . . . . .	5.0	John Jones Jr . . . . .	1. 5.0
Martin Beck . . . . .	10.0	John Jones Sn . . . . .	3. 0.0
Bart W Beninghousen . . . . .	15.0	Christopher Jacobus . . . . .	1. 0.0
Michael Bergentaller . . . . .	5.0	John Johnson . . . . .	5. 0.0
Henry Beil . . . . .	1. 0.0	Richard Johnson . . . . .	2.10.0
Barbara Bensel . . . . .	2. 0.0	George Keamor . . . . .	1.10.0
Hilarus Baker . . . . .	7.6	Jacob Knor . . . . .	1.10.0
Peter Bonno . . . . .	7.6	John Koch . . . . .	1. 4.0
George Bergman . . . . .	5.0	John Keyser . . . . .	1.10.0
Jacob Coleman . . . . .	2. 0.0	Martin Kreiter . . . . .	15.0
James Dellworth Jun <sup>r</sup> . . . . .	5.0	George Karst . . . . .	1. 5.0
James Dellaplain . . . . .	1. 0.0	John Knor . . . . .	15.0
William Dewees Esq . . . . .	7.6	Mathias Knor . . . . .	7.6
Elizabeth Deshler . . . . .	2. 0.0	Peter Keyser . . . . .	2. 0.0
David Deshler . . . . .	1. 0.0	John Keyser Cordwainer . . . . .	1. 5.0
Jacob Engle . . . . .	2. 0.0	Jacob Keyser . . . . .	1.10.0
Paul Engel . . . . .	2. 0.0	Arnst Kurtz . . . . .	1. 0.0
George Everhart . . . . .	10.0	David Knor . . . . .	1.6
Ludwig Englehart . . . . .	1. 5.0	Paul Kripner . . . . .	1. 0.0

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Peter Leibert . . .	£1.10.0	Henry Sharpnach . . .	£1.10.0
John Lehman . . .	10.0	Jacob Snyder . . .	1. 0.0
Christian Lehman . . .	1. 7.6	Peter Smith . . .	1. 0.0
Christopher Leist . . .	7.6	Christian Snyder . . .	3. 0.0
Daniel Lukin . . .	1. 2.6	George Sterner . . .	10.0
Melchoir Meng . . .	1. 5.0	Adam Shisster . . .	5.0
Wollree Meng . . .	1. 5.0	John Starr . . .	5.0
Sarah Macknet . . .	1.10.0	Jacob Trout . . .	1. 5.0
Jacob Moyer . . .	15.0	Jeremiah Trout . . .	1. 5.0
Christopher Meng . . .	2. 0.0	George Unrue . . .	5.0
Ann Peters . . .	10.0	John Unrue . . .	5.0
Daniel Potts . . .	7.6	Christian Warner . . .	1. 0.0
Thomas Rose . . .	1.10.0	Lenhart Wintergarst . . .	5.0
Widow Raybold . . .	5.0	Phillip Weiver . . .	5.0
Nicholas Rittenhouse . . .	10.0	Casper Wetherholtz . . .	5.0
Charlotta Roush . . .	1. 0.0	Palatial Webster . . .	10.0
Leonard Stoneburner . . .	4. 0.0	Richard Waln . . .	15.0
George Schreiber . . .	2. 0.0	Kelian Wise . . .	1.10.0
Michael Streets . . .	1. 0.0	Jacob Whiteman . . .	15.0
		Total . . .	£122.12.0

“The Whole and totall amount of the Contribution as above Described One Hundred and Twenty two Pounds and Twelve Shillings Out of which Said Sum the Collectors Have Sent One Hundred & Five pounds to England for the purchase of Two Fire Engines. And a remainder of Seventeen Pounds and Twelve Shillings in the hand of the s'd Collectors; Concerning which it is agreed in the Following manner—

“A meeting of the Contributors was appointed & held by which a Committee was Chosen to Divide the Town of Germantown into proper Wards or Districts for the better Conveniency of forming Fire Companys; And they the s'd Comitte On the 20th day of February Anno Dom of 64 Have Devided The Town in the Following manner Viz Begining at or near the Cresham Line & there Including John Gorges Houses<sup>1</sup> (then being) and from thence Extending Downwards as farr as to the Menonists Meeting House (then being) Included and so to be Caled upper wards &c And Beginning at s'd Meeting House (then being) And so to be Caled the Middle thence to Extend downwards as farr as to the Quaker Meeting House (then being) —And so to be Caled the Middle Ward &c And beginning & including the Said Quaker Meeting House downwards and thence to Extend as farr as to the Mansion House of

<sup>1</sup> The Gorgas houses still stand at the south corner of Germantown Avenue and Allen's Lane; Mennonite Meeting-House, Germantown Road and Herman Street; Friends' Meeting-House, Germantown Road and Coulter Street. Jacob Neglee's house was on what is now known as Neglee's Hill, Germantown Road, above Wayne Junction, on the line of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company.

Jacob Neglees Included and so to be caled the Lower Ward and now hence forth to be Distinguished by the names of the Upper Ward, Middle Ward, and Lower Ward &c.

“The Above mentioned Divisions was read over Perused and Approved of By a Certain Meeting of the Contributors Towards the Engines; and it was thereby Concluded that a Fire Company shall be formed in Each ward and Each Company to join in Articles of Agreem’t Seperate, And Whereas the People of the Upper and Middle Wards having heretofore Jointly Contributed A Certain Sum of Money (the sum and purpose before mentioned) There being a Certain overplush or a remainder Money from what was appropriated and Sent for the Purchase of Two Engines in the hands of the Collectors as affors’d Concerning which it is unanimously agreed that Each of the Two s’d wards or the Companys thereof shall have one Moety of the s’d Overplush Money that Each may Furnish themselves with Hooks, Ladders, &c therewith.

“Memor<sup>dm</sup> this 18th day of May Anno Dom 1764 A settlement was made by and between the Collectors of afores’d Subscription Money and the Clarks of the upper and Middle Wards of this s’d Town and hereby Deliver up unto the s’d Clarks the s’d overplush in the following manner.

Viz/Unto John Knor Present Clark of the Middle Ward	.	.	£8.16.0
Do Paul Engle Present Clark of the upper ward	.	.	£8.16.0”

MINUTES OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE MIDDLE WARD FIRE COMPANY, OF GERMANTOWN.

“A number of the people of the Middle Ward of Germantown being met this First day of March instead of the last Thursday in February (the appointed Annual Meeting) And Articles were prepared ready and read and approved of & signed by the Following Persons as Members of the Company.

Viz/John Johnson	William Asmead	John Knor
Christopher Meng	John Koch	Jacob Trout
Jacob Coleman	John Adams, Cooper	Jeremiah Trout
John Bowman	Daniel Luckin	Jacob Bowman
Wollree Meng	John Jones	Peter Smith
George Bringhurst	Richard Johnson	Melcher Meng
George Heimer	Jacob Snyder	Richard Waln
		Charles Bensel, Dr.

“The Following Overseers for the Ensueing Year. Viz, John Knor of ye Company. John Johnson Inspector of Fires &c Wollree Meng & Jeremy Trout Overseers of ye Engine &c John jones, William Ashmead of the Ladders, Hooks &c. Jacob Coleman, Jacob Trout to Watch suspected Persons &c. Richard Johnson, George Keimer To range People for con-



veying water. John Bowman & Richard Johnson To take Bond of the Clerk of Performing."

During the interval that elapsed between the first meeting of the citizens in January and the March meeting of the company the Articles had been formulated as follows :

“ARTICLES OF THE FIRE COMPANY OF THE MIDDLE DISTRICT  
IN GERMANTOWN.

“The First Day of March, in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty Four, We whose names are hereunto subscribed reposing special Confidence in Each others Friendship, Do for the better preserving our own and our Neighbors & Fellow Towns-People Houses Goods and Effects from Fire, Mutually Agree in Manner Follow—, That is to say ;

“*First*, That we will each of us provide Two Leather Buckets at our own expense, (with all possible expedition) which shall be marked with our names respectively, and Kept ready at hand and applied to no other use than for preserving our own and Fellow Towns Peoples and Neighbors Houses goods and Effects in case of Fire as aforesaid.

“*Second*, That if any of us Shall Neglect to provide his Buckets or when provided shall neglect to keep them ready for use herein mentioned, He shall forfeit and pay unto the clerk for the time being, for the use of this Company the Sum of Five Shillings for every such Neglect, Except Any of them shall be lost at a Fire.

“*Third*, That if any of the Buckets so marked as aforesaid shall be lost or damaged at any Fire, the same shall be supplied or repaired out of the Stock of the Company as soon as possible.

“*Fourth*, That we will all of us, upon hereing of Fire breaking out immediately repair to the same with our Buckets, and their employ our best Endeavor to Preserve the Goods and Effects of such of us as may be in danger. And if more than one of us be in Danger at the same Time, we will divide ourselves as near as may be To be Equally helpfull ; and such of us as may be Spared, Shall Assist others. And to prevent as much as may be, Suspicious Persons from comming into or carrying any Goods out of Such of Our Houses as may be in Danger. Two of our Number Shall constantly attend at the Doors until all the Goods and Effects that can be saved are Packed up and carried to some Safe Place to be appointed by the Owner. And upon our first hereing of Fire in the Night Time we will immediately cause two or more Lights to be set up in our front Windows, and Such of our Company whose Houses shall be thought to be in Danger, Shall place Candles in every Room to prevent Confusion and that their Friends may be able to give them the speedy and effectual Assistance. And moreover as this Association is

intended for general Benefit We do further Agree that when a Fire Breaks out in any part of this Town though none of our Companys Houses, Goods, or Effects may be in any Apparant Danger we will nevertheless repair thither with our Buckets and Give our Utmost Assistance to such of our Townspeople and Neighbors as may stand in Need of it, in the Same Manner as if they belonged to this Company. After the breaking out of Fire in this Town that any of our members neglected to attend with their Buckets or set up Lights in their Front Windows as Afforesaid, every such neglecting Member shall forfeit and pay to the Use of the Company the Sum of Two Shillings unless they can Assign Some Reasonable Cause to the Satisfaction of the Company.

“*Fifth*, That we will Meet together at Three OClock in Ye Afternoon of the last Thursday in the Months of May, August, November, and February, in Every Year. Hereafter at Such place as shall be from Time to Time appointed by the Clerk of the Company for the Time Being to Consider of what may be further Usefull in the Premises And What may be Expended at any Meeting, Shall be paid by the Members then Assembled; and if any Member shall neglect to Meet as aforesaid he shall forfeit and pay the Clerk for the Time being For the Use of the Company the Sum of One Shilling. And for not meeting once in a Year (unless such Member be sick) Shall moreover forfeit and pay the Sum of Five Shillings for the use Aforesaid.

“*Sixth*. That we will meet Annually on the last Thursday in February in Order to Chuse or Elect by Ballot a Clerk; Two Overseers of Each Large Ladder Belonging to the Company (who are to take due Care of all the Ladders and Fire Hooks put Under their Inspection) Two of the Members to Watch Suspected Persons, and see that the Goods &c Carried out of the Houses on Fire, or in Danger be Secured in Proper Places of Safety and Two Regulators to Range the People Properly in A lane for Conveying Water to the Engine and any other appointments Which may be thought necessary for the Year Ensueing.

“*Seventh*. That the Duty of Each of the Above Officiers is to be pointed out to the Person chosen thereto, And if any neglect or refuse to Preform the same, shall for such Default forfeit and pay the Sum of Two Shillings, And Whoever neglects or refuses to Repair to any Fire which may Break out in any Other Ward or District in this Town, or when there refuses to obey the Reasonable Orders of the Officiers appointed by the Company of that District, shall forfeit and pay the Sum of Two Shillings (unless Satisfactory Reasons can be Given for Every Such Neglect or Refusal) both which fines to be paid to Our Clerk for the use of this Company.

“*Eighth*. That if a Fire break out in any other District or ward in Germantown, We agree to Attend at the Same as soon as Possible, with our Engine, Ladders, Hooks, Buckets &c and there assist to the Utmost of our Power, under the Regulations of the appointed Officer of the

Ward or District. Where such Fire is broke out and Each of us failing of our Duty herein shall and will be subject to Same Fines and Forfeiture to the Use of the Company we belong to as if guilty in our Duty at a Fire Breaking out in our own District.

“*Ninth.* That if any Person or Persons takes away any of the Ladders or hooks belonging to the Company from their or any of their Proper Places Without first obtaining the Permission of the Overseer therefor; such Person or Persons shall forfeit and Pay Five Shillings for every such offence to the Clerk for the use aforesaid, But upon Application being made to the Person who has the Same Under care any neighbor may have the Use of one of the Ladders for one day, paying Six Pence for the use thereof, and Paying all Damages if it be Broke or destroyed; Provided that if any of the ladders or Hooks so borrowed be not Put in their Proper Place at or before half an Hour after Sunset of the Same evening of the Day Whereon they were Borrowed Such Borrower shall forfeit and pay for Such Neglect the Sum of Five Shillings To the Clerk for the Use aforesaid.

“*Tenth.* That the First Two of our Company named on the list be Visitors for the First Quarter and the next Two for the Second Quarter (after the Date hereof) and so on every Two in Succession each two their Quarter Shall be called Visitors, whose Duty it is to inspect the Companys Buckets individually and See Whether each one is furnished with them In Proper order, and are fixed in Proper Places Easy to come at on any Immurgency, And if the ladders, Hooks &c are in their Proper Places and in Good Repair and Report to the Next Meeting of the Company how they find Matters; And the Clerk Shall Furnish Such Visitors With the Month in Which they are to Proform their Visits respectively at Every Quarterly Meeting that each may know his business for the Succeeding three Months, and if any Neglect or Refuse to Preform their Duty punctually by going from House to House and Place to Place to Inspect as aforesaid, Such Negligent Person shall forfeit and pay the Sum of Five Shillings for Every Such Neglect to ye Clerk for ye Use Aforesaid.

“*Eleventh.* That if any of the Company’s Monie’s is to be laid out; a New Member admitted; or any Alteration to be made in any of these Articles, the Clerk for the time being shall let the Company have timely knowledge of the Intentions.—

“*Twelfth.* That the Clerk shall receive all the Companys Monie’s and fines as aforesaid, and keep a fair Account thereof in a book to be provided for that Purpose at the charge of the Company, & at the Expiration of his Year submit his Accounts to the Examination of the Company or a Deputation or Committe of them, and Deliver up to his Successor the Balance of the Cash and all Books, Papers and Writings in his Hands Belonging to the Company; And Every Clerk shall Give Bond in Such Sum as the Company shall think proper & to Such Per-



sons as the Company may Choose Conditioned for the True punctual Performance of his Trust &c.—

“*Thirteenth.* That there shall be no Alterations made in any of these Articles without the consent of Six Parts in Seven of the Company that shall be met at any of the appointed Meetings aforesaid. And the Members To have previous and timely Notice of Such Intention.

“*Fourteenth.* That the Names of all the Company shall be called over at half an Hour after the Appointed time of Meeting, And any member then Absent shall be Subject to the Fine before mentioned (Except as Aforesaid) The Articles are to be Red Over at Every Meeting and the Accounts fairly stated and Laid before the Company on the Day of Election.—

“*Fifteenth.* That if any of our Company Dies the Widow of Such Decedent Shall be Assisted as if her Husband was Living, She only keeping the Buckets in their Proper Order and Repair, and causing them to be sent to Every Place of Breaking out of Fire as aforesaid.

“In Witness whereof we have hereunto Severally Set our Hands—

Phillip Benezet	John Dorean	Justus Johnson
J N Knorr	Conrad Carpenter	Michael Riter
George Bringhurst	Charles Macknett	Joseph Cannon
Daniel Lucken	R D Potter At the re-	John Shaeffer
Anthony Johnson	quest of R D Potter	Abm Garrigues
Jos Johnson	his name is withdrawn	John Brooker
Jacob Somer	as a member of this	Samuel Waurmer
Chris Warner	Company	William B Leibert
John Leibert	David Meredith	Jacob Trippler
Jos Ferree	John Johnson Jr	John Braner
Jacob Coleman	W Harker	John Smith
Melcher Meng	Samuel Betton	Reuben Haines
Chas Engle	George Riter	Jacob Smith
Andrew Keath	Jacob Fry	Jacob Wunder
William Ashmead	John Culp	Joseph Greene
Griffith Jones	Mathw Huston	William Botten
Casper Heft	Jacob Reger	Charles Peirce
George Wunder	William Bowman	James Ogilbe
his		
Jeremiah X Troudt	Anthony Hergesheimer	Jacob Roop
mark		
Leonard Sommer	John Stuckert	William Bowen
Owen Fevious	John Smith	Jacob Ployd
John Cook	William Stephenson	Harvey Sharpless
Jacob Bauman	Richd Macartney	G Hergesheimer Jr
David Deshler	James Mathews	Jesse C Acuff
Michael Keyser Excused	George Smith	Naaman Keyser
Nov 30 1809	Clement Bringhurst	Saml McDowell
Mathias Roop	John Svallinger	Saml Johnson Jr



Chas Drum	Stephen Boisbrun	Abrham Schrack
Baltes Trout	Joseph Jacob	Reuben Keyser
Henry Bruner	Robert Bringhurst	John M Brick
Derick Keyser	John Robinson	Chas C Wilkins
Benjamin Lehman	James Ashmead	Enos Kulp
Michael Meyers	Baltus Beck	John Rittenhouse
Isaac Frankle	John Knor	William R Thomas
Peter Dedier Quit on ac- count of old age	James M Cmuekelvane	Stephen Boisbrun
John Rose	J H Watmough	John R Thomas
John Fromberg	Thos Naussalty	John R Johnson
John Myer	Wm Wunder	Jacob B Thomas
John Crout Quit on ac- count of ill health	Wm Meredith	George Meley
Joseph Ashmead	Wm Sinclair	Peter Buddy
Casper W Haies	Jacob Greene	Gideon Keyser
Jacob Shoemaker	William Bringhurst	Charles B Engle
John Salter Jr	Jacob Emhardt	Elijah Haupt
George Bensel	William Lehman	Jacob Unruh
	Robert Thomas	Osmond Bailey
	Saml Harvey	Horatio Roop'

With a few exceptions, the above is a complete list of members who signed the Articles from the formation of the company in 1764 until it changed into the Washington Fire Company in 1834. A few of the first names are written in German script, and so poorly that it is impossible to decipher them; this is the case, too, with two or three in English; but many are remarkably fine signatures, and the list, as a whole, would compare favorably with one of to-day. Unfortunately, there are no dates to indicate the time of signing, and we can only form an approximate idea of the period. After most of the names is written "removed," "dead," or "quit," though a few ceased to be members for other reasons.

All of this goodly company have passed away, the last being Mr. C. B. Engle, who died a couple of years ago. The names, of course, were attached as the persons were elected to membership; hence the last twenty or thirty were well known to many of the present day.

Among the earliest entries in the cash-book of the company is the following:

"December 10th 1765, To Cash paid Saml Shoemaker a remainder as p his Rect £9 S13 D4."

This was for the "Shag-Rag," the little engine whose picture we have, though how or why it obtained the name I have been unable to learn. It is so spoken of in the minutes of the Fellowship Hose Company in 1839, and tradition says was always so known.

This may be as appropriate a place as any to give a full account of what is now a most decided curiosity. It was built in London, by Newsham & Rag, prior to 1764, and is so arranged as to act either as a suction or force engine. The body is a wooden trough five feet long, eighteen inches deep, and twenty-one inches wide, lined with copper sheathing. It rests on iron axles which are permanently attached to the bottom; hence, as there is no fifth wheel, it was necessary, when a corner was to be turned, to lift the front wheels from the ground and make the turn on the hind ones. The wheels are solid wooden ones seventeen inches in diameter and two and three-quarters inches thick, bound with heavy iron hoops for tires. In the rear of the engine are two upright copper cylinders fourteen inches high and four and a half inches in diameter; in these the pistons alternately worked, being forced up and down by two handles five feet six inches long, which run parallel to the engine on either side. As many men as could laid hold of the handles and, working them up and down with a quick, rapid stroke, accomplished what they then considered wonderful work. Between the small cylinders is a large one, also of copper, being three feet six inches high, five inches in diameter at the bottom, and increasing to seven inches at the top, out of which comes a pipe, having attached to it by a movable screw-joint the copper branch-pipe called the goose-neck. By the peculiar arrangement of this joint, the branch-pipe, which is five feet long and tapers to a half-inch nozzle, can be turned in any direction. When the engine was to be used for suction, there was an opening in the bottom to which a pipe or hose could be attached and lowered into a well or other body of water from which it was desired to draw a supply. As the engine had to be very close to the burning building, it was seldom that the water could be ob-

tained in this way, the dependence being then on what could be passed along the line of men, women, and boys, in leather buckets. To prevent damage to the cylinders from pieces of wood or other objects that might be in the water, there was at either end a space partitioned off by a perforated sheet of copper, into which each bucket of water was poured, and was thus strained before passing into the cylinder of the engine. Along the side of the engine was, and still is, printed in large letters, "Germantown 1764." On a printed paper let in a panel, and thus protected somewhat, though, unfortunately, not enough to entirely preserve it, are what remains of the directions how to work the engine. The following is still legible:

"DIRECTIONS FOR KEEPING THE ENGINE IN ORDER.

"When you play a Stream in its full Lenght, hold the Branch stedly sometime: Let so many men work with their hands as can stand on each side, take quick Strokes from Top to Bottom. When you play by Sucking Pipe [lost]. If it has played much dirty Water, play clean water to cleanse the Engine, after the inside of the Cistern is well washed and oil all the movable parts."

The balance of the directions are gone. When well manned, the engine can still throw a stream half an inch in diameter forty or fifty feet high. The "Shag-Rag" was probably the pride of the company until 1796, when they have an entry of having paid Phillip Mason "£150.7.6" for a new engine. The two engines seem to have been used by the Middle Ward Fire Company until 1819, when the "Shag-Rag" passed to the Fellowship Hose Company, an offshoot from the parent company. By 1822 the Fellowship found it too antiquated, and asked permission from the Middle Ward Fire Company to sell it and use the proceeds towards paying for a larger one. This being granted, it was found that the desire to sell was easier expressed than accomplished, and the effort proved abortive. It was tried several times later at a price of fifty dollars, but not succeeding, it was "Resolved not to sell the old engine," so that it has been handed down to our times.



The minutes show that it was occasionally used, as at a fire at the railroad bridge, March 6, 1839, when the report says "it worked most admirably." Its last appearance was in the parade of October, 1865, when it figured as a curiosity. When the Fellowship Engine Company disbanded, it seems to have caused more perplexity to know just what disposition they should make of it than any other of their property. At their meeting, held May 11, 1871,—

"A committee of three were appointed to put in suitable condition and present to the Historical Society of Penna. the small hand engine in possession of the company commonly known as the 'Shag-Rag.'"

To the June meeting this committee reported having

"seen the parties and not being able to dispose of the same satisfactorily to themselves, did not present the same."

Then an effort was made to present it to Carncross & Dixey's minstrel troupe, and, this failing, in 1873 the following resolution passed:

"On Motion, ordered that the committee having charge of the 'Shag-Rag' be requested to bring the same from Nicetown and locate it in some suitable place in Germantown."

It thus passed into the hands of the secretary of the company, Mr. W. H. Emhardt, who keeps it carefully housed, and occasionally takes it out for a squirt, finding that when the leathers get wet it works as well as ever.

To return to the early days of the company. Among the contributors towards the purchase of the first engine, but whose names appear after the regular list, are William Allen, two pounds, and Israel Pemberton, three pounds. The prices paid for some articles are in great contrast to those of our day, nails being nine pence per pound, for instance; they were, of course, hand made, and with the same qualities as our present wrought ones. The War of the Revolution seems to have overshadowed all thought of the fire company, as, after an entry made on February 28, 1777, a blank occurs until December 6, 1782, when the fol-



lowing explanation is offered for the seeming neglect of duty :

“The Company not haveing met for Several years past, there remains at present in the hands of Jos Johnson (late Clerk & Treasurer) £2 S10 D6 in the following different kinds of Money Viz Old Paper £0.15.0; Resolve, 0.2.3; Commonwealth, 0.0.9; Congress, 1.12.6; is £2.10.6.”

It is to be supposed that the treasurer found trouble in realizing on some of these funds, as on November 26, 1788, he claims credit, “loss in paper money 1 S 10.” It was in 1796, I judge from the entries, that they erected a second house on the Haines estate, at the corner of Main Street and Walnut Lane. What their object was in having two sets of apparatus does not appear, but the new house was evidently their pride, while the little house on Market Square, with the “Shag-Rag” in it, took a second place, and in 1819 was handed over to an ambitious set of young men who organized a separate company, afterwards becoming the Fellowship Fire Engine Company.

At a quarterly meeting of the members of the Middle Ward Fire Company, held at the house of Charles Macknett,<sup>1</sup> November 26, 1801, the following resolution was offered :

“It was moved by Dr. Shaw, and seconded that at the next Yearly Meeting the Members sup together at seven o'clock at the house of Charles Macnett.”

Thus early showing a convivial spirit, which seems to have been a characteristic of the Volunteer Department during its existence.

At a quarterly meeting, held May 27, 1802, at the house of Anthony Hergesheimer,—

“Justus Fox and Mr Mechlin Sen informed the Members present that they were deputed by the Members of the Lower Ward fire Company to

<sup>1</sup> Charles Macknett kept the Green Tree Tavern, still standing on Main, above High Street; it was a noted resort for driving and sleighing parties from the city, and was the lowest point reached by the American soldiers at the battle of Germantown.

propose to this Meeting a union of the different Companies in German Town and to apply for an Act of Incorporation."

No action seems to have been taken on this, and the matter was at the time presumably dropped, to be taken up by the Middle Ward Fire Company, as emanating from them, at a special meeting held May 31, 1813, and to meet with a like fate at the hands of the Upper and Lower Wards.

At a yearly meeting, held at Charles Macknett's, February 24, 1803, the following was offered :

"It was moved and seconded that the Persons appointed to range the People do wear some distinguishing Badge & that the respective Members do meet together on Monday Evening next and agree to the same—Resolved that Doctor Bensell, Mr Fromberger Mr Bruner and Mr G Ashmead be a Committe to wait upon the Members of the Upper and Lower Ward Fire Companies at their next Meeting and request their concurrence in the same, in order that a uniform System may prevail among the different Fire Companies."

This committee reported to the meeting held May 26, 1803, as follows :

"Mr Bruner, one of the Committee appointed to confer with the other Companies to fix on some distinguishing Badge for the officers reports that the same was agreed to, and the Badges procured."

We have in this the first step towards the adoption of a uniform which half a century afterwards became such an important part of the volunteer fireman's outfit.

The town was progressing, and had other amusements than its fire-engines, as the following indicates. At the meeting held February 1, 1806, it was

"moved and seconded that Conrad Carpenter be desired to move the ladders at the Market House to the outside or under Mr Taylors Billiard Room, if he will give permission."

To keep the ladders in their proper place was a source of constant trouble to the company, as the neighbors found it a very convenient way to get one when they needed it, and would then fail to return it; so the following was passed at a meeting :

“ It being reported by a member present that the ladders have often been taken from their places without permission of the persons who have the care of them, it was moved and seconded that when any of the members saw either of the ladders taken away that he be authorized to inquire by what authority it was ; and that if it shall appear that they have been taken without the knowledge of either of the persons designated to care for them, that those removing them be requested to return them to their proper places.”

The Middle Ward Fire Company seems to have been the most progressive of the companies, and it is not surprising to find the following offered at the meeting held February 28, 1805 :

“ Resolved that a Committee be appointed to confer with Committees from the different Fire Companies of Germantown, if such Committees shall be appointed, to consider upon the propriety of appointing a standing committee in each Ward, for the purpose of Collecting Subscriptions for the relief of any member of a Fire Company in Germantown, who may suffer by Fire, provided the sufferer shall accept such assistance. The following Committee was appointed. Dr Bensell, Dr Betton, George Riter, Conrad Carpenter, John Smith, Samuel Blair.”

The committee reported on the 30th of May that the other companies had rejected the proposal.

It was not until 1807 that they became sufficiently acquainted with the new currency of the country to trust themselves with keeping their accounts in it; even then, they placed over the dollar column a capital D for dollars, and over the cents a capital C. As time passed they got the matter straightened out.

On February 28, 1812, at the quarterly meeting held at Charles Macknett's, it was resolved

“ that if any neighbor or member of the company shall provide a horse for the conveyance to any fire within the limits of the three different wards of the fire company he being the first for said conveyance shall receive from this Company the sum of \$2 for the same.”

This was probably the commencement of the present system of having the apparatus taken to the fire by horses. From the cash account it does not appear to have proved successful.

They could not be charged with extravagance in those days, as the following proves. At a meeting held February 29, 1816,—

“it was resolved that the clerk receive as compensation for his services the sum of \$2 per annum.”

“At the annual meeting, held February 26, 1818, at the house of Charles Macknett, the committee on raising a hose company made report that a certain number of young men are willing to make up a hose company on the condition of receiving from this company the new hose together with the exclusive right of the small engine.”

This engine was the “Shag-Rag.”

A committee was appointed to confer with these young men, consisting of Abram Garrigues, James Ashmead, Conrad Carpenter, and Dr. George Bensell. This committee reported to a special meeting, held March 6, 1818, that they had made arrangements with these young men, who were to have the apparatus so long as they had twelve members or over, and they were to remain in the old house where they then were (on Market Square), and that the members of the Middle Ward Fire Company were to have the privilege of proceeding to a fire with the engine and hose, if no member of the hose company was at the house, though upon the appearance of one or more members they were to be immediately surrendered. This was the origin of the Fellowship Fire Engine Company, afterwards one of the most active in the town, and located in later days at No. 18 Armat Street, its number in the Philadelphia Department being 27.

An item appears in the minutes of the meeting of February 25, 1819, which shows how particular they were regarding the condition of the buckets in the members' houses:

“the Visiting Committee Report they found all things in order except Jacob Regers Buckets where not in their place. Resolved that Jacob Reger Pay a fine of five shillings for not having his Buckets in their place.”

On February 24, 1820, at the annual meeting,—



“the Visiting Committee Report they found all things In Order except Samuel Harveys Buckets had some grains of Corn in them, whereby he has incurred the fine of five Shillings.”

At the following meeting he seems to have cleared his skirts of using the buckets for improper purposes, as he was exonerated from paying a fine, though it certainly had a suspicious look.

At a meeting at Charles Macknett's, August 30, 1827, the following was presented :

“Respected Company, A number of young men of Gtn. thinking their services might be of use in time of fire have formed themselves into an association under the name of the Fellowship Bucket Company of Gtn. and have purchased a wagon and a considerable number of buckets which will be kept at the house of the Fellowship Hose Company at the Market House for the purpose of supplying water to the Engines of the Middle Ward of Gtn. (Signed) Wm Green, Chas Ashmead Theodore Runkle, Wm Fryhoffer.”

Their proposition was accepted and thirty dollars were donated to assist them.

At a meeting at the house of William Bowen it was decided that the company should join the Fire Association of Philadelphia. After raising the fifty dollars necessary for the purpose, the committee, at a meeting held May 26, 1831, reported

“that the Fire Asso. having examined their apparatus did not deem it expedient to admit them to membership on account of their engine.”

So the money was ordered returned to the subscribers.

At a stated meeting of the company, held at the house of Abraham Shrack, August 29, 1833,—

“The building committee report they have sold the old engine-house for \$14, and contracted for a new one which will cost \$95.”

This new house passed to the Fellowship Hose Company, and when they abandoned it in 1850 for the Armat Street house, it was sold or given to Paschall H. Coulter, who resided at School Lane and Wayne Street; he had it hauled

to his place by "Joe" Ladley, a well-known teamster of the town, and there it still stands, doing duty as a play-house for children. At a stated meeting of the Middle Ward Fire Company, held at the house of Peter Buddy, February 27, 1834,—

"The committee to procure torches and trumpets report that they have preformed that service and deposited them in the engine house."

This was the last act of the Middle Ward Fire Company, as, without any reason or discussion, their next meeting, in May of that year, is headed the Washington Fire Company. So they passed from a company of colonial days into what was probably considered the more progressive one of the modern Volunteer Fire Department, to be, in turn, succeeded about 1871 by the Paid Fire Department.

EXTRACTS FROM THE RECORDS OF THE MORAVIAN CONGREGATION AT HEBRON, PENNSYLVANIA, 1775-1781.

[In July of 1761 the Moravians surveyed and laid out a town on a tract of fifty acres, on the south side of the Quittopehelle Creek, about one mile from the present borough of Lebanon, Pennsylvania, which they called Hebron. Hebron, however, was never built; instead, the name was given to a large stone building occupied as a chapel (on second floor) and living rooms for the minister (on first floor), which until 1848 was used for congregational purposes. The following extracts are translated from the German, of remnants of the diary of the pastor, Rev. P. C. Bader, who was in charge of the congregation during the whole period of the Revolution.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

1775.

*May 10.*—Great excitement prevails in the town, as all males between fifteen and fifty years of age are expected to register their names. Two military companies have been formed.

*May 14.*—Since Wednesday of last week our whole neighborhood has presented a warlike appearance, and a large number of my brethren were obliged to register. They went to Captain de Haas, who although not yet commissioned, has organized a company.

1776.

*March 3.*—Just before the morning service, Captain de Haas called on me to bid farewell, for in three days he will leave for Philadelphia to take command of his Battalion which has been ordered to Canada.

*May 7.*—Early this morning de Haas, with a strong escort, passed by our house on his way to join his Battalion.

*June 25.*—Dr. Oldenberg requested the loan of several of our school-benches, for the use of the officers who occupy Baltzer Orth's spring-house. Tomorrow a battalion of troops will drill in his field, opposite to our clergy-house.

*July 8.*—Bro. Sturgis came to see me today, and is in much perplexity, as an Express from Congress has arrived with orders for the troops to march.

*July 21.*—Two battalions marched for camp during the past week.

*July 24.*—Two soldiers called and asked for something to eat, and when they learned that it was a meeting-house, were about to resume their journey, but Sister Bader prepared something for them, for which they were thankful.

*July 26.*—Andreas Kapp came to take leave, as his company which has been encamped in Orth's field opposite our house, marches for Reading this afternoon. We have much sympathy with the people.

*August 4.*—Great alarm and uneasiness prevails, as it is reported that the Tories and Indians are threatening an invasion.

*August 8.*—Yesterday two companies of troops from the Swatara, and today the last company from this town, marched for the army. Numbers of our members called to take leave—Adam Orth and his son John; Baltzer Orth; Guenther; Gottlieb Kucker; Michael Uhrich; Michael Koch; George Volk and Henry Buehler. Our evening service was not held in the chapel, owing to so many of the members being in the army.

*September 2.*—A report reached here, that a battle was fought near New York, and as the troops from this neighborhood are with the army in that vicinity, the community is much excited.

*September 18.*—For some days past friends have been returning from the army, and as many are sick, wagons have been sent to meet them.

*December 1.*—One thousand prisoners under a strong escort, and a number of Tories with their families, passed here on the way to Reading and Philadelphia.

1777.

*January 1.*—Everybody in town is rejoicing over the victory gained by the Provincials.



*February 9.*—Colonel de Haas returns.

*March 19.*—This being St. Patrick's Day, there were many quarrels between the townspeople and the soldiers.

*May 5.*—Day before yesterday the township officers were chosen.

*June 22.*—The first class of the militia should have assembled in town yesterday, but not one of them appeared.

*June 30.*—Much excitement has recently prevailed concerning the taking of the test oath, to which the people are strongly opposed. We have heard of force being used in cases of refusal, and in Donegal township two lives were lost.

*July 3.*—Nineteen men who took the oath, attempted to plunder the possessions of an unsworn family on the Swatara, when they were attacked by about sixty of the unsworn and terribly beaten.

*August 14.*—Much disquiet prevails, because tomorrow and the day following the first and second classes of militia are to march.

*August 25.*—It is rumored that Lord Howe is in Maryland, and that all the prisoners at Lancaster and Reading are to be brought here. Numbers of houses have been selected for their accommodation.

*August 26.*—Today the prisoners are to arrive here and will be placed in the churches and school houses. Some of our enemies want them put in our clergy-house.

*August 27.*—Towards evening three hundred and forty Hessians arrived, and shortly afterwards Colonel Curtis Grubb sent two soldiers to notify us, that they were to occupy our clergy-house. We protested against it and sent word back, that we would not permit any one to enter our dwelling; that it was not a public building.

*August 28.*—Bro. Bader sent Adam Orth with a letter to Colonel Grubb, and while on the way met the latter mounted, as he was viewing the empty house offered to him yesterday. He would not read the letter, because the orders could not be changed. He also remarked that he could not ride through the town in safety, on account of the feeling

against himself. Adam Orth, Baltzer Orth and George Buehler discussed the situation of affairs with us when it was decided that they should return to town and use their utmost efforts to prevent the prisoners being confined in our house; that it was against all laws, against our wishes, and could only be accomplished by force. They met Colonel Grubb and for hours endeavored to induce him to change the order, that they would provide two houses or rent a large one in town and pay for the necessary changes. But it was all of no avail and they came back at night, with the news that the prisoners would arrive the following day. The officers promised that a guard would be detailed to protect the house and also a body guard for the pastor and family, if he desired it.

*August 29.*—During the afternoon upwards of four hundred prisoners arrived, when we had the opportunity of presenting our protest to Colonel Grubb. However, he was determined to occupy our building; assigned the four rooms on the lower floor to our use and put two hundred prisoners in the chapel and side rooms on the second floor. The remaining prisoners were taken to the Reformed church in town.

*August 30.*—Late in the afternoon two hundred and eight prisoners of the Regiment Knyphausen arrived, which created much confusion and little discipline was maintained. A few handsome looking Hessians remained, but the others were hastily taken to town. One hundred more are expected, but there is no way to accommodate them, for even our stable is filled. At evening those in the stable sang songs; those in our house remained quiet, as they did not wish to disturb the "Holy Father!"

*August 31.*—Learning that the "Holy Father" desired to preach this morning, the prisoners vacated the chapel, and insisted that the members of the congregation should enter first. The chapel was packed full, and the Hessians accompanied the singing with their musical instruments. Bro. Bader preached on Luke 17. 11. The heat was intense or the service would have been held in the open air.

*September 15.*—The Hessians did not conduct themselves well today, they began to play on their violins and became very jolly. When Bro. Bader heard that they had taken the bass violin from the chapel, he sent an under officer to demand it, but he failed to obtain it, so he went himself. They made room for him, took off their hats and begged that he would let them use it, that they were not doing anything wrong. He replied that he would not discuss that point, but the instrument should not be used in that way; took it away and put it in a secure place. Then they formed a circle, fiddled and danced with each other until a shower of rain scattered them, for they did not obey either the sergeant of the guard or their officers. Several subsequent attempts to obtain the bass violin failed, and they were told that they would not have dared to behave so before a parsonage in Hesse,\* and if they continued to misbehave he would send an express to town and make a formal complaint against their insolence.

*September 17.*—Several of our members came to put up our fences, and the Hessians were informed that if they removed another rail they would be punished.

*September 18.*—A party of Hessian Jaegers under guard, made a visit to their fellow-prisoners here. They came with horns and fiddles, began to dance in our chapel and behaved shamefully. An officer told us that he and his comrades could not control them, that they would not listen to them, and suggested they would stop if we went up to them. This we did, and they defended themselves as much as possible, but they were told briefly that if they did not stop at once, we would make it a matter of complaint. We reproved the guard, but they became rude and told us to go down stairs, after which they acted more boisterously. Bro. Bader then went after the Captain, who issued orders for the immediate return to town of the visiting Hessians, where they would be punished.

*September 19.*—The Hessians today were remarkably quiet and orderly, and we heard that the Jaegers who had conducted themselves so badly had been imprisoned.



*September 20.*—Colonel Grubb called this afternoon and notified the Hessians that twenty men out of each company are to leave tomorrow for Winchester, Virginia, and the others are to be removed to town later.

*September 30.*—Fifty prisoners from the Reformed Church in town were brought to our house, so unjustly are we treated.

*October 23.*—About 11 o'clock heavy cannonading was heard in town to the Eastward.

*October 29.*—About 10 o'clock this morning Barracks Master Krause came and notified the prisoners to be ready to leave in half an hour, that they are to be quartered in the Lutheran Church in town. Who was more joyful at this action than Bro. Bader, but who were more dismayed than the Hessians, particularly their officers, who had settled themselves for the Winter. They became angry and accused Bro. Bader of making complaints against them, which he assured them to the contrary. Captain Oldenberg arrived with the guard, and they were escorted to town. The destruction within and without the clergy-house is very great and it smells like a stable.

*October 30.*—David Buehler brought us a piece of news which has embittered our joy; that our house is now to be occupied as a hospital! O God! have mercy! It is over nine weeks since the congregation have had a service, and the house is so filled with vermin, that it is almost uninhabitable.

*November 2.*—After the service the brethren of the congregation met in Bro. Bader's room to consult about the rumor that the house will be reoccupied. It was decided that Barracks Master Krause should at once put the house in its former condition—to be thoroughly cleaned, window panes put in, and general repairs made. Stoehr agreed to remove the straw.

*November 17.*—At nine o'clock a couple of Hessian women with their baggage on their backs came with the news, that all the prisoners were to return to our house. We were unwilling to admit them at first, but as it was very cold we



allowed them to warm themselves by the fire. Within an hour afterwards the house was again taken possession of. We decided to prepare a statement of the whole affair and send it to the Committee of Safety at Lancaster, and to ask for relief. We are indebted to Colonel Grubb for this unlooked for action, for he took advantage of the absence of Colonel Marsteller and Adam Orth.

*November 18.*—The Lutheran Church in town is to be occupied as a powder magazine. We hear that Colonel Grubb is uneasy about his treatment of us, for he has acted in an arbitrary manner and out of malice.

*November 21.*—One of our members who brought for us some milk and turnips, was not allowed by the guard to enter the house. Captain Oldenberg was at once informed of this, who sent word that he would see that such impudence was not repeated. Koehler and Orth are doing their utmost to have the prisoners removed.

*December 1.*—A Hessian gunsmith has taught my daughter to knit in a peculiar way. The prisoners have been drinking and making a fearful noise all day.

*December 8.*—All the Hessians who are working in our neighborhood have been notified to return at once, and to prepare to march.

*December 16.*—General de Haas with Dr. Kennedy of the hospital service called and informed us, that the Hessians were to leave, but the house was to be occupied by the sick and wounded, and that we should move. We protested, but nothing seemed to help. They examined the house and found it badly damaged.

*December 19.*—Numbers of our members met and decided that two of their number should proceed to Lancaster and present our complaint and ask for relief of the Assembly.

*December 24.*—Bro. Bader notified the prisoners that if they continued to chop their meat in the chapel, he would have them arrested and remove all the benches. We were asked whether we would keep the vigils of Christmas, but sent word that under the present circumstance, we could not.

*December 27.*—Captain Oldenberg informed us that quarters for the sick and wounded had been secured in town, to the number of four hundred and twenty men.

*December 28.*—All the Hessians are very angry because Colonel Grubb had arrested a favorite sergeant for attending church in town and put him in prison.

1778.

*January 1.*—Just before the service the sergeant who was arrested a few days ago returned, whereupon the guard showed their joy by firing a volley of musketry and drinking deeply. During the evening the prisoners quarrelled fearfully and began to roar in the chapel so frightfully, that we feared much damage. But the officers gave a couple of the ringleaders a sound beating, and then we had quiet. Bro. Bader spoke with Sergeant Krummel on the subject, who said that all the trouble arose through the women, who sold liquor to the soldiers.

*January 4.*—We received word that an order has been received from Reading for the prisoners to vacate our house, who are to be replaced by one hundred and twenty cartridge makers. A meeting of our members was held in town to take the matter into consideration.

*January 16.*—At noon two gentlemen who superintend the manufacture of cartridges, (one of them Major Watkins), inspected the house. We made all possible remonstrances, when they finally said that if they could secure another house instead of ours, they would take it.

*January 21.*—Today it was as if the abyss had opened and all the furies with Mephistopheles and Zitzleputzli had come among the Hessians. They made themselves outrageously drunk, and then the women began to fight; after them the men, who had taken sides with the women, and finally the fight became general. The guard was called, but as soon as they left it was resumed and continued into the night.

*January 22.*—The Hessian women began to fight again today. The officers put up a notice on the chapel door,

that those who became drunk and did not retire quietly and orderly to bed by eight o'clock in the evening, should be severely punished.

*February 8.*—Many wagons loaded with powder and other munitions of war have been passing by the house for a week.

*March 1.*—Notwithstanding the guard was doubled, yesterday twelve of the prisoners ran away. At noon the Hessians marched away very unwillingly. The chapel looks like a pig-sty.

*April 26.*—Colonel Grubb sent two men to estimate the damage to our chapel who fixed it at £101.6.10, which is too small. We were much disgusted by the news that the house is to be filled with military stores, especially powder.

*April 29.*—Several wagons loaded with powder came to our house and as we refused to open the door, it was forced open and the powder stored in the chapel. Major Watkins wants to store twenty tons or more in the building.

*April 30.*—Major Watkins gave us notice to vacate our building, as he intends to fill it with powder, but this Bro. Bader declined to do. A petition will be prepared begging for relief of the Board of War.

*May 5.*—Our Committee returned from the Board of War, who after much persuasion finally directed Colonel Flowers, in Lancaster, to write to Major Watkins and require him to take the powder out of our house, and to look for another place. It was evident that the Board were not disposed to modify their orders to Watkins. Later in the day Adam Orth informed us that Watkins would not respect the order.

*May 15.*—Major Watkins called today and again demanded that we should vacate the house, but Bro. Bader replied that he would not; that he [Watkins] should act according to his orders and remove what was in the house; that we had offered him three houses with stables for his purposes, and that if he did not want them we could not help him. He was terribly provoked and two of our Stewards who were present, lectured him forcibly.



*May 16.*—Our deputies who had again visited the Board of War returned with their order for Watkins, that Bro. Bader should remain in his house until Colonel Flowers had personally examined into the matter.

*May 23.*—Corporal Stock, a Hessian prisoner from Middletown, reports that the prisoners there are now closely confined.

*May 25.*—Notwithstanding Major Watkins has received orders from Colonel Flowers to remove everything from our house he declines to do so, and he has two cartridge makers at work in the chapel.

*May 28.*—Ascension Day. Before the morning service, we learned that Colonel Flowers had arrived last evening and wished to inspect our house this afternoon. Soon after the service he arrived with Watkins. At first he was disposed to side with the Major, but after conversing with our members who were present he yielded to our demands. He then inspected a Catholic and a Reformed Church about two miles from here, and later in the day a wagon load of powder and other articles of war were taken away.

*May 30.*—Colonel Flowers, who is a polite and handsome man, called during the afternoon, followed by Major Watkins and several of our members. They examined the stores in the chapel and as the Colonel was leaving he remarked to Bro. Bader that he should rest easy, for as soon as another building was secured all the powder would be removed. While the party were in the chapel, Bro. Bader played for them on the organ.

*June 4.*—Colonel Flowers was recalled yesterday. We have secured Sturges's Shop which has a very large room in it, and will be removed to a site on the other side of the creek, in which the articles of war and powder will be stored.

*June 11.*—Our members who had refused to take the oath, were removed to the jail at Lancaster under guard. Thirty sick and wounded are quartered in Baltzer Orth's barn, and fifty more are to arrive.

*June 15.*—The Hessian prisoners who have been working



for the people in this vicinity have been summoned to repair to Lancaster tomorrow and from thence will be taken to Philadelphia for exchange.

*June 19.*—In the evening there was firing of cannon and bonfires lighted, because the British have evacuated Philadelphia.

*June 26.*—The British who are on the march, it is reported, have caused much excitement, and the enforcement of the oath has ceased for the time.

*June 29.*—All the military stores were removed from our chapel today, and we have begun to clean it up.

*July 4.*—Although the impression prevails that our army is in a deplorable condition, and that the State is wrecked, cannons were fired and a frolic held in town, because today is the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence.

*July 21.*—Many families with their cattle fleeing before the murdering Indians, passed through town seeking places of safety. There is an indescribable anxiety among the people.

*October 20.*—A rumor is current, that our town is again to be occupied by prisoners and the sick and wounded. The prominent citizens are opposed to it, and will refuse to give up their houses because they have done enough, while other townships have done nothing.

1779.

*January 10.*—As the people were coming to church this morning, we saw the Light-horse from Reading approaching the town, but owing to the protest of the townspeople they will only remain over night and then march to Middletown, where they will be quartered.

*January 26.*—Christopher Kucher, as the deputy of the townspeople, left for Lancaster to protest in their name against the establishment of a new Constitution.

*February 7.*—It is now admitted that the militia who were stationed here, had intended to blow up or burn our church, but the party who were selected lacked the courage to carry it out.

*March 22.*—The heavily sealed letter which was received day before yesterday, it is said was opened and read before Justice Thome, and is said to have contained a “bloody Act of the Assembly.” In substance it was as follows: On March 1st., the French fleet would come to Philadelphia; that everybody, without distinction, was to swear Allegiance to the King of France, and whoever refused would be handed over to the French to be stabbed, and every one able to bear arms must join with the French and so advance against the English and storm New York. Whoever refused to march must pay £100, half in gold and silver and half in paper money on the spot or else be taken along without mercy.

*April 26.*—The militia were ordered to assemble in town for drill, but only ten men appeared.

*May 11.*—Baltzer Orth Jr.; Edwards, Mr. Grubb’s manager and two other men estimated the damages to our church property while occupied by the prisoners and as a magazine at £310. which is to be paid by Congress.

*July 3.*—Bro. Bader has been invited to attend the Independence Day frolic on Monday, but declined. [July 4 fell on Sunday.]

*July 5.*—In the afternoon the citizens with drums and fife marched to Orth’s field for the frolic. A fifer-boy brought the following note:

“Col. Greenwalt’s and Col. Marsteller’s compliments to the Rev. Mr. Bawder, and begs the favour of Mr. Bawder’s company at Mr. Orth’s field. The Revd. Mr. Bucher would likewise be glad of your agreeable company.

“Your humble Servant,

“P. MARSTELLER.

“TO THE REVD MR. BAWDER.”

Bro. Bader returned a verbal reply by the boy; that he sent his compliments to them and thanked them for the honor and friendship they desired to show him; he would take the will for the deed, but he was unable to attend.

*October 5.*—There is general discontent in town because

of the lack of salt and the daily advance of prices for the common necessities of life.

1780.

*June 6.*—The town is greatly excited because of the capture of Charleston South Carolina.

*June 9.*—Colonel Flowers with his wife, Paymaster Paddon and his wife, and two ladies visited us. The Colonel is sick, it is said with consumption.

*August 11.*—The three classes of militia were ordered to assemble under threats of heavy punishment, but few came and these declared that they would not leave. Twelve boys who have not yet been away, subscribed that they were willing to go.

*September 29.*—Serious rumors are about today. Since the continuing of the tax and militia fines, the people in Shaefferstown have been much excited and have put the "money gatherers" to flight. Here and in Lebanon everybody is in dread.

*October 30.*—Bro. Bader was told in confidence, that the Governor had been secretly reconnoitering our neighborhood, and from the face of the country and the many streams of water, he has decided to quarter here the sick and wounded. The first was only discovered after his departure, the other while he was still here, and as a consequence he was not treated in the best manner and hastily left the town.

1781.

*February 12.*—Six hundred soldiers are to be quartered in town and the neighborhood, a detachment of which arrived this afternoon.

*April 27.*—Rumors that we are to have quartered on us some of General Burgoyne's prisoners prevail generally.

*May 9.*—The officers of the town had a frolic in Baltzer Orth's meadow; the band performed throughout the day and considerable drinking was indulged in until the approach of night.

*May 16.*—The sick and wounded soldiers left the towns and farms today, and marched for York.

*July 2.*—The militia of the Third Class have been notified that they are to march to Lancaster today, under a fine of £3. for every one who refuses, and £3.6. for absence for every day thereafter.

*August 20.*—Today the Fourth Class of militia assembled—they are to guard the prisoners in Lancaster.

*September 23.*—There is more excitement concerning the militia, for the Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Classes are to assemble day after tomorrow and leave on Wednesday.

*September 25.*—The Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Classes of militia assembled again in town, and are to march tomorrow.

*October 25.*—The bells on the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in town were rung and guns fired incessantly during the day. An express arrived at midnight with the news that Lord Cornwallis and his whole army had been captured in Virginia.



DEFENCES OF PHILADELPHIA IN 1777.

CONTRIBUTED BY WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

(Continued from page 353.)

BRIGADIER-GENERAL FORMAN TO WASHINGTON.<sup>1</sup>

“ SIR :

“ Your Exc<sup>ly</sup> fav<sup>r</sup> of the 27<sup>th</sup> was handed to me This afternoon, previous to my rec<sup>t</sup> of it I had given orders to several of the Militia officers of This part of the Country to Assemble their men—and have used my endeavours with Gen<sup>l</sup> Newcomb to obtain a return of The men it is said he has assembled That They might be put on some Duty either in the Garrisons or on some out guards--But the Gen<sup>l</sup> absolutely refuses to render me any Acc<sup>t</sup> of himself or his men —y<sup>t</sup> I am not able to Inform your Excel<sup>y</sup> whether Gen<sup>l</sup> [Silas] Newcomb really has or has not any men Assembled.

“ The Excessive rainy weather has prevented the Troops from Monmouth and Burlington Coming forward as fast as I could have wished—They are however some of Them This day advanced as far as haddon field, and will in The Morning be down when I will Immediately incorporate them with the Two Garrisons—They will not be equal to there wants, yet they will be a feeling reinforcement.—had it not been for the Excessive rains for some Days past I should have had more men Collected Then woold have been Necessary to man Red Bank and Fort Mifflin ; and yet Think I Could be able to Collect a respectable body of Militia was I able to overcome the Obstnacy of, or to Displace, Gen<sup>l</sup> Newcomb.

“ from the best information I can Collect he has at no

<sup>1</sup> In connection with these letters should be read a series from Major John Clark, Jr., to Washington, published by this Society in the first volume of its Bulletin, 1845–1847. Major Clark was under orders to obtain intelligence of the enemy's movements in and about the city, and acquitted himself in a highly satisfactory manner.

time given any assistance either to The Garrisons or the fleet—particularly in The late Attack on red Bank he neither harrassed The Enemy in their Advance, During the Assault or in Their retreat.

“ he Thinks himself only Accountable to The Gov<sup>r</sup> [Livingston] and Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Dickinson—I should be glad of your Excel<sup>ts</sup> directions respecting my treatment of him.<sup>1</sup>

“ On Sunday Last a number of Marines and Highlanders Landed at Billings Port—and have been Employed in Throwing up a five gun Battery on the water side below the Bank, as we suppose to prevent our Gally men geting the Guns and provisions out of the Two Ship of war y<sup>t</sup> were blown up the Day of the attack on the Chevaux de frize. The Deserters and prisoners Differ in their Acc<sup>ts</sup> of Their Numbers—some of Them say Three or four hundred, others say not more then 150.

“ The Late rain and Winds have Occasioned an Uncommon High Tide, all the Meadows are under Water, and I am sorry to inform your Exce<sup>ly</sup> y<sup>t</sup> we have much reason to fear Fort Mifflin will receive Very Considerable Dammage.

“ One of the Enemies Bridges of Boats over the Schuylkill has broak loose in the Deluge and Drifted off—A very Considerable part of it is allready brought under red Bank, and at sun down when I left The Fort the row Gallymen ware going after the remainder.

“ At Two o’Clock This day a Number of the British Troops (by Estimation 1000) ware seen Crossing the Mouth of Schuylkill to province Island & for a Considerable Time stood paradred on The hill round y<sup>o</sup> Pest House—(the only Dry ground in y<sup>t</sup> Nabourhood,) a small mist prevented our

<sup>1</sup> “General Newcomb’s conduct is such as might naturally be expected from a Gentleman who was made a General, because your Excellency did not think him fit for a Collonel. . . . If he makes any more Difficulties of that kind, I doubt not, by his present down-hill character with the present house, he will run a great risque of being superceded, which I may venture to say would prove no Loss to his Country.”—*Governor Livingston to Washington*, November 5, 1777. For Washington’s opinion of Newcomb’s uselessness, see my “Writings of Washington,” Vol. VI. pp. 157, 169.

observing where They afterwards went to—The Troops y<sup>t</sup> I mentioned to have Crossed on Sunday, we have heard nothing of since—but Think it highly probable They returned.

“from the spirits of the Garrison at red Bank, the reinforcements your Exce<sup>ly</sup> mentions sending and the Militia y<sup>t</sup> I flatter myself I shall raise, I hope we shall be able to give a good Acc<sup>t</sup> of The Enemy should They make a Second Attempt on this post—all though This post is of great Importance to Them—I cannot believe They will Dare to send a Very Considerable body of Men to invest it—Least They Lay Their grand Army too open to an Attac from your Exce<sup>ly</sup>.

“We have the pleasure to hear y<sup>t</sup> your Excel<sup>y</sup> has re<sup>od</sup> The Articles of Capitulation of Gen<sup>l</sup> Burgoin’s Army. I beg most Heartily to Congratulate your Excel<sup>y</sup> on pleasing appearance of our affairs. I have &c

“DAVID FORMAN.

“M<sup>r</sup> LADDS NEAR RED BANK

“29 October, 1777.”

LORD STIRLING TO WASHINGTON.

“READING, October 29 1777

“DEAR SIR

“After leaveing Potsgrove I could not meet with any place where I could Conveniently put up ’till I came to this place, and I find myself so much better for the Rest I had here that I intend to set out for Camp again as soon as I find the Roads are passable with a Carriage. On Saturday last I sent off to Camp an Officer with 64 men fit for Duty, there remain in this place 244 wounded, 63 sick, & 57 Convalessents—in a very few days near 100 more of them may be sent to Camp I am &c

“STIRLING.

“Poor Smith, D. A. G. is dead of his wound. Lieut. Baylor recovering fast. Major Clow very Ill. Lieut. Randolph better.

“P.S.—I take the Liberty of enclosing a Memorandum of a few thoughts which have occurred to me, for your Excellency’s peruseal.

[*Enclosure.*]

“The Enemy probably will detach another Body of Men to Attack Red Bank with heavier Cannon, & by a Cannonade in breach endeavour to render an Assault more practicable & more successfull. I say it is probable, because I believe they are now Convinced that it is their only Chance of Opening the Communication between their fleet and Army at Philadelphia; and that without it, they cannot long exist there. We should therefore do everything in our power to retard & render difficult their Operations on that side; by Collecting the Militia & setting them at work in destroying all the Bridges, Causeways, & Roads between Cooper’s ferry & that fort, & in harrassing them whenever they do approach, & whenever it is discovered that they are about to make an Attempt that way, I would send a respectable Body of Continental Troops to Counteract their operations.

“If this should not soon appear to be their Intentions, they must mean to retire from Philadelphia to the other side of Schuylkill, or to give this Army Battle—the first should be prevented, and the latter in our present scituation avoided, if possible; I would therefore be for passing the whole Army (except 1000 men) over the Schuylkill and takeing post somewhere near Radnor Meeting House, where we should be equally distant from all the fords on Schuylkill below the Valley forge, & by Vigilantly watching them on such timely Notice of their Motions as would put it in our power to attack them on their March with the greatest Advantages. Our Station on that side the Schuylkill would put it in our power Effectually to Cutt off their Communication by land between their fleet & Army, and would reduce Gen<sup>l</sup> Howe to force a march under every disadvantage. The 1000 men left on this side the River would under a Vigilant Officer be Sufficient to prevent their small



parties from Ravaging the Country & gaining intelligence; our whole Army in their present Scituation can do no more."

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES POTTER TO WASHINGTON.

"DARBEY, Oct<sup>r</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> 1777, 3 oClock.

"SIR :

"I have been Round all the ferreys, and taking a vew of Carpenters Island the enemy sent over to the Island a large Reinforcement yesterday, all the Meddows are under watter and the breeches we maid are all opned there Bridge is carryed off by the flud, a part of it is on this side of the River which I have Just Hard of at this place, and I will go Immedatly and destroy it. I will do every thing in my power, to prevent there Gating a Bridge across again, and live in hopes that your excelancey will send over some Cannon and men to command the ferreys. I am of opinion that if the communication between the enemy and there shiping was cut off the wold be son oblidged to move there Quarters, this night I will cut places in the Banks that has not been opened yet, and I am In hops it will be Imposable for them to get aney provision by Rodalphs ferrey. in Hast I am &c

"JAS POTTER."

CAPTAIN LEE TO WASHINGTON.

"SIR

"I wrote your Excellency yesterday, since which I have been active in acquainting myself with the disposition & connexion of the enemy on this side the Schuylkill.

"They have a body of men (not five hundred in number) on Carpenters island; the possession of this post secures a constant & ready supply of provision. It is brought up by water, from the fleet off Chester, deposited under cover of the ships against the chiveaux de frise, & then conducted thro' Carpenters island to the new lower ferry, & so on to Philad<sup>a</sup>. If this communication is not interrupted, supplies of provisions will be as abundant, as if the fleet lay off the wharf of the city.

"There is a beef trade carried on between the inhabit-

ants, & the enemy at a place called Grubs Landing, about six miles below Chester. This illicit correspondence came to my knowledge but yesterday. I have detached a party of dragoons to disturb them; & make no doubt my endeavours to interrupt this connexion, will be effectual. I have &c.

“HEN<sup>y</sup> LEE.

“Oct. 31, 1777.

“N.B.—At present, the communication between the fleet & Carpenters island is totally cut off by the inundation of the Schuylkill. The fleet are engaged daily in bringing up provision to the mouth of Darby Creek, which will be conveyed to Carpenters Island as soon as the roads will admit.”

WASHINGTON TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM.

“HEAD QUARTERS, 31 October, 1777

“SIR :

“The loss of our heavy Cannon on the North River, and the possibility however remote of our losing those which are in the Forts on the Delaware, in which case we should be totally divested of these necessary opponents to the Enemy's Fleet, make it adviseable to remove from Red Bank and Fort Mifflin all the large Calibers that can possibly be spared from the necessary defence of those posts—to some Place of safety where they may be kept in Reserve. Fort Mifflin has had an acquisition of Cannon, taken from the Wreck of the *Augusta*,<sup>1</sup> by which this will probably have a superfluous number. The Approaching Frosts will effectually stop the Blasts of our Furnaces, which is a further cogent Reason for making a store of heavy Cannon in case of accidents to our Forts. I mentioned in my Letter to General Forman that the Crews on board the Gallies should not expose themselves to the fire of the Battery which he thinks the Enemy have raised for the purpose of interrupting them—but if a Plan which I have suggested to him can be carried into exe-

<sup>1</sup> See Lee to Washington, November 3, *post*.

cution, the difficulty will be removed and a farther acquisition made of the valuable Article in question.<sup>1</sup> I am &c  
“ G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.”

WASHINGTON TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL POTTER.

“ HEAD QUARTERS, 31 October, 1777

“ SIR

“ As soon as the Schuylkill is fordable, I shall send over a large body of Militia to you, for the purpose of executing some particular matters. The principal are, to endeavour to break up the Road by which the enemy have a communication with their shipping over the Islands, if it is practicable, and to remove the running Stones from the Mills in the neighbourhood of Chester and Wilmington. This last, I would have you undertake immediately with your present force, as I have information that the Enemy are about making a detachment to Wilmington, probably with an intent to take post there, and secure the use of the Mills. To execute this matter at once, you should impress a sufficient number of Waggons for the purpose, without letting any person know what they are for, and send them under good Officers with sufficient parties to the following Mills—Lloyd’s about two Miles on this side of Chester. Shaw’s, about one Mile back of Chester. Robinson’s, on Naaman’s Creek, and the Brandywine Mills. If there are any others that I have not mentioned, contiguous to the River, they are also to be dismounted. Many of the Mills have spare runners, they must also be removed. The stones should be marked with Tar and Grease, or in some other manner, that it may [be] known to what Mills they belong, that they may be returned and made use of in future. And they should be moved to such distance that the Enemy cannot recover them. If there is any Flour in the Mills, it should be removed, if possible, after the stones are secured. I am inform’d that there is a considerable quantity in Shaw’s, particularly, which there is reason to believe is intended for the Enemy. It is very

<sup>1</sup> In manuscript of Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens.

convenient to the Navigation of Chester Creek and should therefore be first taken care of. I beg you may instantly set about this Work for the reason before mentioned. That no previous alarm may be given, let a certain day and a certain hour be fixed upon for the execution of the whole at one time, and even the officers who are to do the Business should not know their destination till just before they set out, lest it should take wind.

“I have yours of yesterday afternoon, and am glad to hear that the flood has done so much damage to the meadows—endeavour by all means to keep the breaches open. When the party that I mentioned in the former part of my letter gets down, I hope you will be able to break up the dykes effectually. I am &c.

“G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.

“P.S.—I have desired Cap<sup>t</sup>. [Henry] Lee of the light Horse to give you any assistance that you may want.”<sup>1</sup>

WASHINGTON TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SMITH.

“HEAD QUARTERS, 1 November, 1777

“SIR:

“I have this moment received your favor of yesterday, & hope General Varnum with the Detachment from this Army, have by this time arriv'd to your support, & that your little Garrison will, with the greatest confidence & Vigor, exert itself to baffle every attempt of the Enemy to reduce it. When I last saw Gen<sup>l</sup> Foreman I authorized him to collect all the Cloathing, such as Shoes, Stockings, Shirts, Breeches, &c<sup>a</sup>, which he possibly could; & by this Opportunity I have requested him to let you have as many of them as he can spare for your men, who, I make no doubt must be greatly in want of them. You will therefore apply to him.

“From the Idea I at present bear of the Island on which your fort stands, I am of opinion, that, if the upper End of it was laid under water it would very much retard any operations of the Enemy against you—but whether this is

<sup>1</sup> In manuscript of Lieutenant-Colonel Tench Tilghman.



practicable, or whether opening the Banks to effect it would not be productive of Inconvenience to the Fort, I leave to you and the Officers with you to determine, & only mean to propose it for your consideration. I am &c

“G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.”<sup>1</sup>

WASHINGTON TO COMMODORE HAZELWOOD.

“WHITPIN, MORRIS'S, 2 November, 1777

“SIR :

“Upon maturely considering the nature of the Fortress on Mud Island incomplete in such works as would secure it against Storm, and investigation what mode of defence is best adapted to its deficiency in this respect—it appears absolutely necessary to keep the Enemy at bay as much as possible and confine them to distant Combat—this can only be effected by the co-operation of the Fleet under your command, or such part of it as may appear to you proper to be detached for the purpose. Nothing but the Fire of your Vessels and Galleys can prevent the Enemys making a descent upon the Island, if they are determined to effect it by such a Sacrifice as the importance of the object to them certainly deserves. I would advise therefore in case of the Enemy's attempting to throw a number of men over in boats, not to suffer the attention of the Fleet to be intirely call'd off by any concerted attempt which may be made on the Chevaux-de-frise at the same time—but to order a sufficient number of Galleys to meet their boats and keep up a well directed fire, or board them, as circumstances may require—in a word every measure should be taken which your skill in naval manœuvres can dictate to prevent them from getting footing on the island. A fire of Red-hot balls thrown with judgement from a few Vessels, and the Solidity of the work itself will be a sufficient security in the meantime to the Chevaux-de-frise. If the Enemy can be foiled in this stratagem of causing a diversion to your fleet, by cannon-

<sup>1</sup> A letter of this date to the President of Congress is printed in my “Writings of Washington,” Vol. VI. p. 156. Also letters to Brigadier-General Varnum and Governor Livingston, pp. 168 and 169.

ading from their ships, and making preparations to clear the Chevaux-de-frise, there will be but one way left them, which is to attempt a Landing by night. How necessary the Guardianship of the Galleys will be in such Case, must be obvious. If a sudden Assault from superior numbers, taking the advantage of weak parts, would be dreadful by day, when someth<sup>s</sup> of the Enemys designs is to be discovered, how fatal might it be in the confusion of darkness when the Guns of the Fort could not be brought to bear.

“Galleys stationed between the Fort and province Island at night are the only Security which the Garrison could have in such case against a sudden Descent from the Enemy, cover’d perhaps by false Attacks and Demonstration from the Shipping.

“You are the best Judge of the most proper Situation for the Galleys. However, if there is no cogent Reason for keeping the whole of them on the Jersey Side, it appears to me that station<sup>s</sup> them or part of them where they will be within distance for giving immediate Support to the Garrison on Mud Island would be turning their Service to the best account.<sup>1</sup>

“I am &c

“G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.”

MAJOR FLEURY’S JOURNAL,<sup>2</sup> AND LETTER TO COLONEL HAMILTON.

“*Novem.* 2<sup>d</sup>. About 2 O’Clock in the morning we hear a great noise of oars near the Shore of Province Island, and the Mouth of Schuylkil—a great number of Troops as far as we could judge by their voices, and the noise fil’d off upon the Bank towards the Pest-house—at 5 o’Clock every-thing was quiet again.

“3. For two days past we had suspected that the Enemys Vessels made different turns in the course of the night to the Augusta’s wreck—either to carry off the Cannon which the Galleys had neglected throwing into the water, or taking

<sup>1</sup> In manuscript of Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens.

<sup>2</sup> At Fort Mifflin.

possession of, or to tow off the Hulk—but they had a more important object which they have been permitted to execute without interruption—and this morning's daylight discover'd to us their two nights' labour—they are raising a battery of heavy Cannon upon the hulk which is aground on the sand bank, the Galleys do not disturb them in their work, which, if they finish it, will do great injury to our Fort—where you know there is no Shelter for the Troops—it is important to drive them from that particular spot of the River, and thirteen Galleys with two floating Batteries may do it if they please.

“As we are in want here of Joist, Pickets, Palisades, and even Earth, and as it is impossible to fortify a place with water unless one has means to stop it—I went yesterday with 20 men to endeavour to get wood on the Jersey Shore, but I could get only a few Pickets, of which I shall make palisades, if I am permitted to use them according to my Ideas.

“When His Excellency approved my Zeal and my remaining at Fort Mifflin in quality of Engineer, he did not give me an order to act in that capacity, and I can only advise without being heard. While Baron Arendt was present he understands the Military Art, and my Opinions in point of fortification were his—but he is absent, and you know there are persons who know a great deal without having ever learnt—and whose obstinacy is equal to their Insufficiency. However I do not complain of any one, I confine myself only to observing that my Zeal for your Cause cannot be useful unless I am permitted to display it, in a branch which I have studied, on a spot with which I am well acquainted, by my own Remarks, and those of many other Engineers skilful and accurate men.

“Honour commands me to do everything in my power. I hope to do my Duty in whatever way I am made use of—and to die in the breach if necessary—but I will observe only that I thought myself employ'd in a different capacity from that of a Grenadier.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Translated by Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens.

LORD STIRLING TO WASHINGTON.

"READING Nov<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> 1777

"DEAR SIR:

"Your Excellency's letter of the first Instant, I received yesterday, and am happy to find that any part of my thoughts on the measures necessary to be taken Coincided so nearly with those you had already pursued: and I am in hopes they will be amply Sufficient to render abortive any measures the Enemy may attempt on the side of Red Bank. The objection to the other measure is indeed a very Capital one, and the Communication is Certainly better kept up from the present position: But it is my duty to inform your Excellency no freshet whatever does totally Cut off the Communication between the two Sides of Schuylkill, for at this place there are two rope ferry's with excellent large Scows which can carry near an hundred men at a time, and move so quick that a Column of Troops would pass at each of them as soon as at the best ford at any time; there is also a good ferry at Potts Grove; I mention this least they should be wanted on some future Occasion. I believe General Howe is in a very awkward Scituation, he cannot attempt another attack on Red Bank without detaching a larger body than he can spare from his Army, nor will he this season be able to advance a Battery on province nearer to fort Mifflin, in short he cannot cooperate with the Navy in attacking the forts or raizeing the Cheva. de frize; unless it be by some desperate attempt to storm fort Mifflin in Boats—but desperation he is almost drove to. . . .

"STIRLING."

BRIGADIER-GENERAL POTTER TO WASHINGTON.

"SIR:

"The enemy brings provision in Boats in the night along the side of the Shore, and up the Schuylkill about a mile above the lowest ferrey, on Saterdag evining last there went down 30 Boats I think the came up Last night in the Time of the flud they maid a voige.



“You may be asured that the Enemy are Bulding three floting Battereys one at Ougdons [?] ferrey and two about a mile above, the lowest ferrey the two letter ones we can see Clearly one seems allmost finished the other the Began to Nale the plank on last Saterdag, if these Battereys are once finished, and they have persession of Carpenters Island, our fourts and Galleys must unavetable fall into there Hands. I can see no way of saving our fourts and Galleys but by Immedatly Taking there fourt, and Battreys on carpenters Island, which I think can be dun with good Troops with no crait Loss if that was dun we could use there Battrey at the pest Hous against themselves and by that Means Defiat there intencions—I hope a great part of the mill Stones were Removed yesterday as I had sent out for that purpose 150 men—the enemy are in hopes of gating up there shipping and has brought up there Bagage as far as Chester. I wold Refare your Excelancey to Mess<sup>s</sup> Lytle Hunter and Mountgomrey for a more full Account of these Metters—they have Been with me in meaking Discovereys. I am &c  
“JA<sup>s</sup> POTTER.

“M<sup>r</sup> WILLINGS

“Nov<sup>r</sup> 3, 1777

“P.S.—I mount a gaurd of 100 men at the middle ferrey and at Grayes, 30, near Boons dam 50 with a proper number of Officers.

“My men have severe duty to do.

“I have Been Reinforced my Strenth is about 950 men with Arms and wanting arms 300 Exclusive of Officers.”

BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM TO WASHINGTON.

“WOODBERRY, 3<sup>d</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1777

“SIR:

“We arrived at this Place yesterday. I have taken a View of the Forts, and think them in a good State of Defence. The Want of Confidence between the Commodore and Col<sup>o</sup> Smith is very great. I shall do every Thing in my Power to cause that mutual Support between the Land and Water

Forces, which appears very essential for the Security of Fort Mifflin. I am not yet fully acquainted with the Ground, so as to give your Excellency that satisfaction w<sup>ch</sup> I could wish. Have ordered Four Cap<sup>ts</sup>, Eight Subs, Twelve Serjeants, Twelve Corporils and Two Hundred Privates into Fort Mifflin. I shall give that Post a still greater Support, by relieving the Invalids. The Enemy are in Possession of Billing's Port: Some of their Shipping lay above that Place, about Two Miles below Fort Mifflin. In this Situation it is impossible for the Commodore to drag for the Cannon &c. as mentioned in your Orders of the 31<sup>st</sup> ult<sup>o</sup>. There are no more Cannon in the Forts than are really necessary. There are no Militia of Consequence in Force here. General Newcomb has perhaps between one and two Hundred, General Foreman is not upon the Ground. I am &c.<sup>1</sup>

“J. M. VARNUM.”

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SMITH TO WASHINGTON.

“FORT MIFFLIN, Novemb<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> 1777

“SIR :

“I have this Ins<sup>t</sup> the honor to receive your Excellency's Letter of the 1<sup>st</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup> Venum has arriv'd and will send me 200 men this morning. Gen<sup>l</sup> Foreman has some Cloathing of small consequence, which I am to have this day. We by order of Gen<sup>l</sup> Venum begin this day to take the Inhabitants Cloaths. I fear it will be a very poor Resource—this Garrison must be well cloathed or they will perish. I always keep the part of the Island you mention under water, and hope now to be able to maintain the Fort.

“The Industrious enemy turn their Misfortunes to advantage, these two nights they have been employed in raising the wreck of the 64 Gun Ship, and have this morning shewn a floating Battery almost compleat. I presume to morrow they will open it, unless Gen<sup>l</sup> Vernon [Varnum] takes Billingsport from them. I think *that* one of the most effectual strokes that can be struck in our favor, and have recom-

<sup>1</sup> A postscript omitted, as of no consequence.

mended it to him, if he takes it, they then will have no alternative but storming this Island which they appear to be much afraid of. I have the honor &c

“SAM SMITH.”

CAPTAIN LEE TO WASHINGTON.

“N<sup>o</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> 77

“SIR :

“I mentioned to your Excellency in my last let<sup>r</sup>, an intercourse subsisting between the inhabitants & fleet near Grub’s landing. Having received a confirmation of this intelligence I pushed down with twelve dragoons & reached the place early yesterday morning. At Robinsons mill on Namur Creek I fell in with a foraging party; on the appearance of my dragoons the enemy ran without giving one fire. A Captain of the Queen’s Rangers, a factor from Baltimore County & seven mariners & soldiers were made prisoners. The Captain I indulged with his parole, till the 10 ins<sup>t</sup>, on or before which day, he will wait on your Excellency to be farther disposed off. The transports have all moved up from New-castle to Chester. They are generally loaded with the wounded & baggage; so that their being ordered up, predicts another attempt on the fort, which they suppose will be effectual. Major Cuyler, Sir W<sup>m</sup> Howe’s first Aid de Camp sailed in a packet the day before yesterday for London—his business is to press Administration for strong & early reinforcements.

“Among the mariners taken yesterday is a mate belonging to the Union transport, he informs, that Lord Howe had sent orders to the Captains of the transports to send up each, four or more of their seamen. What he can want with them is not certainly known. I conjecture they are designed to man the floating batteries now building in the Schuylkill. It is a certainty from the intelligence received from various characters, that the enemy design shortly to make a push on fort Mifflin. Their only possible mode, by which they can promise themselves success, is their floating batteries. In this they may be totally blasted; if we take possession

of Carpenters island. From this post throwing up strong works, we most assuredly can put a stop to their favourite scheme, & what is of great consequence, co-operate with the gallies in preventing those supplies of provision which go up by water every night to Philad<sup>a</sup>. Your Excell<sup>r</sup> may rely on it, that thirty or more boats, with muffled oars, pass our fort & gallies every night to the city. The ships blown up the other day were the *Augusta*, & *Merlin* sloop of 18 guns. The *Augusta* took fire from her own cannonading, one Lt, chaplain & forty privates perished in the explosion. The *Merlin* being fast on ground was set fire to, by order.

“There is brisk trade carried on at New-castle. I have detached a party of dragoons to that place, with directions to visit the several landings on the river, to disperse the late resolutions of Congress<sup>1</sup> among the inhabitants, & to assure the people, that they will be strictly carried into execution. I set out myself this moment with a desire to burn some of the enemy’s small craft which lay at Grubs landing, under cover of an eight gun schooner. Your Excellency’s &c

“HEN<sup>x</sup> LEE.”

MAJOR FLEURY’S JOURNAL.

“3<sup>d</sup> night—a considerable number of the Enemy’s boats pass’d and repass’d in the course of the night, near the Shore of Province Island—it appears that this Communication between their Fleet and Philadelphia is established, and what will surprise you perhaps, is that it is a sure one, there being no Interruption on our part—we cannot cannonade them from the Fort, the shade of Trees prevents our being informed of their passage otherwise than by the noise of oars, and firing at sounds would be wasting pretious Ammunition.

“4. The work of the Enemy upon the *Augusta*’s Hulk is interrupted by the difficulties which they must have met with in raising a Battery on it—I believe however that they will make a further Trial, if they know their own Interest.

“The Enemy’s Land-batteries are likewise silent.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Journals of Congress*, October 8, 1777.

<sup>2</sup> Translated by Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens.



WASHINGTON TO COLONEL CHRISTOPHER GREENE.<sup>1</sup>

“ WHITE MARSH, 4 November, 1777

“ SIR :

“ I am led to believe from the conversation I have had with L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>o</sup> Green, that you have made Fort Mercer impregnable against an assault; and that nothing is to be feared but from regular approaches and shells—to guard against the first, it would be found necessary to have some out works, which time may, possibly, allow you to raise—to secure the garrison against the second, some Bomb proofs should be constructed.—The first you can easily do, but how far the other is practicable I know not, for want of competent knowledge of the place—its extent—&c<sup>a</sup>—I would suggest to you however, by way of quære, whether caverns could not be cut out of the Bank below the work, and supported (the Earth) by Pillars, would not be the quickest, and most effectual method.—If this should be found to answer, all your Men, in case of a Bombardment, might be concealed in them, except such as should be found necessary for Guards.

“ It is unnecessary, I am persuaded, to suggest to you the propriety of keeping a suffici<sup>t</sup> quantity of salt provision and Bread or Flour in the Fort in case of an Investiture—as also Wood for Fires and Cooking. I am &c<sup>2</sup>

“ G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.”

WASHINGTON TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM.

“ WHITE MARSH, 4 November, 1777

“ DEAR SIR

“ The Inclosed I had written to Col<sup>o</sup> Greene before your favour of yesterday reached my hands.—I am happy in receiving so favourable a report, as your Letter contains, of the situation of the Forts—I most devoutly wish that the exertions of yourself & Officers may be crown'd with the success that so good a cause, and such labours deserve.

<sup>1</sup> At Red Bank.

<sup>2</sup> In manuscript of Washington.

“My Letters to Comodore Hazlewood, & Col<sup>o</sup> Green, go unopened under this cover, that you may read—seal, & deliver them.—If the measure proposed in the Letter to Col<sup>o</sup> Green can be carried into execution no time should be lost.—I thank you for your endeavours to restore confidence between the Com<sup>r</sup> & Smith. I find something of the same kind existing between Smith & Mons<sup>r</sup> Fleury, who I consider as a very valuable officer. How strange it is that Men engaged in the same Important Service, should be eternally bickering, instead of giving mutual aid! Offic<sup>rs</sup> cannot act upon proper principles who suffer trifles to interpose to create distrust & jealousy.—All our actions should be regulated by one uniform Plan—& that Plan should have one object only in view, to wit, the good of the Service. Where this is the case, although there may be a diversity of opinion, there can be no real obstruction.—I hope all these little rubs will be done away by your prudent Managem<sup>t</sup>. I am &c

“G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.

“P.S.—What force have the Enemy at Billingsport? Is there a moral certainty (with your force) of driving them from thence? If there is, I have no objection to the attempt; but wish circumstances to be well consider’d before any resolution is come to.”<sup>1</sup>

WASHINGTON TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SAMUEL SMITH.

“HEAD QUARTERS, November 4, 1777

“SIR:

“I have received your Letter dated yesterday, giving an account of the reinforcement which you expect from Gen<sup>l</sup> Varnum and the supplies of clothing from Gen<sup>l</sup> Forman. It gives me pain to learn that the latter are likely to be so inadequate to your wants, but hope that by taking proper measures, the Contributions of the Inhabitants will not prove so poor a Resource as you seem to fear.

“Inclosed is a Letter to Maj<sup>r</sup> Fleury, whom I order’d

<sup>1</sup> All but the postscript is in the manuscript of Washington.

to fort Mifflin to serve in quality of Engineer, as he is a Young Man of Talents and has made this branch of Military Science his particular Study, I place a confidence in him. You will therefore make the best Arrangement for enabling him to carry such Plans into Execution as come within his Department. His Authority at the same time that it is subordinate to yours must be sufficient for putting into practice what his knowledge of Fortification points out as necessary for defending the post.—and his Department, tho' inferior being of a distinct and separate nature, requires that his orders should be in a great degree discretionary—and that he sh<sup>d</sup> be suffered to exercise his Judgement. Persuaded that you will concur with him in every measure which the good of the service may require, I remain &c.<sup>1</sup>

“G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.”

WASHINGTON TO COMMODORE HAZELWOOD.

“HEAD QUARTERS, WHITEMARSH, 4 November, 1777

“SIR:

“Gen<sup>l</sup> Potter and Cap<sup>t</sup> Lee, who are posted upon the West side of Schuylkill to interrupt the Enemy's communication across the Islands, both assure me that they undoubtedly pass by Night with Boats between province and Mud Island and into Schuylkill. If this passage is not stopped in some measure, it is in vain to think of hindering them from getting supplies from their shipping as long as the River remains free of Ice. I will not undertake to point out to you the mode of doing this, but in my opinion the most probable is, to keep small Boats rowing guard between the south end of Mud Island and the pennsylvania shore, and a Galley or two under the north end of Mud Island, when the weather will permit. If the guard Boats make a signal, the Gallies may get ready to intercept the Convoy. The Enemy will not chuse to fire in the dark, because there will be a greater chance of damaging their own craft, than hurting our armed Vessels, as being greater in number. I beg you will immediately fall upon this or any

<sup>1</sup> In manuscript of Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens.

other Scheme, which to you may seem more effectual to put a stop to this intercourse. I am &c.<sup>1</sup>

“G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.”

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SMITH TO WASHINGTON.

“FORT MIFFLIN, 4<sup>th</sup> November, 1777

“SIR :

“I wrote your Excellency yesterday—am happy to find I was mistaken. The enemy have not constructed a Battery on their work as I then expected. I was deceiv’d by the water being much lower than usual, which left a greater part of the wreck naked. General Varnum’s reinforcement arriv’d yesterday. Last night about 8 o’clock we were alarm’d with the rowing of Boats between this and Province Island. We at first conceived they intended an attack, but found they passed us with the Ebb, they came out of Schuylkill and passed along the Shore of Province Island to their Shipping, with the flood they return’d up again to Schuylkill. We informed the Gallies that lay near us. Unless some method is taken to prevent that communication, they will without much risk supply themselves with everything wanting from their ships. I have the honor &c

“SAM. SMITH.”

BRIGADIER-GENERAL POTTER TO WASHINGTON.

“SIR

“I’m a sorey to Inform your excelancey that the Officer I send to the Brandwine Mills has not obey’d my orders Instead of Taking the stons away he has taken the Spinnels Rines and Ironnale heads. I was preparing to send a party to move the Runners But as it is Hard to get waggans and as I am Informed that the Taking these Artecals answers the same end as Removeing the stons, I wait to know your Plesure in this matter. I gave writen orders to the officer. I will Trey him for disobedance I am oppresed with Bad Officers. I wold Rather be a shew boy [?] then what I am, if it wold sarve my Countrey as well. I am &c.

“JA<sup>s</sup> POTTER.

<sup>1</sup> In manuscript of Lieutenant-Colonel Tench Tilghman.



“CAMP, Nov<sup>r</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> 1777.

“P.S.—Col : Craford's men are uneasey and wanting to go home. I will not detain them. I think I have men sufficient for all I can do in this place, as the enemy has got that new way of carreying their provision.”

WASHINGTON TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL POTTER.

“HEAD QUARTERS, 5 November, 1777

“SIR :

“I have received your Letter of this morning : and am sorry to find that your orders respecting the Mills have not been carried into execution.—it is my desire that the Officer employed in this business should be put under Arrest and tried for disobedience of orders—the parts of the machinery which he has removed may be very easily replaced, whereas had he followed the directions given him, the end in view would have been effectually answer'd.

“Colonel Crawford's party was order'd to join you only for the particular purpose of distressing the Enemy by cutting their Banks ; if this service can be done without them or is found impracticable altogether, I have no motive for detaining them. I am &c

“G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.

“As the Corps under your Command will probably be an object for the Enemy, you cannot be too vigilant nor guard yourself by too many precautions against surprize. I mention this in consequence of hints given me of their Intentions—and hope therefore it will have its proper effect.”<sup>1</sup>

BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM TO WASHINGTON.

“WOODBERRY, 6<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup>, 1777

“SIR :

“Great Manto Creek is situated two Miles and an half from Redbank, where it empties into the Delaware. On the west side of this Creek is the Promontory Billingsport, fortified, and garrisoned by three hundred Men, made up of the seventy first Regiment, and of Marines, according to the

<sup>1</sup> In manuscript of Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens.

best Information I have been able to obtain. On the east side of the Creek upwards of a Mile from Billingsport, is a small Eminence on w<sup>ch</sup> the Evening before last, we erected a small Fascine Battery, intending to play upon the Shipping, the morning following, with one Eighteen, and one Twelve Pounder. The Eighteen was overset on the way, and could not be got to the Battery 'till two o'Clock in the afternoon. The Twelve in the intermediate Time, was ply'd with great Advantage upon the Sommersett, a ship of sixty four Guns. The Roebuck and a Frigate were soon driven from their Stations, and the Sommersett fell down to the Distance of a Mile and a Quarter from the Batt<sup>ry</sup>, where she touched upon the Beach, and was obliged patiently to take our Fire. In this situation, the Commodore sent down four Gallies, which began their Fire at the Distance of more than two Miles. They advanced however 'till the Sommersett & Roebuck, with a Galley began to discharge their Bow Guns upon them, when they immediately retreated. The Flood Tide making, floated the Sommersett; but, as there was no Wind, she could not get far from us, by w<sup>ch</sup> means she suffered extremely from our Eighteen & twelve Pounders. She hoisted Signals of Distress; the Commodore came down with a great naval Force, and began a tremendous Fire, out of Gun Shot, he advanced firing 'till some of his Shot reached the Ships. He expended an immense Quantity of ammunition, & I am pretty certain, hit the large ship once, in her stern; soon after he retired. The Battery discharged, from both Guns, more than one hundred and twenty Pounds; two Thirds of w<sup>ch</sup> at least took place: And as almost every Shot was directed at the sixty four, she must be greatly shattered. Capt<sup>n</sup> Lee who commanded the Guns, behaved perfectly well. Had the Gallies behaved tolerably well, the Sommersett must beyond a Doubt have fallen into our Hands<sup>1</sup>—Could we be fur-

<sup>1</sup> During this engagement Washington was at the Chew house, in Germantown, and, looking from the top, "could discover nothing more than thick clouds of smook, and the masts of two vessels, the weather being very hazy."

nished with sufficient Ammunition for a Twenty four and an Eighteen Pounder, without drawing from the Forts, I am confident we should oblige the Shipping to keep down the River as low as Billingsport. By w<sup>th</sup> means they cou'd not attempt raising the Chievaux de Frise. We should be provided with proper Harness & Horses for these Pieces, to move them to any part of the Shore at Pleasure. I am apprehensive we might do much by throwing up a Battery about one Third of a Mile below Billings Port, from which, & the Battery before mentioned, we could easily cross fire upon every Intch of Channel Way opposite the Mouth of Manto Creek, and oblige the Shipping to move farther down, liable to be disen[?]ed from our lower Battery; or farther up, when they would probably stick upon the Chievaux de Frize, and be in danger from Fort Mifflin and the Fire Craft. \* The great Injury their Shipping would receive might probably draw them out from Billings Port to attack us—their present numbers we could beat, & by that means possess ourselves of their works, should they considerably reinforce, w<sup>th</sup> I imagine they might occasionally do from their Shipping, we might loose our Cannon, by being obliged to retreat. Billingsport is the key of the Delaware, as the Ship Channel is within Musket shot of it. I can perceive but one Objection to a Manouvre of this kind; and indeed that is an important one; Should the Enemy attack Red Bank in the mean Time, by landing below Timber Creek, which they might do, we could not afford that Garrison timely aid. The Remainder of General M<sup>c</sup>Dougall's Division, could they be spared, would form a Counter ballance to that Difficulty.—Col<sup>o</sup> Smith is continually complaining of the Remissness of the Fleet. I have conversed freely with the Commodore upon the Subject of Defence, w<sup>h</sup> he ought to afford. He has pointed out to me the Plans where he has ordered his Guard Boats and some of his Gallies stationed by night. His Plan, if spiritedly executed, would sufficiently aid Fort Mifflin, and Prevent the Enemy from making a Lodgment in its rear. The Commodore says he cannot prevent the Enemies



Boats from passing up and down the River, as they are covered by their Batteries upon Province Island and at the Mouth of Schuylkill. In short, the Commodore appears to be a very good kind of a Man; but his extreme good Nature gives too great a Licence to those under his Command, who would obey only from severity, if any such he has, to<sup>1</sup> their Duty. From the Conduct of the Fleet yesterday, your Excellency will be able to know my sentiments respecting their Prowess. I shall religiously avoid any personal Disputes myself, where I cannot be of service by them, to the public; I shall continue however, to create, if possible, greater Harmony between the Fleet and Garrisons.—As the Garrisons have necessarily many sick, we are in great Want of some Gentlemen from the Hospital Department, to establish a Plan for their Reception, with Medicine and other Articles to make them comfortable. Indeed they suffer on that account.

“I should have mentioned, when speaking of Fort Mifflin, that the Enemy were busy, yesterday, in erecting a Fortification upon Province Island, in such a Position as to play obliquely upon the Palisadoes. This Circumstance convinces me that they do not intend a very sudden Attack upon the Fort. Should they destroy the Palisadoes, the Defence of the Island will then greatly depend upon the Gallies; altho’ it will be difficult to approach to the Rear of the Work, as the Enemy must pass upon a Meadow w<sup>h</sup> is very miry. They cannot surmount that Difficulty by laying Fascines, unless the Gallies quit the Passage between Red Bank and Mud Island intirely. In fine, I must beg Liberty to repeat that Billingsport is of far more Importance than all the Forts and Gallies put together. This seems also to be the concurring sentiment of the Gentlemen here universally.

“I have not seen Gen<sup>l</sup> Foreman, nor can I learn where he is.<sup>2</sup> There are about sixty of his Militia at Red bank.

<sup>1</sup> A word that is illegible.

<sup>2</sup> “General Foreman has to my great concern, & contrary to my warmest sollicitations, resigned his Commission, upon some misunderstanding with the Assembly.”—*Governor Livingston to Washington*, November 9, 1777.



Gen<sup>l</sup> Newcomb is still here, & his Troops may amount to two Hundred. I cannot tell their number exactly, and believe he cannot. They are badly provided, and can be of little Service in any serious Operation.

“I hope your Excellency will excuse the Prolixity of this, & believe me sincerely yours

“J. M. VARNUM.

“P.S.—12 oClock. This Moment your Excellency’s of the 4<sup>th</sup> Instant comes to Hand. In your letter to Col<sup>o</sup> Smith you mention Clothing. Since my arrival, have vested three Officers from Fort Mifflin with full Powers of gathering Clothing. Have sent them to Salem among the Tory Quakers, directing them to procure the Articles necessary for the Garrison, giving their Receipts, specifying the Quantities and Qualities. I should not have presumed upon such a measure, but from the urgent Necessity; & being persuaded it was agreeable to what your Excellency had ordered in Pennsylvania.”

WASHINGTON TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM.

“HEAD QUARTERS, 7 November, 1777

“SIR :

“From various accounts I am convinced that the Enemy are upon the point of making a grand effort upon Fort Mifflin. A person in confidence of one of their principal artificers thinks it will be today or tomorrow. No time is therefore to be lost in making that Garrison as respectable as your numbers will admit, for should the attack commence before they are reinforced, it may probably be out of your power to throw them in. I think you had for the present better draw all the continental Troops into or near Forts Mercer and Mifflin, and let what Militia are collected lay without, for I am of opinion that they will rather dismay than assist the continental Troops if shut up in the Forts. Acquaint the Commodore that my informant says there are three floating Batteries and some fire rafts prepared which are to fall down upon his Fleet at the same time that the Island

is attacked, and desire him to keep a look-out and make the necessary preparations to receive them. As Fort Mercer cannot be attacked without considerable previous notice, I would have you spare as many men to Fort Mifflin as you possibly can ; for if accounts are to be depended upon that is undoubtedly the post the Enemy have their designs upon. I am very anxious to hear what was the occasion of the heavy firing of Musketry on the Evening of the 5<sup>th</sup>. It seemed to us to be at Fort Mifflin. I am &c<sup>1</sup>

“ G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.”

BRIGADIER-GENERAL FORMAN TO WASHINGTON.

“ PRINCE TOWN, 7<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1777

“ SIR

“ Your Exce<sup>l<sup>ty</sup></sup> fav<sup>r</sup> of the 31<sup>t</sup> I rec<sup>d</sup> the 1<sup>st</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup>, and the same Morning I rec<sup>d</sup> an answer from the Council of Safety to a Letter I had wrote to Gov<sup>r</sup> Livingston Respecting the Conduct of Brig<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Newcomb.—The Council of Safety in their Letter to me enclosed one for Gen<sup>l</sup> Newcomb which they assured me contain’d their orders to him to make me returns of his Brigade and receive my orders—I Immediately sent a Horseman to Gen<sup>l</sup> Newcomb with the Letter, but rec<sup>d</sup> no kind of answer from him.—I then wrote a Note requesting him to furnish a Number of men to mount Certain Guards as were Necessary to insure early inteligence of the Enemies movements should they make a second Decent on this Shoar as to prevent a Communication with the Enemy, and sent Lieu<sup>t</sup> Colo<sup>l</sup> Laurence with it to Gen<sup>l</sup> Newcomb.

“ At the Colo<sup>l</sup> return I rec<sup>d</sup> a Verbal Answer y<sup>t</sup> the Council of safety had no right to give him any Directions. Neither would he furnish me with one Man or receive any orders from me—That He had called the Militia together without any order and would if he pleased Dismiss them the Next Day and requested he might not be troubled with any further Applications from Gen<sup>l</sup> Forman.

<sup>1</sup> In manuscript of Lieutenant-Colonel Tench Tilghman.

“The Militia from y<sup>t</sup> Quarter was then Coming in, in Considerable Numbers—it struck me very fully y<sup>t</sup> by pursuing any rough measures towards Gen<sup>l</sup> Newcomb, the Militia might make a pretence of our Dispute to refuse to Assemble & y<sup>t</sup> it was not Improbable to Conclude Gen<sup>l</sup> Newcomb would even Dismiss those y<sup>t</sup> were already Assembled—I thought it very Imprudent to risque either of these events at y<sup>t</sup> critical time—on Considering y<sup>t</sup> part of y<sup>r</sup> Excel<sup>ty</sup> Letter of the 31<sup>t</sup> wherein your Excel<sup>ty</sup> recommends my making a Pointed representation of Gen<sup>l</sup> Newcomb’s Conduct, I come to the Following resolution, Viz<sup>t</sup>.

“The Troops y<sup>t</sup> marched from Monmouth with me were previously incorporated with the Garrison in red Bank fort. Those from Burlington I ordered to mud Island as soon as They should arrive—Conceiving I could at no Time be better spared to make the Necessary representation in person to the Gov<sup>r</sup> Council & Assembly of Gen<sup>l</sup> Newcomb’s Conduct & at the same time give the Militia Time to Assemble—Gen<sup>l</sup> Varnum’s being in the Nibourhood allso Conspired to make my Presence less Necessary—On Coming to Trentown I found the Assembly had adjourned to prince Town—To which place I followed them on Monday—The Gov<sup>r</sup> was not then come.

“On Teusday Evening he arrived, but too Late to do any Business—Wednesday morning I waited on him Early and fully Explained Gen<sup>l</sup> Newcomb’s Conduct—a Council of Safety was called and a Letter wrote by the Gov<sup>r</sup> with the Advice of the Council to Gen<sup>l</sup> Newcomb to give me the Command as being the Eldest officer—and No farther Notice Taken of him.

“While I was here Two Petitions ware handed into the Assembly most unjustly charging me and sundry other Gen<sup>t</sup> with undue practices on the Day of Election & praying the Election to be set aside—The Petition was read in the House and a Hearing ordered on Teusday next and a Notice served on me to attend.

“I immediately went to the Assembly, Informed them of my then situation and requested the hearing might be De-

ferred for a few Days until the militia were assembled and put in some order—my request was Denied.

“I informed them y<sup>t</sup> it was impossible for me to do Justice to my Command at red Bank, and attend the House on Teusday—y<sup>t</sup> I found myself hurt as a Gen<sup>t</sup> by the Illiberal Charges in the petition—y<sup>t</sup> my reputation as such might suffer should I Neglect to attend—

“On the other hand my reputation as an Officer might be injured by my absence from my post for so long a Time as I Conceived my Attendance on their House would be Necessary.

“Y<sup>t</sup> I knew of no way to save my reputation as a Gen<sup>t</sup> and at the same time to risque nothing as an officer but resigning my Commission—Which I then Delivered to M<sup>r</sup> Speaker and Left the House—a few Minutes after I rec<sup>d</sup> a Message From the House Informing y<sup>t</sup> as I had not rec<sup>d</sup> my Commission from Them, they could not receive it and returned it to me. I went Immediately to the Gov<sup>r</sup> from him I rec<sup>d</sup> it and returned it to him.

“Although I have long been Disgusted with the Indolence and want of Attention to military Matters in the Legislature of this State, I was Determined to spin out this campaign in my Slavery, untill I found a set of Men Plotting by the most unfair Means to stain my Reputation.

“for I am well perswaded they ment to take advantage of my Absence & at a Time when they conceived I woold not have been able to attend.—Gen<sup>l</sup> Varnums being at red Bank will I doubt not abundantly supply my absence.

“I have at pres<sup>t</sup> no anxiety but y<sup>t</sup> the steps I have taken may not so fully meet your Excel<sup>ts</sup> approbation as I could wish, & y<sup>t</sup> I flatter myself I shall have it when I have an opportunity fully to Explain to your Exce<sup>ly</sup> my Treatment. I have the Hon<sup>r</sup> &c

“DAVID FORMAN.

“N.B.—I This minute rec<sup>d</sup> good Information y<sup>t</sup> 36 sail of ships sailed from New York and Sandy Hook on the fifth of This Inst Supposed to be Gen<sup>l</sup> Clinton.”



WASHINGTON TO MAJOR-GENERAL DICKINSON.

“HEAD QUARTERS, 8<sup>th</sup> November, 1777

“DEAR SIR :

“I have received your Letter of the 6<sup>th</sup> Inst., and thank you for the intelligence contained in it. You will farther oblige me by communicating immediately whatever new matter of public consequence may occur.

“The importance of the Post at Red-bank makes it necessary for us to employ all possible resources in rendering it so respectable by the strength of the Garrison, and the number of Troops stationed within distance to co-operate with it, as not to fear even a more formal Attack than was exhibited in the first successful effort of the Hessians. All the men in your State that can be spared should therefore be collected and march'd to join Gen<sup>l</sup> Varnum.

“Your present of salt-water delicacies will be the more acceptable to us, as they are so great a Rarity, and as I anticipate the pleasure they will give, I return you my thanks for them before their arrival. I am &c.<sup>1</sup>

“G. WASHINGTON.”

WASHINGTON TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM.

“HEAD QUARTERS, WHITEMARSH, 8 Nov. 1777.

“SIR :

“Your fav<sup>r</sup> of the 6<sup>th</sup> relieved me from much anxiety as it was confidently reported that the firing upon the 5<sup>th</sup> was upon Fort Mifflin. I am pleased to hear of the Success of your cannonade against the Shipping, and I am very certain if we had more heavy Cannon mounted upon travelling carriages to move up and down the Beach occasionally, that we should annoy and distress them exceedingly. To possess Billingsport as well as Red Bank is certainly a most

<sup>1</sup> In manuscript of Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens. “I am preparing a Waggon Load of the Woodbridge Oysters, they are too fresh, but are Oysters, as such, hope they will be acceptable, shall send them on in a few Days to Head-Quarters, when I shall beg your Excellency's acceptance of them.”—*Dickinson to Washington*, November 6, 1777.

desirable object, but circumstanced as we are at present in respect to numbers it is impossible. In a letter from Gen<sup>l</sup> Dickinson of the 6<sup>th</sup> he informs me that he had ordered two detachments of Militia to march from Elizabeth Town to Red Bank, one consisting of 160 men; he does not mention the number of the other. I have just seen a very intelligent person from Philadelphia. He has been conversant with many people who stand high in the confidence of the British officers of the first rank. He finds from all their discourse that a formidable attack is to be made upon Fort Mifflin very soon; if that fails they will be obliged to change their quarters, as they find they cannot subsist in the city without they have a free communication with their shipping. I therefore repeat what I wrote yesterday that you should immediately reinforce Fort Mifflin as strongly as possible, and give the Commodore notice of the intended attack. I approve of the Measures you have taken to procure Cloathing for the Troops, and am, Sir, &c.

“ G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.

“ The inclosed for Commodore Hazelwood, Col<sup>o</sup> Green and Lt. Col<sup>o</sup> Smith are from Congress, and as they bear honorable testimony of their behaviour hitherto, I beg they may be put into their hands immediately. Perhaps it may prove a further incentive to their gallant exertions.<sup>1</sup>

BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM TO WASHINGTON.

“ WOODBERRY, 8<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup>,  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5 p m 1777

“ SIR :

“ I have to acknowledge the Rec<sup>t</sup> of your Orders of 7<sup>th</sup> Instant. The Intelligence you are pleased to communicate, I received last Evening, by two Persons who came out of Philadelphia yesterday, & by a Spy whom I had in Billingsport yesterday, two Hours.—My Acc<sup>ts</sup> give these additional Circumstances, That the Garrison at Billingsport consist of

<sup>1</sup> In manuscript of Lieutenant-Colonel Tench Tilghman. The inclosures were the resolutions printed in *Journals of Congress*, November 4, 1777.

two Hundred of the seventy first Battalion,<sup>1</sup> & two Hundred Marines. That they were, this Day, to be reinforced by two Hessian Regiments. That there were four Row Gallies & two floating Batteries in Schuylkil; That an attack was to be made upon Fort Mifflin by the way of Schuylkill; That they were to attack Red bank at the same Time, landing just below Timber Creek (a fine beach, and no Obstruction between that and Fort Mercer); that the Troops from Billingsport were to move across Manto Creek, at a Signal given from Philadelphia, & act in Conjunction with Those from Philadelphia, against Fort Mercer;—That they were to attack this Day Morning at four, if possible; If not, the first Time they should be Ready—Last Evening, at Ten, Sky Rockets were seen on Province Island, w<sup>h</sup> determined me the Action was about to commence. I took every Precaution in my Power; just before Sunsett this Evening, There appeared to be a large Number of Men, Horses, & I tho't Fascines, passing Schuylkill to Province Island. The Ships below fired Guns, w<sup>h</sup> were supposed to be Signals. The Acct<sup>s</sup> respecting the Enemy's Intended Movements were given in the same Manner, by two Prisoners of the second Battalion of the seventy first Regiment, whom my Scouts captured yesterday, near Billingsport.—I shall send a Detachment this Night into Fort Mifflin, tho' upon my Honor, I think that Garrison sufficiently manned.—I have the Pleasure to Inform you, that we had Guard Boats last night between Hog and Province Islands, the Rout of the Enemy's Boats, w<sup>h</sup> met with, fired upon, & caused them to retreat. The Commodore will fix a chain this Night that is already prepared with dry logs to buoy it up, & anchors to fasten it down, between those Islands. Fourteen Gun Boats will lay in the Passage; the Commodore with all his Gallies will lay close to the North End of Mud Island, the Floating Batteries, & Xebecks to guard the chievaux de Frize, & oppose the shipping, should they attempt to advance. And the Continental Vessells under Cap<sup>t</sup>. Robinson's Command will lay at the Mouth of Schuylkill, and at the Mouth of

<sup>1</sup>The Scotch regiment, commanded by Simon Fraser.

Timber Creek. I have placed the Continental and Militia Guards, upon Timber & Manto Creeks. In a word, I am perfectly satisfied with the different arrangements, & the universal spirit, w<sup>h</sup> apparently pervades the whole; & unless I am too ignorant of military Dispositions, the Great Governor of the Universe will give to your Arms Success in this Quarter, should the mercenaries attack, as we sincerely expect and wish they will; and to your Excellency, additional Laurels! Pardon me—I write upon the Run, and am thinking of many things at once.—The musketry you mention was the Ecco of Cannon in the Groves. I am &c

“J. M. VARNUM.”

CAPTAIN LEE TO WASHINGTON.

“No. 8<sup>th</sup> 77

“SIR

“Mr. Lindsay<sup>1</sup> is just returned from New-castle & has brought with him two Prisoners, the one Cap<sup>t</sup> Nicholas of the Eagle-packet, the other Cap<sup>t</sup> Fenwick of a sloop in the service of Government. These two gentlemen being fatigued with their ride, will not arrive at Head-quarters ’till tomorrow.

“The transports have received orders to furnish themselves with six weeks provision, & make ready for sailing with all despatch. A french ship laden with arms & ammunition lately taken by some of the enemy’s cruisers, was the other day brought into New-castle harbour. There prevails a report in the fleet, that a channel has been discovered which avoids the chiveaux-de-frise, & that, the Somersett man of war is ordered up to try her success on the fort, by that route.

“One of the enemy’s batteries on the Schuylkill has been launched two days past, & another is near finished. The mode now pursued by the enemy in transporting supplies, to the city, is as follows. They land their provision above Jones wharf, near a branch of Eagle-creek, they are carried from hence by water to Guien<sup>2</sup> dam, where they again put

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant William Lindsay, of Bland’s regiment.

<sup>2</sup> I am unable to determine what name this is intended for, as the writing is illegible. General Potter speaks of “Giers Warff.”



them in boats & readily convey them down another creek to the Schuylkill. There is no way of interrupting them in this business, but by taking possession of Carpenters Island.

“Mr. Lindsay acquaints me, that the enemy obtain large supplies of fresh provision, &c., from the inhabitants in the lower Counties; his report of this & several other matters engage me to wish for an excursion for a few days in that country.

“There is not the smallest intercourse now subsisting between the country & Navy from Wilmington to the Schuylkill. Your Excellency will please favor me by return of the dragoon with your instructions respecting this route. Enclosed is a let<sup>r</sup> found; supposed to be wrote by Gen. Grant. I am &c

“HEN<sup>y</sup> LEE.”

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MAJOR FLEURY.

“I have received His Excellency’s order authorizing me to exercise the functions of Engineer at Fort Mifflin. Since my being placed here I think I have neglected nothing to gain the Esteem of my superiors. by my constant attention I have endeavour’d to second the Zeal, Intelligence and Activity of Colo. Smith.

“I never have undertaken any work without previously consulting the Commandant and Principal Officers, and rectifying my Ideas by theirs.

“Colonel D’Arendt entrusted me with the Command of the Reserve and Colo. Smith has continued me in it.”

(To be continued.)

THE COUNCIL OF PROPRIETORS OF WEST NEW  
JERSEY, ORGANIZED 1687.

BY THE LATE JOHN CLEMENT.

The concessions and agreements of the first holders of the territory, and who purchased of Edward Byllynge's trustees, dated March 3, 1676, provided for the appointment of commissioners, who arrived in the Delaware River August 16, 1677, and proceeded to the present site of Burlington, where a town was laid out. Thomas Revel was chosen Register and Daniel Leeds Surveyor-General. This Board of Commissioners (part being elected annually) was in existence until 1687, when it was deemed advisable to establish a Council of Proprietors. To do this a general meeting was held at Burlington and a paper called "The First Agreement" was adopted and signed on the day before named. It is an interesting document and reads as follows:

## THE FIRST AGREEMENT.

*Whereas* by experience it hath been found that the concerns particularly relating to the Proprietors of the Province of West New Jersey by reason of the great difficulty of getting them together upon several emergent occasions have been greatly detrimental not only to the carrying on and progress of the same necessary public concerns, but also very chargeable and burthensome to the said Proprietors, especially those of them who live at a great distance, and also complained of by the members of the General Assembly as taking up a great part of their time in an affair particularly relating to the proprietors; and finding that the affairs touching the public concern of the said Proprietors may be carried on with less charge and burthen to the whole and with more effect by such number of persons as by the Proprietors shall be esteemed fit and qualified on their behalf to transact and agitate their public affairs as Proprietors.

We, therefore, the underwritten Proprietors of the Province aforesaid, being met together at Burlington in the same province, the 14th day of the 12th month, A.D., 1687, by a general appointment of the same proprietors, do therefore unanimously agree together as followeth: That eleven Proprietors within the said Province shall be yearly and every

year nominated, elected and chosen by and amongst the said Proprietors to be commissioners and trustees at a day certain: six whereof in the County of Burlington and five within the County of Gloucester, in the Province aforesaid, who shall be and are empowered to act and plead in all such affairs as do and shall generally concern the body of the said proprietors of the same Province as fully and effectually as if the whole body of the same Proprietors were together and should personally do and conclude the same.

Which act and acts, thing and things, by the same commissioners and trustees for the time being so from time to time to be done and performed as aforesaid. We, the said Proprietors do hereby ratify, establish and confirm and we do hereby nominate and appoint our trusty friends, Samuel Jennings, Thomas Olive, William Biddle, Elias Starr, Mahlon Stacy, Francis Davenport, Andrew Robeson, William Royden, John Reading, William Cooper and John Willis, commissioners and trustees for the year next ensuing to do, act and officiate in the affairs aforesaid until the tenth day of the second month, Anno Domini, 1688.

And we do further agree and appoint that each and every of the said commissioners and trustees now elected and chosen and from time to time hereafter to be elected and chosen shall have and be allowed two shillings per day for each and every day they shall be concerned to act in the affairs aforesaid; the same to be paid by the Proprietors of the Province proportionately to their respective shares of the said Province.

In testimony whereof, we the Proprietors of the Province aforesaid, have to this Instrument in this and the schedule hereunto affixed put our hands.

Dated the fourteenth day of the twelfth month called February, Anno Domini 1687.

It was signed by thirty-one proprietors, residents of Burlington County, and an instrument of the same form and date was signed in Gloucester County by thirteen of the proprietors.

Thus originated the Council of Proprietors of West New Jersey, which has been continuously in existence since that time. Its purpose was and is to confirm the title to the soil in the Western Division in severalty to the purchasers, to adjust disputed boundaries of surveys, to see that dividends of proprietary rights are properly made and disposed of, and to have general charge of the unappropriated lands within the Province. An examination of the minute-books shows how carefully and regularly the business before the Council was conducted, and the files of surveys and the

books of record of located lands evidence the prudence and foresight of the members of the Board.

Within the lids of these musty old tomes lie the basis of the title to all the lands south and west of the Province line, and there must be sought the source of these too often intricate subjects. That our ancestors understood and appreciated the importance of these volumes as they increased under their care is apparent, and as they now stand in the small, unpretending office of the Surveyor-General in Burlington, their value increases as the years pass by.

The minute-books and files show many hotly contested cases of dispute, and sometimes between those whose religious affiliations should have prevented it. The good order of Friends sometimes failed of its purpose in this direction, and, figuratively speaking, they would cross swords in the presence of the Council of Proprietors. It is unfortunate that the books of the proceedings of the commissioners for the first ten years of the settlement have been lost, for they would complete the history of their part of our government from 1677 to the present. Within these various documents may also be found the solution of many genealogical puzzles that now bother the brains of such as care to know something of their ancestors, and would trace them to the place of their nativity.

Immediately upon the organization of the Council steps were taken to separate the papers relating to the government from those belonging to the land-owners, which was carried out. This was occasioned by the commissioners often being members of the Legislature, and not properly keeping the documents of the one department distinct from the other, as may be seen by "The First Agreement."

Daniel Leeds, the first Surveyor-General, was a man of scientific attainments. He lived at Egg Harbor (Leeds Point, Atlantic County), and from him the place took its name. He was the compiler of the almanac published in 1704 and annually continued until 1717. They contain many quaint and curious sayings and predictions, which made them popular, and at this day are much sought after



by antiquarians. One extract from the almanac of 1706 may interest many: "October—The first stroak struck for the foundation of Burlington, October 26, 1677."

He was a controversialist among Friends, and wrote several published pamphlets in defence of their religious principles.

Thomas Gardiner, a man of influence in the colony, followed Daniel Leeds in this important office. He had much trouble with locators and deputy surveyors during his term, and looked closely after the interests of the proprietors. Andrew Robeson came next to this place, and appears to have discharged his duties acceptably.

For some reason, not explained, William Alexander (Lord Stirling) was appointed next in the order of time, although he held the same position in the Council of East Jersey Proprietors. Some dissatisfaction was caused by this, yet he appears to have been a fair man in the discharge of his complicated duties. His review of the course pursued by John Laurence in running the Province line shows that he fully understood John Laurence's methods, but did not endorse them, especially in changing the point at Little Egg Harbor as fixed by George Keith in 1687.

Daniel Smith succeeded him, and no one showed more care or manifested more interest in the records and papers of the office than he. His penmanship is perfection, with but few erasures and but seldom an error, and, when compared with the chirography of some modern penmen, is refreshing to follow.

Burr Woolman came after him and held the office for many years, whose place is now filled by his son, Franklin Woolman, a faithful and competent officer.

The establishment of the division line between the two Provinces was a source of constant vexation. The first attempt to run the line in 1687 by George Keith was objected to, and, as it proved, fell too far to the west and was abandoned. The work done by John Chapman in 1720, pursuant to an act of the Legislature of 1719, produced no results, for he followed the line fixed by George Keith and

only certified his work. The Council of Proprietors was observant of these proceedings and took action accordingly.

In 1743, John Laurence (by commission from the Governor) ran an experimental line from Little Egg Harbor to the point of forty-one degrees forty minutes on the Delaware River, and then established the boundary between the two points. Again the Council complained, for he changed the point at Little Egg Harbor nearly a mile south of where George Keith had fixed it in 1687, and ignored the expression of the deed of division of 1676, which uses the words "to the northernmost branch" of the river. A wordy warfare was the consequence. Pamphlets were printed and newspaper articles published by the opposing parties which created much interest throughout both Provinces.

This controversy soon attracted the attention of the authorities of New York, for it affected the position of the line between that State and New Jersey, and who claimed that the words "most northerly branch" meant the mouth of the Mackhackamack where it fell into the Delaware River. In 1769 a commission appointed by the King so decided, which gave the West Jersey proprietors another point of advantage, for they argued that the point on the Delaware River as fixed between the two States was identical with that of the division between East and West New Jersey.

The Board of Proprietors kept pace with all these movements, and although crippled for funds, never abandoned their claim to the line as fixed by the decision of 1769, and are now making inquiry into the facts and history of this protracted and still unsettled question.

It is a noticeable feature in the proceedings of the Council that the members had to be assured that the Indian title had been extinguished before a location of land would be confirmed, showing the strict adherence to a rule established in the beginning.

Much trouble was experienced in regard to the number of acres named in the returns made by the deputy surveyors when they were found to contain hundreds of acres more than represented. Under the rules as then in existence

there were no means of tracing the fraud, and it was not until 1785 that this trouble was overcome. Many controversies of local interest only may be found in the books, but which are occasionally referred to when questions touching the same matters arise. Although the proceedings of the Board have not the importance they formerly had, yet the elections of members take place annually and the meetings are held in due course.

These elections have peculiar features in them and to the present generation are a strange proceeding. The members for Burlington County are elected by the proprietors, in the open air, by assembling on the corner of Broad and High Streets in Burlington on the 6th of April of each year, the nominations being made before meridian, and the election taking place after that time. The members for Gloucester County are elected by the proprietors assembling on the "Gloucester Green" in Gloucester City on the 13th day of April, annually, and going through the same formalities as before named as to nominations and elections. This has been done for two hundred years, and out of respect to the ancient custom will probably be continued until the organization is dissolved and the records removed to other and perhaps safer quarters.

The annual meetings occur on the first Tuesday in May, when the certificates of election are read and approved, and the officers—being a President, Vice-President, and Secretary—are elected. The Surveyor-General holds his office for three years, whose duty it is to report surveys to the Board as correctly made, to enter them of record when approved, to make certified copies of the record for persons applying, and to have the care of the books and documents of the office. Two hundred years leaves but little unlocated land in the territory of West New Jersey, and hence the business of the Council is limited; but the annual meeting is always observed and the proceedings carefully entered upon the minutes.

From a political stand-point a review of this antiquated organization may prove of interest. In the original grants



not only was the territory conveyed, but the right of government as well. In this the followers of George Fox felt secure from any infringement of their religious notions or any abuse of power as exercised under the home government. In the Concessions and Agreements those fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty were laid down so broad and comprehensive that no one could mistake their import, and purchasers and settlers were attracted to the territory of West New Jersey.

Soon, however, information was brought from England that grave questions were involved in these grants,—that there were certain prerogatives of the Crown that could not be delegated, with other troubles surrounding the legislative authority. With these complications the Assembly had to deal, and as some of the commissioners were members of that body, the laying out and sale of land was often delayed, as hinted in “*The First Agreement.*” The surrender of the government to Queen Anne in 1702 overcame many of these embarrassments and did much to quiet the political troubles in the Province, and the Revolutionary war brought about a government of the people which has continued to the present, yielding the benefits that are sure to follow.

Among all these changes the Council of Proprietors has held the even tenor of its way, proceeding regularly with its elections, with the location and sale of land, and the quieting of many bitter and persistent controversies touching the titles and boundaries of surveys within its control. It has given stability and value to real estate, and when the plan of location as established in the beginning by those far-sighted men is understood and observed it is seldom that difficulties follow.

Legislative enactments have been passed to direct and control the rules adopted by the Council from time to time; well-intentioned, no doubt, but little benefit has come out of them to the claimants of the soil. Saving always our present form of government, this institution has outlived every organization in the State arising from the will of the people publicly expressed. For the last one hundred and



fifty years it has had no political significance, although among its members have been some of the most influential persons in the State. Its origination, its objects, its methods, and its transactions have been the study of lawyers and laymen for two centuries; and although its occupation is almost gone and the purposes for which it was created have almost ceased to exist, yet its vitality remains and its former usefulness will not be forgotten.

THE FIRST CHARTER OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, 1691.

[The first charter of the city of Philadelphia, of which the following is a transcript, was granted by William Penn, Third month 20, 1691. Up to the year 1887 its existence was unknown, when Colonel Alexander Biddle found it among the papers of his grandfather, Colonel Clement Biddle, a distinguished officer of the Revolution. It is in an excellent state of preservation and legible, but lacks the great seal, of which, however, there is unmistakable evidence of its having been attached. The original document, framed between glass, may be seen at the hall of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.]

WILLIAM PENN Propriet'y of the Province of *Pensilvania* To all to whom these Presents shall come sends Greeting &c. *Know Ye* That at the humble petition of the Inhabitants & Settlers of this Town of Philadelphia being some of the first Adventurers & Purchasers within this Province for their incouragement and for the more imediate & intire Government of the said Town and better Regulation of Trade therein *I have* by vertue of the Kings Letters Patents under the Great Seal of England erected the said Town into a Burrough *And* by these Prsents Do erect the said Town & Burrough of Philadelphia into a City which said City shall extend the Limits and Bounds as it is layd out between Delaware and Skoolkill *And* do hereby name and constitute Humphrey Morrey to be the present Mayor who shall so continue untill another be chosen as is hereinafter directed *And I Do* hereby assigne and name John Delavall to be the present Recorder to do and execute all things which unto the Office of Recorder of the said City doth or may belong *And* I do appoint David LLoyd to be the present Town Clerk Clerk of y<sup>e</sup> Board and Clerk of the Court & Courts to be holden within the said City and Liberties thereof *And* I do hereby name constitute and appoint Samuel Richardson Griffith Owen Anthony Morris Robert Ewer John Holmes & ffancis Rawle junr Being the present Justices Citizens and Inhabitants of the said City to be the prsent Six Aldermen of the said City of Philadelphia *And I Do Also* nominate & appoint Samuel Carpenter Thomas Budd John Jones John Otter Charles Sanders Zechariah Whitpaine John Day Philip Richards Alexander Berdsley James ffox Thomas Pascall and Philip James to be the present Twelve Comon Councilmen of the said City *And I Do* by these Presents for me & my heirs & Successors give grant & declare That the said Mayor Recorder Aldermen & Comon Councilmen for the time being and they which hereafter Shall be Mayor Recorder Aldermen and Comon Councilmen

within the said City and their Successors for ever hereafter be and Shall be by vertue of these presents One Body Corporate & Politiq in Deed and by the name of Mayor and Comonalty of Philadelphia in the Province of Pensilvania *And* them by the name of Mayor and Comonalty of the City of Philadelphia One Body Politiq & Corporate in deed & in name I Do for me & my Successors fully create constitute and confirm by these Prsents *And* That by the same name of Mayor and Comonalty of the City of Philadelphia they may have perpetual Succession *And* that they and their Successors by the name of Mayor & Comonalty of the City of Philadelphia be and at all times hereafter shall be persons able & capable in Law To have gett receive and possess Lands Tenements Rents Liberties Jurisdictions franchises & Hereditaments to them & their Successors in fee simple or for term of Life Lives years or otherwise *And* also goods chattels & other things of what nature kind or quality Soever *And* also to give grant let Set & assign the same Lands Tenements hereditaments goods & Chattels and to do and execute all other things about the same by the name aforsyd *And* also that they be and shall be forever hereafter persons able & capable in Law to Sue and be Sued plead & be impleaded answer and be answered unto defend and be defended in all or any the Courts & other places and before any Judges Justices & other persons whatsoever within the said Province & Territorys thereof in all manner of actions suits complaints pleas causes & matters whatsoever and of what kind or nature soever *And* that it shall & may be lawful to and for the said Maior & Comonalty of the sd City of Philadelphia and their Successors for ever hereafter to have & use one Comon Seal for the sealing of all businesses touching the sd Corporation *And* the same from time to time at their will and pleasure to change or alter *And* I do for me my heirs & Successors give and by these presents grant full power and authority unto the Mayor Recorder Aldermen & Comon Councilmen of the said City of Philadelphia or any three or more of the Aldermen and Six or more of the Comon Councilmen The Mayor & Recorder for the time being or either of them being present on the first second day of the week in the Second month yearly forever hereafter publickly to meet at a convenient Room or place within the said City to be by them appointed for that purpose and then & there nominate elect & chuse (by the Ballott) out of the Inhabitants of the said City fit & able persons to be in the respective offices & places of Mayor Aldermen & Comon Councilmen *And* that such person who shall be so elected Mayor as aforesaid shall within three daies next after such election take his attestation before the Governor of this Province or his deputy for the time being for his allegiance to the King and Queen & their Successors and lawful obedience to me and my Successors *And* for the due Execucon of his office *And* that the Recorder Aldermen & Comon Councilmen and all other officers of the sd City before they or any of them shall be admitted to execute their respective Offices Shall

Promise Allegiance to the King & Queen of England and their Successors and lawful obedience to me and my Successors And shall be attested before the Mayor for the tyme being for the due Execucon of their Offices respectively which promises and attestations the Mayor of the said City for the time being is hereby impowered to take & administer accordingly *And* that the Maior Recorder & Aldermen of the sd City for the time being shall be Justices of the Peace and Justices of Oyer and Terminer and are hereby impowered to act within the sd City & Liberties thereof accordingly as fully & amply as any Justice or Justices of the peace or Oyer & Terminer can or may do within the sd Province *And* that they or any three or more of them (whereof the Maior & Recorder of the said City for the time being shall be two) shall & may for ever hereafter have power & authority by vertue of these presents to hear & determine according to the Laws of this Province & of the Kingdom of England All maner of pleas actons & causes Civil & Criminal whatsoever *Excepting* Treason Murder & Manslaughter within the sd City & Liberties from time to time arising & happening Reserving the Liberty of Appeal according to the King's Letters Patents & laws of this Governmt Hereby also empowering them or any three of them (whereof the Mayor & Recorder for the time being shall be two) with the Town Clerk to hold & keep a Cort of Record quarterly or oftener if they see occasion for the Inquiring hearing & determining of the pleas aforesaid as also for the hearing & Deciding causes in Equity arising in ye sd City *And* I Do by these presents assign & appoint That the present Mayor Recorder & Aldermen herein before named be the present Justices of the Peace & Oyer & Terminer within the sd City & liberties aforesd *And* That it may be lawfull to & for the sd Mayor & Comonalty and their successors to erect a Gaol or prison & Court house within the sd City *And* that the Mayor and Recorder for the time being shall and by these presents have power to take Recognizance of debts there according to the Statute of Marchants & of Acton Burnel and to use & affix ye sd Comon Seal thereunto & to all certificates concerning the same *And* That it may be lawfull to & for the Maior of the sd City for the time being forever hereafter to nominate & from time to time appoint the Clerk of the Markett who shall have assise of bread wine Beer wood & other things & do execute & perform all things belonging to the Office of Clerk of the Markett within the sd City *And* I will That the Coroner & Sheriff of the County of Philadelphia for the time being Shall be the Coroner & Sheriff of the sd City & Liberties thereof But that the ffreemen & Inhabitants of the sd City shall from time to time as often as occasion be have equall Liberty with the Inhabitants of the said county to recommend or chuse persons to serve in the respective Capacities of Coroner & Sheriffs for the Said City & County who shall reside within the sd City *And* That the Sheriff of the sd City & County for the time being shall be the Water Bayliff who shall & may execute & perform all things



belonging to the Office of Water Bayliff upon Delaware River & all other navigable Rivers & Creeks within this Province And in case the Maior of the sd City for the time being shall during the time of his Mayoralty misbehave himself or misgovern in that office I Do hereby empower the Recorder Aldermen & Comon Councilmen or four of the Aldermen and Eight of the Comon Councilmen of the sd City of Philadelphia for the time being to remove such Mayor from his office of Mayoralty and in such case or in case of death of the sd Mayor for the time being That then another ffit person shall within fouer daies next after such death or removall be chosen in maner as is above directed for electing of Maiors in the place of him so dead or removed *And* least there should be a failure of Justice or Government in the sd City in such Intervall I Do hereby appoint That the oldest Alderman for the time being shall take upon him the office of a Maior there & shall Exercise the same till another Mayor be chosen as aforesd And in case of the disability of such oldest Alderman then the next in Seniority shall take upon him the sd office of Maior to exercise the same as aforesd *And* in case the Recorder or any of the Aldermen or Comon Councilmen or any other of the officers of & belonging to the said City for the time being shall misbehave him or themselves in their respective Offices and places they shall be removed and others chosen in their stead in maner following that is to say The Recorder for the tyme being may be removed (for misbehavior) by the Maior and ye major part of the Aldermen and Comon Councilmen respectively and in case of such removal or of the death of the Recorder Then to chuse another fit person Skilled in law to be Recorder there and so to continue during pleasure as aforesd And the Aldermen [*sic*] so misbehaving himself [*sic*] may be removed by the Maior Recorder and major part of the Aldermen and Comon Councilmen *And* in case of such removall or death Then within four dais after to chuse a fitt person or persons to supply such vancancys *And* the Comon Councilmen Town Clerk Constables Clerk of the Markett and other Officers for neglect or misbehavior shall be removed & others chosen as is directed in ye case of Aldermen *And* I do also for me and my successors by these prsents grant to the said Maior & Comonalty & their Successors That if any of the Citizens of the sd City shall be hereafter elected nominated & chosen to the office of Mayor Aldermen or Comon Councilmen as aforesaid and having notice of his or their sd election shall refuse to undertake & exercise that office to which he is so chosen That then & so often It Shall and may be lawfull for the Maior and Recorder Aldermen & Comon Councilmen or the major part of the Aldermen and Comon Councilmen for the time being according to their discretion to impose such moderate ffines upon Such refusers so as the Mayors ffine exceed not ten pounds The Alderman five pounds and Comon Councilman four pounds and other Officers proportonately To be levved by distresse & Sale by warrt under the Comon Seal or by other

lawfull waies To the use of the sd Corporation *And* in Such Cases It shall be lawfull to chuse others to supply the defects of such refusers in maner as is above direct for Electons *And* That it shall and may be lawfull to and for the Mayor Recorder and one of the Aldermen for the time being from time to time so often as they shall find occasion to sumon a Comon Council of the said City *And* that no Assembly or meeting of the said Citizens shall be deemed and accounted a Comon Council unless the said Maior and Recorder and at least three of the Aldermen for the time being and fouer of the Comon Councilmen be present *And* also That the said Mayor Recorder Aldermen & Comon Councilmen for the time being from time to time at their Comon Council shall have power to admitt such & so many ffreemen into their Corporaton & Society as they shall think fitt *And* to make and they may make Ordain Constitute & establish such and so many good and reasonable Laws Ordinances & Constitutons (not repugnant to the Laws of England or of this Government) as to the greatest part of them at such Comon Councils assembled whereof the Mayor & Recorder or in their absence four of the Aldermen for time being to be alwaies some shall seem necessary & convenient for the good Government of the said City *And* the same Laws Ordinances Orders & Constitutons so made to be putt in use and operaton accordingly by the proper Officers of the said City *And* at their pleasure to revoke alter and make anew as occasion shall require *And* also to impose such mulcts & amerciaments upon the breakers of such Laws & Ordinances as to them in their discreton shall be thought reasonable To be leyved as above is directed in case of fines to the use of the said Corporaton without rendring any account thereof to me my heirs & Successors with power to the Comon Council aforesd to mitigate remitt or Release such ffines and mulcts upon the submission of the parties *And* I do further grant to the said Mayor and Comonalty of the said City of Philadelphia That they and their successors shall and may forever hereafter hold & keep within the said City in every week of the year Two markt daies The one upon the fourth day of the week and the other upon the seventh day of the week in the place already appointed or in such other place as they shall think convenient *And* also three ffares there in every year The first of them to begin on the Sixteenth day of the Third month yearly and so to be held in & about the markt place and continue for that Sixteenth day & two dayes next following The next to be kept at the Center of the said City on the thirtieth & one and one & thirtieth daies of the Sixth Month yearly *And* third of the said ffares to be held in or about the markt place on the Sixteenth Seventeenth & Eighteenth daies of the Ninth Month yearly Hereby giving and granting That this present Charter or Grant Shall in all Courts of Law and Equity be construed and taken most favorably and beneficially for the said Corporaton *Given* under the Broad Seal of the said Province *Witness* Thomas LLoyd Deputy Governor of the said Province of Pensilvania with the advice

and assent of the Provincial Council at Philadelphia the Twentieth day of the Third Month in the third year of the Raign of *William and Mary* King and Queen of England Anoqe Dni One Thousand six hundred ninety and one.

THO: LLOYD  
Depty Gov<sup>r</sup>

Recorded in the Office of Rolls & Publiq Registry }  
at Philadelphia the 29th day of the third month } Patent Book A.  
1691. Ex<sup>d</sup> pr Da. lloyd Deput.

PLACE  
WHERE SEAL  
WAS  
AFFIXED.

[Endorsed: "Philadelphia City Charter."]

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## Notes.

NAMES OF INDIAN CHIEFS, 1723-1734.—The following extracts copied from the account of James Logan with the Proprietaries between the years 1723 and 1734 furnish the names of some Indians prominent in that period of the history of the Province. WILLIAM H. EGGLE.  
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

1728, 2 mo. 19.—To Sundries given the Relations of the Murther'd Indians in behalf of the Proprietors, besides what was advanced by y<sup>e</sup> Govm't, viz: Finest Strowd for two coats, trimming and making; Callico for shirts to the women and children; Shifts, pocket looking-glasses, Jewsharps &c., sent to Ketapechoe at Lechay [Lehigh], with a saddle to Sassoonan, who was with them and a shirt to his companion. £13.10.7.

[N.B.—From this unhappy affair w<sup>ch</sup> cost the Govm't some hundreds of p'ds, with the alarms given the Indians about their Lands & their repeated Disappointments in ye Proprietors not coming over to purchase, I was obliged to fall into a considerable Expense both on our own Indians & ye 5 Nations as ye sequel of this account shows.]

1728, 8 mo. 18.—To Sundries presented to the Indians in the Proprietor's name, viz: To Carundawana (als Robt. Hunter) a Great Cap. of ye 5 Nations, a coat; to his wife's brother Montour, a Blanket; to Opekasset, the heir of Sassonan, a coat; . . . . . £6.13.0.

1729, 1 mo. 22.—To 2 Matchcoats sent Manakyhickon, a noted chief on Susq<sup>h</sup>; Strowd presented Civility in J. Penn's name; to sundries sent to Sassoonan & given Colupny, a Mingoe who carried y<sup>m</sup>, . . . . . £2.18.0.

6 mo. 16.—To sundries sent to ye 5 Nations upon ye Death of their Capt Carundawana (alias Robert Hunter) & above 50 of their men kill'd and taken by ye Southern Indians assisted by ye English Traders of Carolina, viz.

Strowds, powder, lead &c. 1 Strowd sent to Shikallemy to forward to them; one for Catayonyache, a Mingoe, ye bearer to Shamokin, and one for Anameakhickam—he pretended to have land at Lichay to sell; Jean Montour's wife, Molasses, Rum, Bisket Cheese &c. . . . . £16.4.4.

[N.B.—This present sent so seasonably greatly contributed to ye friendly Disposition these Indians has since express'd; for before this many of their people had been very rude to ours on Susque<sup>h</sup> wch was much complained of.]

1731, 4 mo. 6.—To Cash paid Sheckokoniekian, the chief of the Brandywine Indians for y<sup>e</sup> Remaind<sup>r</sup> of £100. agreed to be paid them on a Purchase abut y<sup>e</sup> yr 1705. . . . . £29.9.7.

5 mo. 21.—To sundries paid Hugh Jones' wife for wheat supplied to Sassoonan's family when in great want. . . . . 36s.

5 mo. 29.—To a whole suit of mourning clothes to Carundawana's widow Montour, and a coat to her little son and a handkerchief. . £5.11.2

6 mo. 18.—Sundries to Shekallemy, when he brought ye acc<sup>t</sup> of Sam Shachatawlin being killed by his uncle Sassonan,—(Opekassit also dead).



## COPY OF MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE OF WILLIAM OBORN AND ELIZABETH KNOWLES, 1730.

Whereas William Oborn of Concord in the County of Chester and province of Pennsylvania Yeoman and Elizabeth Knowles of the Township of Oxford in the County of Philadelphia and province aforesaid Having declared their intentions of Marriage with each other before severall Monthly meetings of the people called Quakers at Abington in the said County of Phila According to the good order used amongst them and having consent of Parents Their said Proposals of Marriage was allowed of by the said Meeting—Now these are to Certify whom it may Concern that for the full accomplishing their said Intentions this seventh day of the third month in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and thirty they the said William Oborn and Elizabeth Knowles appeared in a Publick meeting of the said people at Oxford aforesaid and the said William Oborn taking the said Elizabeth Knowles by the hand did in a solemn manner . . . Did then and there to these presents Set their hands. And we whose names are also here underwritten being present at the solemnization of the Said Marriage and Subscription Have as Witnesses thereunto set our hands the day and year above written—

John Salkeld	Israel Pemberton	William Garrett son of	Edward Brooks	William Oborn
John Cadwalader	Sam <sup>l</sup> Preston	William & Ann Gar-	Elizabeth Brooks	Elizabeth Oborn
Nicholas Austin	Daniel Roberts	rett Was Born the Six	Rachel Tomas	Henry Oborn
Rich <sup>d</sup> Busby	Sam <sup>l</sup> Morris	Teenth Day of the	Esther Livezey	Hannah Oborn
Richard Martin	David Livezey	Seventh Month in the	Evan Thomas	Y <sup>es</sup> Knowles
Thos Masters	Jonathan Livezey	Year of our Lord 1733	John Chamberlin	Ann Knowles Junior
Rob <sup>t</sup> Adams	Lewis Roberts	About Seven O'clock in	Joseph Gilpin	Francis Knowles
Daniel Worthington	Benja Cottman	the morning.	George Marrott	Sarah Knowles
William Horne			Henry Paul	Thomas Gilpin
Thomas Fletcher			Thomas Buzby	Hannah Gilpin
James Paul			Ibel Jones	Joseph Paul
	Ann Garrett Daugh-	William Garrett Senior	Hannah Willmerton	Elizabeth Paul
	ter of William & Ann	Departed this life on	Jonatham Paul	Sarah Shallcrofs
	Garrett Was Born on	the 17 <sup>a</sup> Day of the	John Paul	Margaret Knowles
	the Thirty first Day of	fourth Month in the	John Willmerton	Mary Power
	the Eighth Month in	year of Our Lord 1780	Joseph Chamberlin	Susannah Oborn
	the Year of our Lord	between four and five	Annc Paul	John Shallcroff
	1771 About 8 O'clock in	O'clock in the morning	Rob Jones Junr	Hannah Shallcroff
	The Morning—	Aged 54 years & 7 days.	Joseph Cloud	Frances Cottman
			Matthias Keith	John Shallcross Jun
			Susannah Keith	Mary Clair
			Peter Cuff	
			James Paul	
	William Garrett Junior	William Garrett Junior		
	Departed this Life at	Departed this Life at		
	Robert E. Jones in	Robert E. Jones in		
	Darby the 4 <sup>th</sup> day of	Darby the 4 <sup>th</sup> day of		
	the first month Aged 32	the first month Aged 32		
	Years 9 months & 19	Years 9 months & 19		
	Days and was buried at	Days and was buried at		
	Darby 1806—	Darby 1806—		

NOTES ON THE PRICHETT OR PRICKETT FAMILY, OF NEW JERSEY.—The name of *Prichett* is to be found at an early date in Burlington County, New Jersey; it is evidently the same as that of Prickett in the Bible records given below, in which the same Christian names also occur. In Clement's "First Settlers in Newton Township, New Jersey," there is a list of marriages which do not appear in the index. On p. 406, Evesham Meeting, Burlington County, 1721, we find the marriage of Zachariah *Prichett* to Mary Troth; 1758, Jacob Prichett to Elizabeth Phillips; 1759, Brazilla *Prichett* to Sarah Sharp. See also p. 137, where it is stated that Sarah Cowperthwaite, daughter of John Cowperthwaite, married Josiah Prichett some time before 1781; he dying, she became the third wife of John Gill, of Haddonfield, in 1781. On p. 81 there is also mention of a Diana Pritchett, who married Joseph Collins probably before 1750. See also Stryker's "Officers and Men in the Revolutionary War," pp. 269 and 726, and Clarke's "Burial Inscriptions of Christ Church, Philadelphia;" "Christ Church Records, Burials," PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol VI. p. 348. A Josiah Prickett, from Burlington, was one of the founders of Cranberry, New Jersey, 1697; he sold out the following year (Barber and Howe's "History of the Colony of New Jersey," p. 320). This family may be descended from John Prickett, apparently of Gloucestershire, a persecuted Friend, in 1660 (see Besse's "Sufferings").

## FAMILY RECORD.

*Marriages.*

Josiah Prickitt and Mary C. Prickitt was married the 9<sup>th</sup> Day of November 1823.

*Births.*

Josiah Prickitt son of Jacob and Mary Prickitt was born the 6<sup>th</sup> Month 14<sup>th</sup>. 1796.

William L. Prickitt son of Josiah and Mary C. Prickitt was born 11<sup>th</sup>. Month 3<sup>rd</sup> 1824.

Mary C. Prickitt daughter of Joseph and Ann Prickitt was born 8<sup>th</sup>. Month 6<sup>th</sup> 1802.

Rachel L. Prickitt Daughter of Joseph Prickitt and Ann his wife was born September 1<sup>st</sup> 1806.

Joseph Prickitt Son of Zachariah and Mary his wife was born the 2<sup>nd</sup> Month the 13<sup>th</sup> Day 1766.

Ann Coverley Daughter of Job Coverley and Rebecca his wife was born the 2<sup>nd</sup> Month the 18<sup>th</sup> Day 1778.

Joseph Prickitt Son of Joseph Prickitt and Ann his wife was born the 2<sup>nd</sup>. month 19<sup>th</sup> Day 1800.

William L. Prickitt Son of Joseph Prickitt and Ann his wife was born the 12<sup>th</sup> Month the 16<sup>th</sup> Day 1808.

Edward D. Prickitt Son of Joseph Prickitt and Ann his wife was born January 16<sup>th</sup> 1816.

Wilkins Prickitt Son of Edmund D. Prickitt and Rachel his wife was born December 28<sup>th</sup> 1847.

Ellen Virginia Prickitt was born 12 mo 1<sup>st</sup> 1860.

*Deaths.*

Josiah Prickitt departed this life the 7<sup>th</sup> Month 10<sup>th</sup> 1825.

William L. Prickitt departed this life the 7<sup>th</sup> Month 28<sup>th</sup> 1825.

Mary C. Prickitt departed this Life the 18<sup>th</sup> of december 1839.

Rachel L. Prickitt Departed this life the 7<sup>th</sup> of march 1837.

Ann Prickitt wife of Joseph Prickitt departed this Life 25th of January 1843.

Joseph Prickitt Sen<sup>r</sup> Departed this Life the 1<sup>st</sup> Month the 31. Day 1826.

Joseph Prickitt Jun<sup>r</sup> Departed this Life the 12th Month, the 27th Day 1830.

William L. Prickitt Departed this Life the 1st Month the 28th Day 1823.

Jacob L. Wilkins Departed this Life 8th Mo 23<sup>rd</sup> 1853.

Rachel B. Prickitt wife of Edmond Departed this life August 10th 1858.

Edmund D. Prickitt departed this life April 16th. 1877.

**TILGHMAN.**—The following may be of interest to the Tilghman family, as the marriage license of the father of Richard Tilghman, the emigrant. (See London Marriage Licenses.)

“Oswald Tilghman, grocer, of St. Swithin, London Stone, bachelor, 32, father dead, and Abigail Tayler, of St. Austin by St. Paul Gate, maiden, 26, daughter of Francis Tayler, clerk, Vicar of Godalming, Surrey, Who consents—at St. Michael, Basingshaw. 13 Jan. 161 $\frac{1}{2}$ ” B.

**GOVERNOR COLDEN, OF NEW YORK.**—From a letter of R. L. Hooper, New York, August 10, 1774, we extract the following:

“Governor Colden & Mr. David Colden are at Flat Bush on Long Island, where I have spent my time since Monday Noon. The Governor is the best real Picture of an Old Man that I ever saw. He is 87 years old, has his hearing and senses as well as ever he had, without marks of age, except his eyes which grow dim & his head covered with strong white hair. His Madeira is excellent and he is no churl, indeed he pushed me so hard that I was obliged to shear off. . . .”

**LETTER OF JOHN SMITH TO SARAH LOGAN.**—The following letter was written to Sarah Logan, afterwards Norris, sister of Hannah Logan, whom John Smith afterwards married. The “Antient Friend of ours in the Country” was James Logan, of Stenton, the father of Hannah:

“PHILADA 1<sup>st</sup> mo: 11<sup>th</sup> 1747/8

“MY DEAR FRIEND

“I am not very well today otherwise should have waited upon thee, which I hope will apologize for my writing. I have lately heard of an Instance of thy Friendship for me, which hath made a very deep Impression on my mind. The kind and Good natured manner with which thou was pleased to speak of me to an Antient Friend of ours in the Country, as it was at a time when such a Character did me the most Service that it ever could, So it gives me an opportunity to know that true friendship may subsist without much outward show of it, and will manifest itself ready & willing to do service, when Occasion offers, Even when there is no probability of its coming to the Knowledge of the person so obliged. I thought I had many friends at Stenton, but cannot find that any ever gave such Testimonies of their Regard, as the Instance I am now speaking of. I wish I may have it in my power to shew thee by Actions as well as words, how much I Esteem my self in thy debt.

“I am Dear Sally Thy Loving & obliged Friend

“JOHN SMITH”



PORTRAIT OF LADY JULIANA PENN.—The portrait of Lady Juliana Penn, to be painted by Benjamin West for the Juliana Library Company, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, to which the following minutes relate, we believe was never executed:

“At a Quarterly Meeting of the Directors of the Juliana Library Company, at their Library Room, on Monday the 21<sup>st</sup> Day of December 1772.

“Present.

“Edward Shippen Esquire,  
 “The Rev<sup>d</sup> Thomas Barton,  
 “Adam Simon Kuhn Esquire,  
 “George Ross, Esquire,  
 “William Atlee Esquire,  
 “James Bickham Esquire,  
 “John Hopson,  
 “Barnard Hubley,  
 “William Bowsman,  
 “George Mayer.

“Resolved that, in Testimony of the great Affection and Esteem which this Company bear to the Right Honourable LADY JULIANA PENN, her Ladyship be addressed and requested to permit Mr. West to take her picture to be placed in the Company's Library Room.

“Resolved that Benjamin West Esq<sup>r</sup> of Pennsylvania now resident in London, be requested to wait on Lady Juliana Penn for Permission to take her Portrait, of the Size commonly called  $\frac{3}{4}$  Size, for the Juliana Library Company at Lancaster, and at their expense. And that Edward Shippen Esq<sup>r</sup> The Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. Barton & George Ross Esq<sup>r</sup> be a Committee to draw up and transmit the proper Addresses to Lady Juliana Penn and Mr. West with an Extract from the Minutes of this Meeting under the Company's Seal.

“An Extract from the Minutes of the Juliana Library Company in Lancaster

“Certified p

“WILL J. ATLEE  
 “Secretary.”

SOME OLD MEMORANDUMS, 1769.—

“PENNSYLVANIA ss.

“Whereas Benjamin Burgess has made application to me for the liberty of settling down on Canadegivinam Creek on the West side of Susquehanna River upon four or five Hundred acres of Land adjoining to & lying eastward of James Silvers Land; I favouring the said request do agree that the said Benjamin Burgess shall settle on the above mentioned Land and will order a patent to be Drawn for the same as soon as the Indian Claim shall be satisfied on the like terms that other Lands in those parts shall be granted. (Signed) THO PENN

“PHILADA<sup>a</sup>  
 “22<sup>d</sup> Octobr 1733”

*Memorandum on the back of the foregoing.*

“Memorandum / Charles Boyle requests me to make enquiry for Jack (or John) Nelson who heard had lived with or Crop'd it with one Smith or Johnson near within 2 mile of Christiana Creek.

“The s<sup>d</sup> Nelson is about 5 foot 10 Inches high long visaged Swarthy complexion long black hair with a large nose he former listed with Capt<sup>n</sup> Nelson.



"Mem<sup>m</sup> I must leave the mare at Ladabur's at the Sign of the Blasing Star or at Jonas Cattells in Gloster County near Woodberry."

*And attached is the following :*

"1769. Monday May 29<sup>th</sup> set off early to go up to the Allegeny Mountain to view some Lands belonging to the Creditors of Daniel Clark & value the same. Lodged at Edw<sup>d</sup> Hughes's—Expenses That Day 6/6  
 "Tus<sup>d</sup> 30. Lodgd at G. Fry's in Middle Town Exp<sup>r</sup> . . . 8/3  
 "Wen<sup>s</sup> 31. Lodg'd at Jn<sup>o</sup> Miller's—Exp<sup>r</sup> . . . 7/9  
 "Thurs. June 1<sup>st</sup> Lodgd at Esq<sup>r</sup> Maxwils—Exp<sup>r</sup> . . . 5/6  
 "Fry. June 2<sup>d</sup> Lodg'd at the Crossing of Juniatta—Exp<sup>r</sup> . . . 6/11  
 "1769. Saturday June 3<sup>d</sup> Arriv'd at Bedford fine clear weather Exp<sup>r</sup> 1/6  
 "Sun. 4<sup>th</sup> fine weather but warm Din'd at M<sup>r</sup> John Ormsby's . . .  
 "Mon. 5<sup>th</sup> Still at Bedford as one Fredergill had promis'd M<sup>r</sup> Clark to come in to go and shew the lands near the Shawney Cabins but did not come. M<sup>r</sup> Clark then wrote to Tho<sup>s</sup> Hays to do it & I made provision to go out.—paid for 2<sup>th</sup> of sugar 2/4 and for half a quire of paper 1/ p<sup>d</sup>.  
 "Tuse. 6<sup>th</sup> set off to go to the Shawney Cabbins—rain'd in the morning—we run part of the Survey made upon the old great road above Tho. Hays's & upon the Middlebranch."

A NOTE-BOOK OF DR. SAMUEL PRESTON MOORE contains the following extracts, which may possibly be of some service in fixing localities, or may have an interest from the prices of certain articles mentioned :

"1745. March 26. Ann Newall entered into the little brick Tenement in Mulberry Street at £4: 0: 0  $\text{p}$  Ann<sup>m</sup>; Philip Service a Dutchman takes Evan Morgan's Knoll at 20/  $\text{p}$  y<sup>r</sup> ending in y<sup>o</sup> Fall; Abram Coffin pays for Moreland £7.0.0; Phillip Trump will give 40/  $\text{p}$  acre for Abr. Coffin's & G. Free Land & pay 200 l. in the Fall; Dutch Church 60 by 138 on y<sup>o</sup> New Street 7/10 Ster<sup>s</sup> p a<sup>n</sup>n. 150 Ster<sup>s</sup> for to pchase out; E. Morgan in Race St. 60 by 250 Cherry Str. 540; Jn<sup>o</sup> Ross 40 by 150—216; . . . Smith the Elder dyed 1711 intestate & his Wid<sup>m</sup> administered; To a Doz. brass buttons—1.4; Jan<sup>y</sup> 15. 1745/6—Eng<sup>d</sup> for Jn<sup>o</sup> Newbery at R<sup>d</sup> Hays's in Strawberry Alley 3 weeks hence; Reese Meredith for W. Brougden's bills 45/6, £3.13.3; John Gold in mil'd money 4 £ Ster<sup>s</sup> 6.0.0; to Negro Sharper 2.10.0. By my Wife a Guinea 1.14.0; a bottle Snuff 0.6.0; 900 lb. Hay & hauling 5/; 14 Bus<sup>l</sup> Corn at 2; my Wife for her hoop 0.10.6; Searching Furnis & Bacon's Lots 0.2.6; my Wife for Caps & Stocks, 1.10.0; Lash to my Whip &<sup>o</sup> 0.4.0; half a pound Chocolat J. L., 0.0.11; Tavern Expenses 0.6.8; a poor Woman to redeem her bed 0.3.6; Contribution for mend<sup>s</sup> Mulberry Street pavement 40/3 posts 4/6; 4.2.0 Maryland exchanged for 2.14.8; 1 lb Tea 3/ Teapot 6/ 0.14.0; Pandasoy Scarff D; Norris 47/6; Rachel Moore's Perssian 2.0.0; Rob<sup>t</sup> Moore for 7 yd<sup>a</sup> Allopine 1.8.0; a Coffee pot 0.12.0; Katherine Owen for old Dick 6.10.6; a p<sup>r</sup> Thread Stockings 0.6.6; given for a public Wharfe on Vine Street 1.0.0; p<sup>d</sup> mending a Fan 0.6.0; W. Parsons for Searches & Return of Evan Owen's Lot in 3<sup>d</sup> Street 31 feet & 6 f. Market 0.18.6; Ed. Cathrell for Waistcoat 1.16.0; D<sup>o</sup> for Grandfather Preston 1.11.0; a p<sup>r</sup> Trowsers for Cha<sup>s</sup> 0.5.0; mend<sup>s</sup> Saddle 0.2.0; Barber 0.11.0; p<sup>d</sup> Peter Evans for Copy of his Uncle's Will 0.10.0; p<sup>d</sup> Kath. Owen for Old Negro Dick 3.5.3; p<sup>d</sup> Ll. Zachary for cloath<sup>s</sup> Old Dick his  $\frac{1}{2}$  1.18.0; p<sup>d</sup> Jo. Fox to repairing the pavement near our Grounds on Mulberry Str. it being done by public Contribut<sup>a</sup> his half is 1.2.3." T. S.

## Queries.

GLENN.—Information wanted regarding the family of Glenn, of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania. James Glenn, born in Renfrewshire, Scotland, circa 1540; had issue (beside a daughter, Elizabeth, married to Rev. Patrick Hamilton, minister at Enderwick, brother to James Hamilton, afterwards Lord Clandeboy, who, with Hugh Montgomery, planted County Down, Ireland, in 1606) a son, James Glenn, born circa 1570–1575, who accompanied his brother-in-law, Hamilton, to Ulster in 1606, and had a lease from the said James Hamilton of certain lands situate at East Holywood, in the Barony of Castlereagh, County Down, upon which he was living November 15, 1618 (15 James I.). He had issue, so far as ascertained, James, William, Archibald, Alexander, John, and probably David and Robert.

John is presumed to have been father to John Glenn, a merchant of Londonderry; died 1699, leaving issue, then minors. (*Vide* case Glenn *vs.* Glenn, Rec. Ct. Prob., Dub.)

James Glenn, son of James, of County Down, born circa 1607; had a son James, of Tyrone, whose son, John Glenn, born 1665, died before 1740, was of Donaghdry, Strabane, Tyrone. He married Jannet McCrea, and had issue: First. James, born circa 1693, went to Jamaica, West Indies, in 1718, and died there 1733–39. Second. Joseph, born circa 1695, removed to Mill Creek Hundred, New Castle County, Delaware, in 1736, and died there before 1740. Third. Robert, born circa 1697–1700, who also went to Mill Creek, Delaware, in 1740. Fourth. John, of Donaghdry. Fifth. David. Sixth. Walter. Seventh. Agnes, who married, before June 7, 1740, her cousin Arthur Glenn, of Cappah, in the said County of Tyrone.

Robert Glenn, the third son, was in New Castle October 24, 1740, and settled up his brother Joseph's estate, and is presumed to be identical with Robert Glenn, of New Castle County, who died intestate 1749, letters of administration upon whose estate were granted, May 18, 1749, to James Mahood and John McCray (McCrea), the latter evidently a relative of the decedent. The descendants of these last-mentioned Glenns, and probably the descendants of another brother, and a cousin who came later to New Castle, spread over Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania.

Robert Glenn came from New Castle and settled at Jarrettsville, Harford County, Maryland, before 1769, and another one of the family settled near Glenville, about three miles from Dublin, Harford County. A cousin of the first Robert Glenn—viz., William Glenn, "late of Rye Donegal, Ireland"—also settled in New Castle, and died intestate in 1774. There were also in New Castle, from 1660 to 1690, two William Glenns, a James Glenn, and a Thomas and John Glenn, all presumed descendants of Robert, Joseph, and William above named. The undersigned will be very thankful for any information concerning the above-mentioned persons or any of their descendants, or data concerning any other family of Glenn and descendants in the States named above.

Please address

THOMAS ALLEN GLENN,  
Ardmore, Pennsylvania, Post-Office Box 75.

MEETINGS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF  
PENNSYLVANIA, 1894.

A stated meeting of the Society was held January 8, 1894, President Charles J. Stillé in the chair.

Charlemagne Tower, Jr., was introduced and read a paper on "The Coming of Lafayette to America."

On motion of Vice-President Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, a vote of thanks was tendered.

President Stillé then read a minute commemorative of George de B. Keim, Esq., late a Vice-President of the Society.

Librarian Frederick D. Stone announced the following recent accessions: From the estate of the late Walter Gould, portraits of Kossuth and his staff-officers; letters and India-ink sketches, and twenty volumes of "Heraldry of Tuscany" and history; and the sword of General Hugh Mercer, deposited by the St. Andrew's Society.

The Hon. James T. Mitchell was elected a Trustee of the Publication Fund in the place of Brinton Coxe, Esq., deceased.

During the evening a number of valuable portraits of Lafayette, from the collection of Mr. Bement, were exhibited.

A stated meeting of the Society was held March 12, Vice-President Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker presiding.

Professor John Bach McMaster read a paper entitled "The Emigration to the Mississippi Valley from the Atlantic Coast," on the conclusion of which a vote of thanks was returned.

William Brooke Rawle, Esq., on behalf of the Council, read the new By-Laws recommended for adoption, which, under the rules, were laid over for action at the next meeting.

Nominations for officers of the Society, to be voted for at the next stated meeting, being in order, Theodore M. Etting, Esq., nominated the following:

*President.*

Charles J. Stillé.

*Honorary Vice-Presidents.*

Craig Biddle,

Ferdinand J. Dreer.

*Vice-Presidents (to serve for three years).*

Samuel W. Pennypacker,

William S. Baker,

Charlemagne Tower, Jr.

(For unexpired term of H. Gates Jones),

James T. Mitchell

(For unexpired term of George de B. Keim).



*Corresponding Secretary.*

Gregory B. Keen.

*Recording Secretary.*

Hampton L. Carson.

*Treasurer.*

J. Edward Carpenter.

*Members of Council (to serve four years).*

Edwin T. Eisenbrey,                      George Harrison Fisher,  
Charles Roberts.

*Trustees of the Publication and Binding Funds.*

Charles J. Stillé

(To serve six years),

James T. Mitchell

(For unexpired term of Brinton Coxe, Esq.).

No other nominations being made, the chair appointed tellers to conduct the election on May 7.

A special meeting of the Society was held April 30, President Charles J. Stillé in the chair.

Dr. Stillé read a paper entitled "Silas Deane, Diplomatist of the Revolution," on the conclusion of which a vote of thanks was tendered.

Librarian Frederick D. Stone announced that the Hon. Richard Vaux had presented to the Society the model for a monument to mark the site of the Treaty Elm at Shackamaxon, which is veneered with the wood of the elm-tree; and a valuable collection of historical views of places of note and interest in Philadelphia. To be preserved as a memorial of Roberts Vaux, a founder of the Society.

Dr. Charles King, a grandson of the Hon. Rufus King, presented three medals which were struck in 1797, during Washington's second administration, to be presented to the Indians at treaties. The medals were accompanied by letters showing that they had been designed by John Trumbull and approved by Benjamin West.

A vote of thanks was unanimously passed to the donors for their valuable gifts.

The annual meeting of the Society was held May 7, President Charles J. Stillé presiding.

Professor Gregory B. Keen read the annual report of the Council, which was directed to be spread on the minutes of the Society.

The new By-Laws recommended by the Council were presented for



consideration; each article was voted on separately, and, as a whole, were adopted.

Francis H. Williams was elected Auditor of the Society.

The tellers appointed to conduct the annual election reported that the gentlemen nominated at the last stated meeting had been unanimously elected.

A stated meeting of the Society was held November 12, President Charles J. Stillé presiding.

Librarian Frederick D. Stone announced the death of Samuel L. Smedley, for many years Recording Secretary of the Society, who by will bequeathed six thousand dollars to the Society, the interest of which is to be expended for genealogical purposes; and also a copy of a treatise on canal navigation, which was presented by the author, Robert Fulton, to President Washington.

The death of the Hon. John Clement, of Haddonfield, New Jersey, was also announced, and his bequest to the Society of his collection of historical and genealogical manuscripts, one of the largest and most valuable in West Jersey.

By the will of our late fellow-member, Edward J. Strickland, the Society receives five hundred dollars.

An upright clock, which belonged to President Jefferson and stood in his bedroom at Monticello at the time of his death, was presented to the Society at the request of the late William Ladam Dunglison.

From the estate of William Henry Schively we have received files of newspapers and a large collection of matter relative to the Centennial celebration.

Mr. John Sartain was then introduced and read a paper entitled "Reminiscences of my English Life," after which a vote of thanks was tendered.

A special meeting of the Society was held December 10, President Stillé presiding.

Mr. John Sartain read a paper entitled "Reminiscences of my American Life," at the conclusion of which a vote of thanks was passed.

OFFICERS  
OF  
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

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CHARLES J. STILLÉ.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS.

CRAIG BIDDLE,

FERDINAND J. DREER.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER,

ISAAC CRAIG,

WILLIAM S. BAKER,

HENRY C. LEA,

JAMES T. MITCHELL,

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CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

GREGORY B. KEEN.

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HAMPTON L. CARSON.

TREASURER.

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ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN.

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TRUSTEES OF THE ENDOWMENT FUND.

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TRUSTEES OF THE FERDINAND J. DREER COLLECTION  
OF AUTOGRAPHS.

HAMPTON L. CARSON, WILLIAM BROOKE RAWLE,  
FREDERICK D. STONE, GREGORY B. KEEN,  
EDWIN GREBLE DREER.

STATED MEETINGS.

January 14, 1895. May 13, 1895.  
March 11, 1895. November 11, 1895.  
January 13, 1896.

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Annual membership . . . . .	\$5.00
Life membership . . . . .	50.00
Publication Fund, life subscription . . . . .	25.00
Pennsylvania Magazine, per annum . . . . .	3.00

Payments may be made to the Librarian, at the Hall, 1300 Locust Street, or to the Collector.

## EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE TO THE COUNCIL.

*Statement of Finances, December 31, 1893.*

DR.

The Treasurer and Trustees charge themselves with the following:

To Real Estate . . . . .	\$131,701 41
To Investments . . . . .	92,854 28
To Cash . . . . .	9,320 46

CR.

The Treasurer and Trustees claim credit for:

General Fund, Capital Invested . . . . .	\$5,500 00
"    "    Loan Account to Real Estate . . . . .	5,500 00
"    "    Cash, Interest Account . . . . .	20 32
Binding Fund, Capital Invested . . . . .	5,300 00
"    "    Cash, Interest Account . . . . .	259 18
Library Fund, Capital Invested . . . . .	14,000 00
"    "    "    Uninvested . . . . .	2,000 00
"    "    Cash, Interest Account . . . . .	266 10
Publication Fund, Capital Invested . . . . .	35,054 28
"    "    "    Uninvested . . . . .	1,485 47
"    "    Cash, Interest Account . . . . .	2,384 18
Endowment Fund, Capital Invested . . . . .	33,000 00
"    "    Cash, Capital Account . . . . .	2,195 03
Investments of Real Estate . . . . .	126,201 41
Balance Donation for Harleian Publications . . . . .	58 00
"    in hands of Treasurer, Real Estate Account . . . . .	193 42
Church Records Fund . . . . .	100 00
Sundries . . . . .	358 76
	\$233,876 15
	\$233,876 15



*General Fund.*

Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1893 . . . . .	\$106 36
Annual Dues, 1893 . . . . .	6,700 00
Interest and Dividends . . . . .	821 35
Trustees Endowment Fund . . . . .	1,400 35
Donations . . . . .	765 99
	<hr/>
	\$9,794 05
Disbursements: General Expenses and Taxes for 1893 . . . . .	9,773 73
	<hr/>
Balance in hands of Treasurer . . . . .	\$20 32

*Binding Fund.*

Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1893 . . . . .	\$165 63
Interest and Dividends . . . . .	313 00
	<hr/>
	\$478 63
Disbursements for Binding, 1893 . . . . .	219 45
	<hr/>
Balance in hands of Trustees . . . . .	\$259 18

*Library Fund.*

Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1893 . . . . .	\$127 72
Interest, Dividends, and Sales . . . . .	870 75
	<hr/>
	\$998 47
Disbursements: Books purchased in 1893 . . . . .	732 37
	<hr/>
Balance in hands of Trustees . . . . .	\$266 10

*Publication Fund.*

Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1893 . . . . .	\$1,821 44
Interest, Dividends, and Rents . . . . .	2,118 36
Subscriptions to Magazine, etc. . . . .	874 14
	<hr/>
	\$4,813 94
Disbursements for 1893 . . . . .	2,429 76
	<hr/>
Balance in hands of Trustees . . . . .	\$2,384 18

*Endowment Fund.*

Receipts: Interest and Dividends . . . . .	\$1,537 85
Disbursements: Paid to Treasurer of General Fund . . . . .	1,537 85

*Church Records Fund.*

Cash on hand, January 1, 1893 . . . . .	\$100 00
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