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THE  
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HON. JAMES TYNDALE MITCHELL, LL.D.,

SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA;  
LATE CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF PENNSYLVANIA.

BY HON. HAMPTON L. CARSON.

Mr. President, Fellow Members of the Historical Society, and Distinguished Guests of the Bench and Bar:

We have met tonight to do honor to the memory of one who for nineteen years was our Senior Vice President—from November 12, 1896, to July 4, 1915—and who for fifty-five years was in close personal and official relationship to our active work. Beginning with a life membership in 1859, when he was but twenty-five years of age, he was elected a member of the Council in 1881, becoming President of the Council in 1883, and holding that office until his death; filling acceptably, as manifested by successive re-elections, one of the Vice Presidencies of the Society until, through the deaths of Judge Craig Biddle and Dr. Henry Charles Lea, he attained seniority in 1896, becoming at the same time a Trustee of the Gilpin Library. During all these years he was in hearty sympathy with our purposes, and by generous gifts added substantially to our treasures.





A profound student of the history of Pennsylvania, particularly in the department of biography, he was one of the few who brought to the illumination of his work the taste and the knowledge of a collector of prints, manuscripts, autograph letters and pamphlets, and that accurate familiarity with the details of our development as a Commonwealth which such an amiable mania is sure to bestow. He exploited no theories, he defended no vagaries, he chased no rainbows, but reached his historical conclusions after cautious examination of the facts and a skilful and critical comparison of the most approved authorities. His views rested upon a basis which the majority of scholars would accept as sound and sane.

James Tyndale Mitchell, born at Belleville, Illinois, on November 9, 1834, was the son of Edward P. Mitchell and Elizabeth Tyndale who had been married in Philadelphia, the home of the bride, by Bishop White in 1833. His paternal grandfather, James Mitchell, had gone many years before from Roanoke, Virginia, to what was then a far distant western state, and there established himself in business with his son Edward as an associate. Some years later, the climate proving unsuited to Mrs. Edward P. Mitchell, the young couple with their infant son came to Philadelphia, where Robinson Tyndale, the maternal grandfather of the future Chief Justice, was extensively engaged as a wholesale and retail dealer in china and glass, importing Canton and Nankin wares as a specialty. After the death of Robinson Tyndale, Edward P. Mitchell entered into co-partnership with his brother-in-law, the gallant Pennsylvania soldier, Hector Tyndale, under the firm name of Tyndale & Mitchell. The maternal stock was sprung from that sturdy strain which marked William Tyndale, the martyr, who after translating the Bible was burned at the stake for heresy, and which in later years produced Professor John Tyndall, the scientist.



The stock of the maternal grandmother was descended from Samuel Jennings, pro-proprietary Governor of New Jersey, and was related to the families of Biles and Langhorne, in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, so well known among the early colonists, as well as to Thomas Stevenson and William Thorne, among the early patentees of Flushing and Hempstead on Long Island.

Edward P. Mitchell, besides business capacity, possessed literary tastes which were manifested by contributions to the Knickerbocker Magazine under the pen name of Ralph of Roanoke. His intimate friend was Joseph C. Neal, of Neal's Gazette, and their circle was enlarged by William C. Graham of Graham's Magazine and Louis A. Godey, so long known as the editor of Godey's Lady Book. The commingling of these ancestral traits produced an interesting result; the subject of this sketch all through his life wielded "the pen of a ready writer," illustrating his own remark "that books were written by men who had a call to write and who sought in that way to pay their debt to their profession." From his father he also inherited his geniality, his sense of humor, and his imperturbable good nature. From his mother, whom I am told he greatly resembled in his open-handed generosity to those in need, he inherited his quiet manners and self-repression. His grandfather Tyndale used to call him the "little judge," when as a fair-haired child he sat silently attentive beside him in front of the fireplace.

Judge Mitchell's early education was received at the Zane Street Grammar School, Philadelphia, under the mastership of Dr. Samuel Jones, a brother of the Hon. Joel Jones, who had been a judge of the District Court and Mayor of Philadelphia. In February, 1848, he was admitted into the Central High School, and four years later graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. He then entered the Sophomore Class at Harvard University and graduated in July 1855. Among



his classmates were Alexander Agassiz, Francis C. Barlow, Phillips Brooks, Theodore Lyman, Robert Treat Paine, and Charles Francis Adams. Mitchell stood five in the class, which graduated sixty-nine members. At that time C. C. Felton was professor of Greek; Longfellow was professor of French and Spanish Languages and Literature; Benjamin Pierce was the professor of Mathematics, and the greatest mathematician of his day; Asa Gray taught Botany; Francis J. Childs, afterwards eminent in Anglo-Saxon studies, was professor of Rhetoric; Oliver Wendell Holmes was professor of Anatomy, and Bishop Huntingdon was preacher to the University and professor of Christian Morals. Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw was a member of the Governing Board, Benjamin Robbins Curtis having resigned but a short time before to become an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. Besides Longfellow and Dr. Holmes, Judge Mitchell doubtless constantly saw Ralph Waldo Emerson and James Russell Lowell.

Judge Mitchell served as an Overseer of Harvard University from 1905 to 1912, and in 1901, June 4th, received the degree of LL.D. from his Alma Mater.

In October, 1855, he was registered as a law student in the office of George W. Biddle, Esq., a courtly and accomplished gentleman, who succeeded Mr. Wm. M. Meredith in professional leadership, and on November 10, 1857, was admitted to the Bar of Philadelphia—his fellow students of that year being thirty-eight in number, of whom William B. Hanna and William N. Ashman reached the highest judicial station in our Orphans' Court, John K. Valentine the office of United States District Attorney, James Parsons a professorship of Law in the University of Pennsylvania and a registership in Bankruptcy, and Joshua T. Owen a seat in Congress.

Mr. Mitchell's course of study was, as he himself



calls it, "old-fashioned." He began with Blackstone, and accustomed as he was to a daily lesson of fifty pages of Hume's History of England, he found the first book a task "far from hard." With the second book he "stepped into a new world." He read it "six times consecutively and practically learned it by heart" before he was allowed to go to the third book. After that he "spent four solid months on Coke upon Littleton." "But it was not time ill spent," as he once earnestly asserted, "A good deal of it was antiquated, but it laid the foundation of knowledge of the system upon which the English Common Law is built." Then Blackstone again, after which Kent, Smith on Contracts, Adams on Equity, Hale's Pleas of the Crown, Foster's Crown Law, Greenleaf's Evidence, and "the most perfect law book that was ever written," Stephen on Pleading. "How antiquated," he exclaims, "that curriculum sounds now!" But the rule then was *multum non multa*, words which Judge Sharswood had emphasized as the cardinal maxim for law students in his famous lectures at the Law School, and repeated at the head of his Course of Legal Study in Appendix II to his classic essay on Professional Ethics. In short, the school of lawyers to which Mr. Mitchell belonged was the school of Sharswood, the school of Gibson, the school of Tilghman, the school of Binney. Their devotion to the maxim of *stare decisis* was not based upon a blind adherence to the past, nor upon an unquestioning Toryism, but upon an abhorrence of judicial legislation, which Tilghman, as Mr. Binney tells, us, "dreaded as an implication of his conscience," a reverence for the sacredness of the boundary lines between the judiciary and the legislature, and a horror of the acts of positive injustice as well as violations of law resulting from a usurpation by one branch of the government upon the powers of another. This is the keynote to the most impressive and important of Mr. Mitchell's judicial utter-







ances, and his ear became attuned to it in his early student days.

In 1860 he received the degree of Bachelor of Laws from the University of Pennsylvania, where he had enjoyed the teachings of Sharswood, of E. Spencer Miller and Peter McCall. In the same year he became a clerk or an assistant to the City Solicitor of Philadelphia, the well-known Charles E. Lex, and held the place for three years, relinquishing it to become the editor-in-chief of *The Law Register*, a post which he held for twenty-five years. How deeply he was indebted to this experience, as well as to his position as one of the editors of *The Weekly Notes of Cases* from 1875 to 1899, in the practical mastery of legal principles, he has frequently admitted in familiar conversations with those interested in the development of his career. In 1865, as the successor of the late Samuel Dickson, and for the eight years following, he was the Librarian of The Law Association of Philadelphia and here found the opportunity of touching, tasting, and digesting those ancient sages of the law which were the delight of the learned John William Wallace and upon which was based the latter's extraordinary book, *The Reporters*, so honorable to American legal scholarship, "a classic," as Mr. Mitchell himself called it, "more interesting to a lawyer than an ordinary novel."

Under such surroundings, "with a very moderate experience in the active litigation of the Court Room," but where he had the opportunity of observing the conduct and manner of Messrs. George M. Wharton, Henry M. Phillips, St. George Tucker Campbell and William L. Hirst—the "Big Four," as he humorously called them, "who were in every case"—and with what he modestly called "a fair degree of book knowledge," Mr. Mitchell confided to an intimate but politically influential friend at the bar his ambition to go upon the bench. Fortunately, owing to this friend's loyal in-



sistence, with the aid of another friend equally powerful politically, that ambition was realized; and in 1871 he ascended the bench through election to the District Court of Philadelphia, then presided over by that truly profound jurist, the Hon. J. I. Clark Hare, and with Judges George M. Stroud and M. Russell Thayer as associates. A strong court indeed as thus constituted, and when, in accordance with the "New Constitution" adopted in 1873, the District Court was abolished and the judges were transferred to the new courts of Common Pleas, it fell to the lot of Mr. Mitchell, the junior judge, to deliver an address at the final adjournment of the District Court, January 4, 1875, which sketched the history of the tribunal from its establishment in 1811 in a manner which, if nothing else had proceeded from his pen, would have fully established his fitness for historical legal work. His labors in this line reached their fitting climax in two notable addresses—twin peaks of achievement—in the Eulogium upon John Marshall, delivered February 4, 1901, in which he unhesitatingly claimed for Marshall "the foremost place in the list of eminent judges," and the Historical Address at the centennial celebration of The Law Association of Philadelphia, in which with the strokes of a master's brush he delineated the characters and the acts of many remarkable men who during one hundred years had united in corporate efforts in the best interests of the bar and the profession of the law.

In the shifting of the judges from the old courts to the new Judge Mitchell became a member of Court of Common Pleas No. 2 of Philadelphia County, with Judge Hare as its President, and with a new colleague, Joseph T. Pratt, who, dying three years afterwards, was succeeded by D. Newlin Fell. Here for thirteen years—from 1875 to 1888—he sat as a member of a court of original jurisdiction, acquiring that special kind of experience which, while not indispensable, has



proved so frequently to be the best preparation for the tasks of an appellate judge. There, in the closest contact with life and with men that comes from the daily exhibition in flesh, blood and speech, of human nature in all its varieties of good and evil, he learned a lesson, "a lesson to be learned, a lesson of wisdom," as he himself once told us, "for a judge, old or young, to keep his hands off; to let each man fight his fight in his own way, and the judge not to interfere unless he is called upon to do so." Of his qualities as a *Nisi Prius* judge it would be impossible to speak too highly. I refer not simply to his learning and ability, his patience and courtesy, his dignity and tact, his disposition of motions promptly and properly, his methodical ways and diligent performance, his happy mingling of conciliation with control—this rare blend of qualities he possessed—but I refer more particularly to his power to expedite business without grappling with counsel, his power of self-repression, believing with Bacon that "it is no credit to a judge to anticipate that which, if he be patient, he will in due time hear from the Bar," his unwavering attention to the evidence, his avoidance of the risks of injustice from a failure to listen and to hear, his respect for the rights of counsel to develop their points as they had prepared them, knowing well that no two minds ever approached a subject in the same way any more than that two men walked alike or saw alike; his realization that a trial in court was a civilized substitute for physical strife, that litigants would more cheerfully acquiesce in an adverse verdict if given a full chance to be heard and that a trial judge's time for action, apart from the necessary rulings upon points of evidence when raised by the Bar, was when, after the advocate's hour had passed, the time for the intervention of the magistrate had arrived, thus avoiding prolonged preliminary discussions, the confusion, mental and physical, which results from derailing an





argument even though it be circuitous or timid, and, above all, avoiding those burnings of the heart and those bitter and at times ill-repressed feelings which spring from a conviction, whether right or wrong, that the judge had lost his balance and had leaped to a conclusion. "It is better, far better," said Joseph Allison, an eminent judge now gone, "that the defeated suitor should leave my court room satisfied that he had been fully heard, than that I should save an hour or even a day of the public time. That phrase 'the public time' is a misnomer, the time belongs to the litigants who have paid for their writs and their subpoenas. It is to satisfy them with the result that courts are open."

Judge Mitchell's charges to juries were models of their kind. His voice was clear, his language simple, his arrangement orderly, his reduction of broken masses of matter complete, his summing-up of conflicting evidence fairly balanced, his statements of the law free from subtle distinctions, his affirmation or refusal of points precise and intelligible—a strain of clear, unbroken fluency presenting alike, in most luminous order, all the essential phases of the contention.

Aside from Judge Mitchell's work at Nisi Prius, mention should be made of the value of his work *in banc*. This was enhanced by his well-known brochure upon Motions and Rules, a handbook of practice for Pennsylvania judges in every county of the state, and an indispensable aid to practitioners old and young. Just as in chemistry a solvent will clarify a turbid liquid, so that book performed the inestimable service of settling practice at a time when four separate courts were struggling to establish rules.

Judge Mitchell had the assistance of two remarkable colleagues—Judges Hare and Fell. The former, who was the President of the Court, was a man whom Justice Mitchell years afterwards in *Forepaugh vs. The Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad*





Company, 128 Pa. 217 (A. D. 1889), called "the most learned living jurist," a man whose intellectual interest in the questions discussed in the Motion lists, and whose legal omniscience were such as to result in displays which recalled Buller's description of Lord Mansfield in the King's Bench, "where propositions were stated, discussed, and reasoned upon until the hearers were lost in admiration of the strength and stretch of the human understanding," or, as Thurlow used to say, "Lord Mansfield was a surprising man; ninety-nine times out of a hundred he was right in his opinions and decisions and, when once in a hundred times he was wrong, ninety-nine men out of a hundred would not discover it." Of Judge Fell it is only necessary to say that at Nisi Prius he had Mitchell's best qualities; *in banc* his strong sense and close attention to the facts were relied on by Judge Hare, and on his recent retirement as Chief Justice the Bar paid fitting tribute to his exalted worth as a judge and his lovable qualities as a man.

At the general election on November 6, 1888, Judge Mitchell was chosen an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, and in the following January he took his seat, his commission being dated January 7, 1889. At the same time the Hon. Edward M. Paxson became Chief Justice, and the associates were James P. Sterrett, Henry Green, Silas M. Clark, Henry W. Williams, and J. Brewster McCollum, the last named having been chosen at the same time as Justice Mitchell, but drawing precedence of place by lot.

I now propose to classify the most important of Justice Mitchell's opinions under several leading heads designed to indicate their scope and character. They are to be found scattered through 104 volumes of reports, from 124 Pa. to 228 Pa. inclusive, covering the full period of twenty-one years. I have ascertained by an actual count that he participated in the decision



of 11,580 cases, delivered opinions in 981, of which thirty-four were written dissents, and dissented in 108 cases without opinions; this was at the average of forty-eight written opinions a year. Of course his colleagues, except one or two of them who were deterred by illness, an affliction unknown by Mitchell, maintained an equal average. It is an impressive proof of the way in which the business of our great tribunal has grown with the expansion of the Commonwealth when we recall the facts that Chief Justice Tilghman with two and later with three associates, during twenty-one years of joint services, from 1806 to 1827, had their labors reported in twenty-one volumes; that Chief Justice Gibson and his three and later four associates, serving for a period of twenty-four years, from 1827 to 1851, filled fifty volumes of reports; that Chief Justice Black and his four associates during three years, from 1851 to 1854, filled ten volumes, and that Chief Justice Mitchell and his six associates in twenty-one years filled 104 volumes.

It is proper to say to those of this audience who are not lawyers that it must not be understood that the opinions of Justice Mitchell were peculiar to himself. They were the statements of the conclusions reached by his colleagues, or a majority of them, and himself, in the cases presented. No judge is at liberty to indulge in the fancies of a poet, the metaphysics of a philosopher, the theories of a social reformer, or the efforts of a legislator. He is the servant as well as the oracle of the law, which, while not an exact science like mathematics or physics, is none the less a science which aims to secure human happiness, and safety for life, limb, and property by the enforcement of stable rules and not by whim, caprice, or individual opinions. The decision of a case is the determination by a court, after argument and consultation, of the rights of the parties as measured and controlled by law, and the judge who



delivers the opinion is but the mouthpiece of the court and is sustained by its authority. That which is personal and individual to a judge is his method of statement, his selection of illustrations, the spirit which pervades his style, and all those intangible but persistent characteristics which make him what he is as distinguished from his brethren. With this caution against the impression that a judicial opinion is ever written with the freedom of an Essay by Macaulay, or a Constitutional History by Hallam, or a criticism by Andrew Lang, I turn now to the opinions of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania as written by Justice Mitchell, selecting but a few specimens from a veritable mine of wealth.

#### I. CONTROL OF COURTS AND THEIR CONSTITUENT PARTS.

A. *As to Judges.* In *Stedman vs. Poterie*, 139 Pa. 100 (A. D. 1890), he fully recognized the power of courts to establish rules for the conduct of their proceedings, and argued that elastic rather than rigid construction should prevail in their application, but he did not favor strained constructions to reach an end. Thus, in *Comm. vs. Eckerd*, 174 Pa. 137 (1896), he declared: "When the law of England punished even petty larcenies with death, the humanity of judges sought to mitigate its Draconian severity, in advance of legislative reform, by extreme technicality in favor of life, but the necessity for that has gone by. The law is and always will be careful of prisoners' rights and tender of human life, but in the present day of mild punishments and scrupulous if not cowardly juries, who shrink from the performance of plain but disagreeable duties, there is no occasion for courts to strain unsubstantial technicalities in favor of criminals whose guilt is clear, and whose defences will not stand the test of common sense and credibility." But when a judge, even though actuated by the most laudable



motives, of his own motion initiated an investigation for the correction of evils in the administration of justice, and had proceeded irregularly without notice and without hearing any of the parties to be affected, Mr. Justice Mitchell expressed himself thus, in Franklin's Appeal, 163 Pa. 1 (A. D. 1894): "Grosser violations of all judicial principles, short of actual dishonesty, cannot be conceived. No citizen could be deprived of the most trifling right, nor the meanest criminal be condemned by an adjudication first and a hearing afterwards; yet in this case the money rights of sworn public officers, and the reputation of a member of an honorable profession are sought to be taken away by such method. Even if the results reached were correct, the method could not be tolerated. . . . A judge never serves either law or justice by proceeding lawlessly, or forgetting that a court is a tribunal where justice is judicially administered. Actual justice may be done and sometimes effectively by the summary action of a vigilance committee or a mob of lynchers, but it is not done judicially, and the dangers are such as no civilized community can afford to tolerate. Deliberate and orderly proceedings, including as a foremost requisite a full and impartial hearing before judgment, are the inviolable safeguards of public justice as well as of individual liberty." In the same line of exalted rebuke were his utterances in *Comm. vs. Smith*, 185 Pa. 553 (A. D. 1898), where there was an attempt to investigate a charge of jury fixing. He said: "The examination of L. J. Walker before this self-constituted tribunal reads less like a proceeding in a Pennsylvania court of law than like a page from the recent trial of M. Zola which shocked the sense of justice of the civilized world. It will not do to say that these proceedings were in the interest of the public for the exposure of a great wrong. We have not the least doubt that they were in good faith so intended, and many very







worthy people may think them justified for that reason. But they were none the less illegal, and it is none the less our duty to say so with emphasis. No man, even for the accomplishment of a great good, can be permitted to set himself above the law, and least of all the judge appointed to administer it. The French or Continental system of putting on the witness stand the person to whom the evidence or even suspicion points, and there subjecting him to an inquisitorial examination by the judges, as well as by the prosecutor, has very great and manifest advantages for the detection and punishment of crime. . . . But the system carries with it such danger to innocence, and to individual liberty, that it has never been tolerated in the common law of England and America, and has been expressly prohibited by safeguards written into every constitution of this commonwealth since 1776.”

B. *As to the Bar.* His control of the Bar was equally vigorous. In *Comm. vs. Hill*, 185 Pa. 385 (A. D. 1898), he said: “The duty of counsel is to see that his client is tried with proper observance of his legal rights, and not convicted except in strict accordance with law. His duty to his client requires him to do this much, his duty to the court forbids him to do more. An independent and fearless Bar is a necessary part of the heritage of a people free by the standards of Anglo-Saxon freedom, and courts must allow a large latitude to the individual judgment of counsel in determining his action, but it must never be lost sight of that there is a corresponding obligation to the court which is violated by excessive zeal or perverted ingenuity that seeks to delay or evade the due course of legal justice.” In *Scouten’s Appeal*, 186 Pa. 270 (A. D. 1898), he declared: “The Bar have great liberty and high privileges in the assertion of their clients’ rights as they view them, but on the other hand they have equal obligations as officers in the adminis-



tration of justice, and no duty is more fundamental, more unremitting or more imperative than that of respectful subordination to the court. The foundation of liberty under our system of government is respect for the law as officially pronounced. The counsel in any case may or may not be an abler or more learned lawyer than the judge, and it may tax his patience and his temper to submit to rulings which he regards as incorrect, but discipline and self-restraint are as necessary to the orderly administration of justice as they are to the effectiveness of an army. The decisions of the judge must be obeyed because he is the tribunal appointed to decide, and the Bar should at all times be the foremost in rendering respectful submission."

C. *As to Juries.* His long and varied experience as a trial judge had made him familiar with all the merits and weaknesses of the jury system, and as to these he expressed himself with refreshing frankness. In *Sharpless' Estate*, 134 Pa. 250 (A. D. 1890), where an apparently serious conflict of evidence was presented in support of an application for an issue of *devisavit vel non*, he paid the following tribute to the superiority of a trial by jury to an effort by judges to determine facts as presented upon paper: "Looking at the whole evidence as put before us in print, we do not think we can safely say that the balance is not doubtful. So much depends upon the means of knowledge, the interest or bias, the manner, the character and the personal weight which each witness carries as an individual among his neighbors and in the community, that a jury is the only appropriate tribunal, in such a case, to determine which way the balance inclines. Having the testimony present to their eyes as well as to their ears, the truth may be made manifest beyond any substantial doubt; and the judge, who will still have the same advantage, will still have the final result within his control. To decide it now, as presented,



would be to decide it in the dusk, if not in the dark, when full daylight is at hand.”

In *Shultz vs. Wall*, 134 Pa. 262 (A. D. 1890), he declared: “Jurors are to exercise the same common sense and judgment in the jury box that they do as men in the affairs of life, only with a strict regard, under the direction of the court, to the nature, relevancy, and weight of evidence upon both sides. They cannot base verdicts on surmise or conjecture without evidence, but they are not bound to believe an incredible story because no witness contradicts it.”

*Sympathetic Verdicts.* On the other hand, he was equally clear and firm in setting aside verdicts based upon sympathy and excitement, or upon a misconception of power. In *Smith vs. The Times Publishing Company*, 178 Pa. 481 (A. D. 1897), he traced the history of the constitutional provision that “trial by jury shall be as heretofore, and the right thereof remain inviolate,” and after pointing out that the jury as an institution had been frequently commented upon by the most learned of historians as one of the most remarkable in the history of the world, for the length of time which it has existed, and the zealous care with which it has been cherished by the English-speaking race, he showed by equally reputable authority that the power of courts to control and revise excessive verdicts through the means of new trials had been firmly settled in England before the foundation of Pennsylvania as a colony, and had always existed here without challenge under any of our constitutions. He declared: “It is a power to examine the whole case on the law and the evidence, with a view to securing a result not merely legal, but also not manifestly against justice, a power exercised in pursuance of a sound judicial discretion without which the jury system would be a conspicuous and intolerable tyranny which no people could long endure.”



In *Hennershotz vs. Gallagher*, 124 Pa. 1 (A. D. 1889), which was the first case he decided in the Supreme Court, he emphatically declared: "Juries cannot be allowed to guess at verdicts without legal evidence, and especially should the rule not be relaxed where both parties were present on the witness stand, and were silent when they could have given clear information if they had chosen to speak." Again, in *Collins vs. Leafey*, 124 Pa. 203 (A. D. 1889), he said: "A jury ought not to assume that 'it was negligence in law not to prevent an accident.' The tendency of juries to suppose that they may be generous rather than just is so strong, that it is not error to lay down for the guidance of the jury, in the most explicit terms, the limitation of their verdict to compensation and compensation alone."

In *Fox vs. Borkey*, 126 Pa. 164 (A. D. 1889), he dealt with a verdict in this fashion: "This is one of those verdicts, unfortunately too frequent, which are dictated by the sympathies and not by the common sense of juries. . . . It is manifest that the jury themselves did not believe in the plaintiff's case, but, on the communistic principle that as somebody was hurt, somebody else, right or wrong, ought to pay for it, rendered a verdict which in no possible view of the case did justice to either party. It is the duty of courts to handle such cases without gloves." So too, in *Collins vs. Chartiers Gas Co.*, 131 Pa. 143 (A. D. 1890), he said: "It may be well to say that in cases of this nature, juries should be held with a firm hand to real cases of negligence within the exception, and not allowed to pare down the general rule by sympathetic verdicts in cases of loss or hardship from the proper exercise of clear rights."

*Negligence.* In cases of alleged negligence on the part of employers, where damages were sought by an injured employee, he laid down the doctrine: "Absolute safety is unattainable, and employers are not insurers.







They are liable for the consequences not of danger, but of negligence, and the unbending test of negligence in methods, machinery and appliances is the ordinary usage of the business. No man is held to a higher degree of skill than the fair average of his profession or trade, and the standard of due care is the conduct of the average prudent man. . . . No jury can be permitted to say that the usual and ordinary way, commonly adopted by those in the same business, is a negligent way for which liability shall be imposed. Juries must necessarily determine the responsibility of individual conduct, but they cannot be allowed to set up a standard which shall, in effect, dictate the customs or control the business of the community." *Titus vs. R. R. Co.*, 136 Pa. 618 (A. D. 1890). He repeated this concisely in *Ford vs. Anderson*, 139 Pa. 260 (A. D. 1891), in the words: "The ground of liability is not danger, but negligence, and the test of negligence is the ordinary usage of business." The same thought was expressed in *Reese vs. Hershey*, 163 Pa. 253 (A. D. 1894): "The average untrained mind is apt to take the fact of injury as sufficient evidence of negligence. Moreover the use of a dangerous machine is very commonly considered ground for holding the employer responsible, whereas, the test of liability is not danger, but negligence, and negligence can never be imputed from the employment of methods or machinery in general use in the business."

*Will Contests.* In no class of cases was he happier in expression, in dealing with the frailties of juries, than in Will contests. In *Elcessor vs. Elcessor*, 146 Pa. 359 (A. D. 1892), he wrote: "Unfortunately, to redistribute a man's property after he is dead, in a manner different from that which he has chosen to do for himself, is one of the things that few juries can resist if they are allowed an opportunity; and this is a class of cases in which the jury must not only be held with a strong

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hand to a decision in accordance with the evidence, but also in which care must be taken not to give them a chance to decide, except upon evidence strictly competent. . . . This State has been reasonably free from disgraceful scrambles over the property of dead men who passed as men of business character and capacity while they lived, and it is the duty of courts to see that no encouragement is given to any but really well-founded contests." In *Fidelity Co. vs. Weitzel*, 152 Pa. 498 (A. D. 1893), he was particularly forcible: "The tendency so notorious in juries to substitute their own notions in disposing of other people's estates differently from the way in which the owners themselves have done, is so insidious, as well as so strong, that even Courts of Equity have need to be on guard against it. Equity intervenes justly and properly to protect the weak and the aged against imposition by designing people, and even against manifest improvidence though there is no actual fraud in the other party. But on the other hand, it is not to be forgotten that the free control and disposition of property is often the sole means in the hands of age to secure kindly care and attention, as well as support from others, when greedy relations ignore the claims of relationship to the living but devote themselves with persistent assiduity to the estate after death."

So much for the regulation of the conduct of juries in civil cases. I turn now to the power and *rights of juries in criminal cases*. In the case of *Comm. vs. McManus*, 143 Pa. 64 (A. D. 1891), he delivered a concurring opinion, which it is a matter of deep and lasting regret was not adopted as the opinion of the court, so vastly superior is it in all respects to that of the then Chief Justice. Mr. Justice Mitchell said: "I concur in affirming this judgment, and in the reasons given, but upon one point I would go further and put an end once for all to a doctrine that I regard as unsound in



every point of view, historical, logical, or technical. The prisoner at the trial requested the judge to charge the jury that they were 'judges of the law as well as of the fact.' The learned judge, feeling himself bound by the language of *Kane vs. Commonwealth*, 89 Pa. 522, answered that the jury had been sworn to decide the case on the law and the evidence; that the statement of the law by the court was the best evidence of the law within the jury's reach, and that therefore, in view of that evidence and viewing it as evidence only, the jury was to be guided by what the court had said with reference to the law. The point should in my opinion have been answered with an unqualified negative. The jury are not judges of the law in any case, civil or criminal. Neither at common law, nor under the Constitution of Pennsylvania, is the determination of the law any part of their duty or their right. The notion is of modern growth, and arises undoubtedly from a perversion of the history and results of the celebrated contest over the right to return a general verdict, especially in cases of libel, which ended in Fox's Bill, 32 Geo. III, c. 60." Then followed a discussion which was exhaustive of the subject. Every authority, ancient or modern, English or American, was reviewed, and the conclusion reached: "As already said, there is not a single respectable English authority for the doctrine in question; and against the foregoing solid phalanx of the best American judicial and professional opinion, I have not been able to find a single well-considered case except *State vs. Croteau* (a Vermont case), which as already seen was by a divided court. Under these circumstances, whether the doctrine be of much practical importance or not, I cannot help thinking it a matter of regret that any vestige of it should be left in Pennsylvania."

D. *As to Orderly Methods of Pleading.* Judge Mitchell in describing his student days referred to





Stephen on Pleading as "the most perfect law book that ever was written." By pleading is meant, not forensic oratory but the scientific and logical mode of stating in writing to a court the grievances of a plaintiff, and the defensive matter relied on by a defendant in his own discharge. It was a science which had been developed with exquisite logical exactness, but had degenerated into many purely formal and frivolous technicalities, and the Legislature on May 25, 1887, had sought to abolish these by requiring a simple form of statement, and by the abolition of special pleas. Unfortunately this led, at first, to great looseness, and it was to extirpate these irregularities at the Bar that Justice Mitchell addressed himself. In *Hubbard vs. Tenbrook*, 124 Pa. 291 (A. D. 1889), he said: "This case affords one among many examples of the failure of the so-called reformed procedure to accomplish anything towards the brevity, the clearness, the accuracy, or the convenience of legal form. So long as the fundamental principle of our remedial jurisprudence shall be, that upon conflicting evidence the jury shall ascertain the facts, and upon the ascertained facts the judges shall pronounce the law, so long will it be a cardinal rule of pleading, by whatever name pleading shall be called, that the line of distinction between facts and the evidence to prove them shall be kept clear and well defined. The notion of the reforming enthusiast that the average litigant or his average lawyer can make a shorter, clearer or less redundant statement of his case if left to his own head, than if directed and restrained by settled forms, sifted, tested and condensed as they have been by generations of the acutest intellects ever devoted to a logical profession, is as vain as that of any other compounder of panaceas." In *Erie City vs. Brady*, 127 Pa. 169 (A. D. 1889), he concisely declared: "Affidavits to conclusions of law, carefully stated so as to appear to be facts are un-





candid and evasive. . . . Such a course cannot be too strongly reprobated." In *Fritz vs. Hathaway*, 135 Pa. 274 (A. D. 1890), the act of 1887 again aroused his criticism. "The Act is unwise, and is founded on the erroneous and superficial view that, by abolishing forms, it can get rid of distinctions inherent in the nature of the subject, but it would be doing injustice to the purpose of its framers to hold that it was meant to sanction mere looseness of pleading. Accuracy and technical precision have no terrors except for the careless and the incompetent, and the Act of 1887 was not intended to do away with them. As to all matters of substance, completeness, accuracy and precision are as necessary now to a statement as they were before to a declaration in the settled and time-honored forms." A third instance of his scorn of bungling methods occurs in *Connell vs. O'Neil*, 154 Pa. 582 (A. D. 1893), when, after a most careful review of what constituted a bill of exceptions under the old law, and what should constitute it under the new act, he denounced the new act thus: "This is part of that delusive idea of cheap law reform which appeals at all times so strongly to the popular and even to the superficial and unobservant professional mind, and which still flourishes though it has been pronounced futile, mischievous and productive only of expense, delay and injustice by the greatest and most experienced jurists of the Commonwealth from Chief Justice Tilghman to Chief Justice Sharswood." Ten years later, in *Barclay vs. Barclay*, 206 Pa. 310 (A. D. 1903), he returned to the charge: "The procedure Act of May 25, 1887, introduced clumsy and unscientific methods into the legal statements of the parties . . . but it did not go so far as to overturn and confuse the fundamental principles of pleading by requiring the plaintiff to set out his evidence or anticipate the defence."

I do not think that these criticisms, harsh though



they are, and although the ground for them has gradually disappeared, proceeded from a blind adherence to the habits of the past, but disclose Judge Mitchell's natural intellectual dislike of anything which savored of carelessness or vagueness in stating a cause of action or lack of precision in presenting a defence. He was also insistent upon the proper performance of the duty of counsel to study and refer to Pennsylvania decisions where relevant and material, instead of the slovenly parade so often made of extracts from *Cyc.* or other second-hand sources of learning. In *Duggan, Appellant, vs. B. & O. R. R.*, 159 Pa. 248 (A. D. 1893), these words occur: "The paper book of appellant is open to just complaint. In a rather full brief of cases from other states, not a single Pennsylvania decision is referred to, although, as this opinion shows, there are several which are much closer in point than any of those cited, and they are of course much more authoritative with us than those of other States, however well reasoned. In the pressure of business on this court we ought not to be called on to do counsel's work. It is not always possible to recall at once even cases with which we are familiar, and we should be able to rely on counsel for reference at least to everything relevant and material in our own reports. Counsel who neglect this duty take a risk not fair either to the court or their client."

## II. CONTROL OF CORPORATIONS.

A second class of cases embraces those relating to the control of corporations, and of these *Comm.*, *Appellant, vs. Lehigh Valley R. R.*, 165 Pa. 162 (A. D. 1893), stands as a type. "It is settled and unquestionable," said Mr. Justice Mitchell, "that corporations may be indicted at common law, and it necessarily follows that they may be brought into court by compulsion if required, for the law is never powerless to enforce



what it commands. Statutes may be imperfect, and proceedings under them for that reason may be abortive, but it is a settled rule of the common law that there is no right without a remedy. The question before us therefore is, really, what is the proper form of remedy in the case of a corporation indicted for misdemeanor, and refusing or neglecting to appear." Then came a thorough and successful search for a remedy through the tangled thickets of our colonial precedents until a broad pathway was found leading up to the earliest days of the Anglo-Norman law, accompanied by a philosophical explanation of the legal-engineering plan. The application of the drastic remedy of the entry of a judgment by default was but one of many illustrations of the truth of Mr. Justice Mitchell's belief, so beautifully expressed by him in *Saltsburg Gas Co. vs. Saltsburg Township*, 138 Pa. 250 (A. D. 1890), that "the common law is the living science of justice and adapts the application of first principles to changes in the affairs of men."

Another example of checking a usurpation of power, and a consequent encroachment upon public rights, by a corporation is to be found in *Comm. vs. Delaware, Lackawanna and Western R. R. Co. Appellant*, 215 Pa. 149 (A. D. 1906), in which it was held that where a railroad company in changing the site of a public road and reconstructing it, was bound to reconstruct it as of the original width, and if it failed to do so and erected buildings of its own within the legal width of the road, such buildings constituted a nuisance and would be enjoined. It may be of interest in passing to state that the result of the injunction granted in this case was to free the Delaware Water Gap, at the narrowest and most romantic portion of the mountain gorge, from the unsightly and destructive operations of a stone crushing plant.

Another and a very numerous class of cases in



which corporations were held to accountability, is that enforcing the liability of railroad companies for the safety of their passengers, and particularly of those improperly ejected from their trains. A remarkable instance of this is found in *Ham vs. D. & H. Canal Co.*, 155 Pa. 548 (A. D. 1893), but although the decision was concurred in by the majority of the court, I cannot but think, after reading the powerful dissenting opinion of Mr. Justice Green, that it is the least satisfactory and convincing of all of Justice Mitchell's well-considered opinions. A less extreme view, and a more moderate application of the rule, is to be found in his opinion in *Malone vs. Railroad*, 152 Pa. 390 (A. D. 1893).

In regard to the relations of those who were not passengers, but who had the usual rights of the public to notice and care on the part of railroads at a public crossing, he enforced under numerous circumstances the correlative duty of the citizen in approaching a crossing "to stop, look and listen." This, in *Aiken vs. Penna. R. R. Co.*, 130 Pa. 380 (A. D. 1889), he held to be imperative, and that "a failure to stop was not merely evidence of negligence, but negligence *per se*," and he explained that "the rule was as much for the safety and protection of passengers on the trains as of passengers on the highway." Later instances are to be found in *Whitman vs. Penna. R. R.*, 156 Pa. 175 (A. D. 1893), and *McCusker vs. Penna. R. R. Co.*, 198 Pa. 540 (A. D. 1901).

### III. ENFORCEMENT OF CONTRACTS.

In the matter of contracts Justice Mitchell had small respect for the man who sought to repudiate his solemn agreement or haggled about its terms. Unless actual fraud or imposition appeared plainly, he did not favor relief. In *Huston's Appeal*, 127 Pa. 620 (A. D. 1889), he said: "Nothing is more dangerous than the so-







called equity to readjust rights or differences which the parties have settled for themselves, and in the absence of fraud or imposition, or such ignorance on one side as is equivalent to fraud on the other, nothing is more absolutely indefensible." In *Westmoreland Gas Co. vs. DeWitt*, 130 Pa. 235 (A. D. 1889), he said: "Forfeitures if no longer odious—and I for one am too strongly in favor of the enforcement of contracts as parties make them to apply harsh names to strict constructions—are not yet favored either at law or equity, and among the least favored have always been those founded on mere delay in the payment of money." In *Kleppner vs. Lemon*, 176 Pa. 502 (A. D. 1896), he declared: "I would reverse this judgment as a flagrant violation of the liberty and sanctity of contracts by raising a purely fictitious equity to enable the complainant now to make a better bargain at the defendant's expense than he chose or was able to make for himself at the time." Nor had he much sympathy with that simplicity which alleged as an excuse for a signature it was sought to avoid, that the written contract had not been read before signing. "Signing upon mere supposition," he said, "without knowledge or inquiry, comes dangerously near to negligence."

He had a strong dislike, too, for those metaphysical subtleties which would seek to withdraw substantial assets from the reach of partnership creditors so as to preserve them as the individual personal property of one of the members of the firm. In *Blood vs. Ludlow Carbon Black Co.*, 150 Pa. 1 (A. D. 1892), he declared: "Whether a partnership firm, being in law an entity distinct from the members that compose it, and, like a corporation, having no soul, can discover or invent anything, in the sense discussed by the learned Master, is a metaphysical subtlety over which we need spend no time. As a practical question, in the administration of the law, a firm may as well be said to invent a



machine as to invent a new enterprise, or a new trade name, or anything else in its business. All operations and ventures by a firm are the products of the mind of one or more of the members; the firm as a separate entity has no more mind to carry out a purchase of merchandise in one market and a sale in another than it has to conceive a mechanical idea and embody it in a machine. The minds are individual, but the results are joint, and the results of joint action of the members are results of the action by the firm, and if in the course of the partnership business, the result becomes partnership property.’

As closely germane to this, he had no sympathy with the mock morality of one who taking the chances of a speculative transaction was silent as to gains which he willingly pocketed, but when losses occurred sought to escape them by taking the ground that it was a gambling transaction which the law would not recognize. Thus in *Peters vs. Grim*, 149 Pa. 163 (A. D. 1892), he said: “A purchase of stock for speculation, even when done merely on a margin, is not necessarily a gambling transaction. If one buys stock from A and borrows money from B to pay for it, there is no element of gambling in the operation though he pledge the stock with B as security for the money. . . . If there was not under any circumstances to be a delivery, as part of and completing a purchase, then the transaction was a mere wager on the rise and fall of prices, but if there was in good faith a purchase, then the delivery might be postponed, or made to depend on a future condition, and the stock carried on margin or otherwise in the meanwhile, without affecting the legality of the operation. . . . In dealing with stock transactions falling within or in any way connected with wagering contracts, the law of Pennsylvania is of exceptional, and for myself I would say, of illogical and untenable severity in its interference with the business



contracts of parties *sui juris* and entirely competent to manage their own affairs." The same result was reached in *Hopkins, Receiver, vs. O'Kane*, Appellant, 169 Pa. 478 (A. D. 1895), "Stocks," he said, "may be bought on credit, just as flour or sugar or anything else, and the credit may be for the whole price or for a part of it, and with security or without it. 'Margin' is security, nothing more, and the only difference between stocks and other commodities is that as stocks are more commonly made the vehicle of gambling speculation than some other things, courts are disposed to look more closely into stock transactions to ascertain their true character. If they are real purchases and sales, they are not gambling though they are done partly or wholly on credit." He steadily adhered to these views in *L. H. Taylor's Assigned Estate*, 192 Pa. 304 (A. D. 1899).

He had a scorn, too, for a man who relied on the statute of limitations as a sole defence, although as a judge he never failed to uphold it when properly pleaded. Thus in *Woods vs. Irwin*, 141 Pa. 278 (A. D. 1891), he said: "As a matter of public policy, recognizing that in the ordinary course of business life just debts are pressed with diligence, and that witnesses die and papers are lost, the statute is one of repose and protection. But speaking for myself, I cannot regard the statute, unaided by any equitable conditions or circumstances, as any other than a dishonest defence, for which alone a judgment should never be opened." And yet, yielding to his stern sense of duty as a judge, he upheld the statute in *Linderman vs. Pomeroy*, 142 Pa. 168 (A. D. 1891), giving an interesting review of phrases or expressions insufficient to toll the statute; and in *Miller vs. Miller*, 137 Pa. 47 (A. D. 1890), holding that clear evidence of an acknowledgment of an old debt is required to revive it. To which may be added *Barnes vs. Pickett Hardware Co.*, 203 Pa. 570 (A. D. 1902).





He believed in and fully sustained the freedom of men to make their own contracts, and this is best illustrated by the case of *O'Neil vs. Behanna*, 182 Pa. 236 (A. D. 1897), involving a labor strike. He stated fairly both sides of the question. "It is one of the indefeasible rights of a mechanic or laborer in this Commonwealth to fix such value on his services as he sees proper, and under the Constitution there is no power lodged anywhere to compel him to work for less than he chooses to accept,' nor, as the same right may be stated with reference to this case, to prevent his working for such pay as he can get and is willing to accept. . . . The strikers and their counsel seem to think that the former could do anything to attain their ends, short of actual violence. This is a most serious misconception. The 'arguments,' and 'persuasion' and 'appeals' of a hostile and demonstrative mob have a potency over men of ordinary nerve which far exceeds the limits of lawfulness. The display of force, though none is actually used, is intimidation, and as much unlawful as violence itself. . . . This was a violation of the rights of the new men who came to work."

In regard to the doctrine, which is peculiar to Pennsylvania, and which, so far as I have observed, is against the great current of authority elsewhere, that a moral obligation is a sufficient consideration to support a promise, Justice Mitchell became its foremost exponent, particularly in the case of *Bailey, et al, Appellants, vs. Philadelphia, et al*, 167 Pa. 569 (A. D. 1895), known as the Women School-teachers' case. He held that in this State a moral obligation will sustain an express promise to pay, and *a fortiori*, an actual payment. "If a mere promise to pay under such circumstances would be refused at law against an individual, certainly an actual payment or its equivalent, an order by the councils, or their ministerial officer, who has no duty in reference thereto except obedience, should be





sustained against a municipal corporation. . . . There is nothing in the law or in sound public policy to prohibit the city from being honest, and paying its bona fide debts which are good in conscience and justice, though, for sufficient other reasons, there is a general rule which prevents them from being enforceable by law.”

#### IV. INTERPRETATION OF WILLS.

In the interpretation of wills, as in the interpretation of contracts, the same strong desire to sustain them as written or as meant was apparent. In Woelpper's Appeal, 126 Pa. 570 (A. D. 1889), he used this language: “In the construction of wills the great general and controlling rule is that the intent of the testator shall prevail. And by his intent is meant his actual intent. . . . It is often said that the ‘question in expounding a will is not what the testator meant, but what is the meaning of his words.’ But by this it was never intended to say that the testator's meaning when apparent can be disregarded, but that it cannot be got at aliunde, by what he might have meant, or even what under the circumstances perhaps he would have meant, but only by what he said. The search is confined to his language, but its object is still his meaning. . . . All of the canons of construction are subservient to the great rule as to intent and are made to aid, not to override it. As in all such cases, care is required that tools shall not become fetters, and that the real end shall not be sacrificed to what was intended only as the means of reaching it.” In *Long vs. Paul*, 127 Pa. 456 (A. D. 1889), he said: “The draughtsman of this will had a very limited command of the English language and even this was evidently hampered by the recollection of the form book. But taking the whole will together the testator's intention is reasonably clear.” In *Ferguson's Estate*, 138 Pa. 208 (A. D. 1890), he declared: “The principle is well settled that equity will depart



from the literal provisions of a will in order to carry out a superior or preferred intent of the testator which would otherwise fail. But the object is not to produce a distribution which the court may think more equal or more equitable, but to approximate as closely as possible to the scheme of the testator which has failed by reason of intervening rights or circumstances. Hence the regular order of the will is never departed from except of necessity, and then only to the extent that necessity requires." He summed the matter up very neatly in *Penney's Estate*, 159 Pa. 346 (A. D. 1893), by saying: "Precedents in construing the language of wills, except as to technical or quasi-technical phrases in the creation of trusts, or the limitation of estates, where they tend to become rules of property, are of little value. The same words may be used by different testators, and yet in their context or their connection with other parts, they may have widely different meanings. Wills like contracts must be read according to the intent of their makers and rules of construction are useful only as aids to the ascertainment of the actual meaning; when that is clear, no rule or method of construction can be permitted to override it." In dealing with technical words or phrases, however, which have become rules of property, binding on all testators irrespective of intent, a branch of the law which involves the higher mathematics of the real estate lawyer, Justice Mitchell was at his ease. His deep reading of Coke, Littleton and of *Fearne* here stood the strain. No more concise statement of the far-famed rule in *Shelley's case* can be found than in *Shapley vs. Diehl*, 203 Pa. 566 (A. D. 1902): "In determining whether the rule in *Shelley's case* is applicable, the test is how the donees in remainder are to take. If as purchasers under the donor, then the particular estate is limited by the literal words of the deed and the rule as in *Shelley's case* has no application. But if the re-



maindermen are to take as heirs to the donee of the particular estate, then what has been called the superior intent as declared in Shelley's case operates, and the first donee takes a fee, whatever words may be used in describing the estate given to him."

#### V. RESPECT FOR STATUTES.

Just as he had a respect for contracts and wills, and sought to uphold the real intentions of the parties, so had he a profound loyalty to the sovereign will of the people as expressed in statutes, giving full effect to their provisions where possible, but never stretching their terms to cover cases not fairly within their terms. Thus in *Usher vs. Railroad Co.*, 126 Pa. 206 (A. D. 1889), he refused to extend extra-territorially the right of a widow to sue for damages resulting from the death of her husband, the cause of action accruing in another State. In *Morrison vs. Henderson*, 126 Pa. 216 (A. D. 1889), he struck off mechanics' liens, where it appeared that the work done was of a different character from that authorized by the statutes. In *Small vs. Small*, 129 Pa. 366 (A. D. 1889), he held that The Married Persons Property Act of June 3, 1887, did not authorize a suit by a wife against her husband directly and in her own name for the recovery of money received by him from her separate estate. "So great a change in the policy of the law," he said, "upon a subject that may come home to every householder in the Commonwealth, should not rest on inference, or implication from general words, but should appear by the explicit and unquestionable mandate of the legislature; and when the change is made, if at all, it should be done in such form as to guard against the possibility of injustice in regard to past transactions such as are suggested by the present case." In *Hoffner's Estate* 161 Pa. 331 (A. D. 1894), he maintained this mental attitude so as to dissent from the opinion of the court



sustaining a gift to a religious use made in a will executed within thirty days of the testatrix's death, where it appeared that the gift was made in pursuance of a promise previously given for which a consideration had been received. It was, as will be perceived, an extreme case, but it fully illustrates the tenacity with which Justice Mitchell held his views. He said: "But it is thought that the bequest can be sustained in equity as a compliance with a moral obligation to pay the consideration on which the testatrix received certain property under her sister-in-law's will. . . . The conclusion does not seem to me to follow, because the statute plainly and peremptorily prohibits the payment of moral obligations in that way. It is probable that very few bequests are made to churches or religious uses except under a feeling of moral obligation for benefits received, either spiritual or temporal or both. The law recognizes such bequests as valid, but requires them to be made when the judgment is clear, and the obligation is not sharpened or exaggerated by the terrors of impending death. To allow such a bequest, made within the prohibited time, to be sustained by calling it an obligation which equity would have enforced, is simply to evade the statute. I do not understand that equity, even under the benign administration of the largest footed chancellor, undertakes to enforce moral obligations in the length and breadth of the Golden Rule, and it is important that we should keep its boundaries carefully marked." Even when the constitutionality of a statute was assailed he expressed a cautious respect for the law. In *Sugar Notch Borough*, 192 Pa. 352 (A. D. 1899), he said: "It must not be lost sight of that the attitude of courts is not one of hostility to Acts whose constitutionality is attacked. On the contrary all presumptions are in their favor, and Courts are not to be astute in finding or sustaining objections."







## VI. HISTORICAL CASES.

There is a distinct class of cases which, for want of a better designation, I have termed historical cases, because they contain much history of the past and display the finest talents and knowledge of Justice Mitchell in a field peculiarly his own. In fact it is not too much to say that these opinions as written could have been written by no one else.

In *Cox vs. Ledward*, 124 Pa. 435 (A. D. 1889), he said: "This record is a legal curiosity. . . . The proceedings, however, anomalous as they were, had a perfectly regular and legitimate object. Indeed they would have been highly creditable to the ingenuity of counsel, had they been invented between the date when provincial simplicity put an end to Governor Keith's Court of Chancery, and the time when the legislature of the Commonwealth waked up to the fact that equitable powers and process are a necessary part of legal machinery in the complicated civilization of the present century. As it is, they seem to have been carried on by general agreement, and may stand as a survival of the makeshifts by which the early lawyers of Pennsylvania administered equity under the forms of the Common Law." He paid the following tribute to the early bench and bar in *Myers et al. Exrs. vs. S. Bethlehem*, 149 Pa. 85 (A. D. 1892): "When the early judges of Pennsylvania took the most brilliant and important step in the history of modern jurisprudence, and held, a century in advance of England and our sister States, not only that equity was a part of the Common Law of Pennsylvania, but also that it might be administered by the common law tribunals under common law forms, they might well have supposed that the conflict, as old as the days of Coke and Ellesmere over the right of equity to control proceedings at law, would thenceforth disappear. But it would



seem to be irrepressible. We have in this case a decree by which a judgment, entered upon a verdict after full trial and affirmed in this court, is vacated and set aside without any allegations of fraud, accident or mistake, solely by virtue of an act of the defendant subsequent to the judgment."

In the Society of Cincinnati's Appeal, 154 Pa. 621 (A. D. 1893), which sustained the right of that historic and honorable body to select a site for the great monument to George Washington which now adorns the Green Street entrance to our Park, Justice Mitchell gives a most interesting and needless to say an accurate account of the early efforts to erect such a monument in Washington Square and later in Independence Square, calling attention to the fact that in the Act of 1816, providing for the sale to the City of Philadelphia of the State House and State House Square there was a sad illustration of the want of reverence for historical and patriotic associations in our people at that time. The Governor was directed by the Act to appoint three commissioners, neither of whom should be a resident of Philadelphia, who were to lay out a street or streets through the State House Square, in such manner as would most conduce to the value of the property, to divide the square "into lots suitable for building," and put them up for sale at auction. The provisions as to the purchase by the City of Philadelphia were an alternative to be accepted by the City, within a time limited, and only in such case was the division and sale of lots for building to be avoided. The State House, now the sacred shrine of the nation, was then regarded as old material, for there was no reservation of it, and "the large clock now remaining within the State House," I quote the words of the Act, "shall be removed to Harrisburg if the commissioners think it of value enough to warrant the expense," but if not, they were to sell the same, "either separately or *with the house and lot to*



which the same is attached." That was the sole description of which Independence Hall was thought worthy. There was no reference to the Liberty Bell, at that very time in the belfry. No wonder Justice Mitchell laid aside for the moment the gravity of the judge, and rose to a strain of eloquence. "Notably does it illustrate the growth of national and patriotic sentiment," he exclaims, "that, while I am writing this review of the Act of 1816, the Liberty Bell, which was not thought worth mention in it, but left to be sold as old lumber with the walls and rafters of Independence Hall, is making a triumphant journey, in a special train with a special guard, to the gathering of nations at Chicago; and at every stopping place, by day or by night, meeting a spontaneous outpouring of love and pride and veneration not accorded to any ruler in the world." It ought perhaps to be said, that the people of Philadelphia took advantage of the terms of the Act, which, after directing that the sale of lots should not be made at an aggregate of less than one hundred and fifty thousand (\$150,000) dollars for the whole, offered the ground and building to the City at half price, and thus rescued the shrine from profanation and destruction upon the sole condition that the square "should remain to the people as a public green and walk forever."

In Knox's Estate, 131 Pa. 220 (A. D. 1889), an unusual question arose as to whether a signature to a will by the *first* name only was a valid signing. The precise case had never arisen either in England or the United States. A married woman had signed a paper in testamentary form with the simple word "Harriet." Justice Mitchell dealt with it in this fashion, and no one but an autograph collector could have thought of the illustrations used. "Custom controls the rule of names, and so it does the rule of signatures. The title by which a man calls himself and is known in the community is his name, whether it be the one he inherited



or had originally given him or not. So the form which a man customarily uses to identify and bind himself in writing is his signature, whatever shape he may choose to give it. There is no requirement that it shall be legible, though legibility is one of the prime objects of writing. It is sufficient if it be such as he usually signs, and the signatures of neither Rufus Choate nor General Spinner could be rejected, though no man, unaided, could discover what the ragged marks made by either of these two eminent personages were intended to represent. Nor is there any fixed requirement how much of the full name shall be written. Custom varies with time and place, and habit with the whim of the individual. Sovereigns write only their first names, and the Sovereign of Spain, more royally still, signs his decrees only, 'I, the King' (Yo el Rey). English peers now sign their titles only, though they be geographical names, like Devon or Stafford, as broad as a county. The great Bacon wrote his name Fr. Verulam, and the ordinary signature of the poet-philosopher of fishermen was Iz: Wa:. In the fifty-six signatures to the most solemn instrument of modern times, the Declaration of Independence, we find every variety, from Th. Jefferson to the unmistakably identified Charles Carroll of Carrollton. In the present day it is not uncommon for business men to have a signature for checks and banking purposes somewhat different from that used in their ordinary business and, in familiar correspondence, signature by initials, or nickname, or diminutive, is probably the general practice." As the evidence showed that the woman in question had had unfortunate differences with her husband, and a strong repugnance to the use of his name, as shown by her avoidance of it in her correspondence, and her direction not to put it on her tombstone, the court held that it was clear that the testatrix meant a complete







execution of the instrument, and there was nothing in the law to defeat its validity.

In the later case of *Plate's Estate*, 148 Pa. 55 (A. D. 1892), where the testator started to write his name and made a stroke which bore no resemblance to the form of mark ordinarily used for such purpose, and which two witnesses professed to recognize as the first part of the initial of his name, and then stopped and said, "I can't sign it now," it was held that the intention to execute by mark was affirmatively disproved. Paraphrasing the language of Chief Justice Gibson, Justice Mitchell said: "Without intent to sign, a cross or a scratch, or a scrawl, or a dot, or a dash . . . imports no more than would a blot or a stain, or any other accidental discoloration of the paper at the foot of the instrument."

Closely allied with the matter of signatures is that of Seals, and in *Lorah to use of Evans, Appellant, vs. Nissley*, 156, Pa. 329 (A.D. 1893), Justice Mitchell exhausts the quaint learning of the Middle Ages, as well as of the bold modern departures from the customs of ancient times.

In *Clement's Estate*, 160 Pa. 391 (A. D. 1894), he gives a full history of the celebrated French Spoliation Claims; in *Kuhlman, Appellant, vs. Smeltz*, 171 Pa. 440 (A. D. 1895), a full account of Local Legislation in Pennsylvania from the days of the Duke of York's laws; in *Gardner vs. Kiehl*, 182 Pa. 194 (A. D. 1897), a concise but satisfactory review of the British Statutes in force in Pennsylvania; in *Diehl et al. vs. Rodgers et al.*, Appellants, 169 Pa. 317 (A. D. 1895), an exhaustive review of the pardoning power from the days of Coke and Hale and the constitutions of the different States to the latest case in Oregon; in *Comm. vs. Hill*, 185 Pa. 385 (A. D. 1898), a complete discussion, inclusive of our earliest colonial instances, of the methods pursued by our governors in issuing mandates for the



execution of murderers, and in Philadelphia to use *vs. Eddleman*, Appellant, 169 Pa. 452 (A. D. 1895), he makes the dull subject of the paving of our streets the vehicle for much forgotten but entertaining learning. In *Bornot vs. Bonschur*, 202 Pa. 463 (A. D. 1902), he gives an interesting account of the widening of Chestnut Street and of the growth of the city since the days of Stephen Girard. We have already seen, while treating of juries, how the two opinions in *Smith vs. The Times Publishing Co.*, 178 Pa. 481, and *Comm. vs. McManus*, 143 Pa. 64 (*ut supra*) taken together and read consecutively embrace a full history of Trial by Jury.

#### VII. CONFLICT OF LAWS.

A small but interesting and intricate class of cases was presented by a conflict of laws, that is where there was a real or an apparent conflict between the laws of different sovereignties, and in no other field did Justice Mitchell show to greater advantage as a jurist of broad views and deep analysis. In *Forepaugh vs. Railroad Co.*, 128 Pa. 217 (A. D. 1889), he wrote an opinion which will rank with the profoundest efforts of his ablest predecessors. He was contesting the heresy of a general commercial, or general common law separate from, and irrespective of a particular state or government whose authority makes it law, a heresy originating in a misstep made by Mr. Justice Story of the Supreme Court of the United States in *Swift vs. Tyson*, 16 Peters 1, since which time the courts of the United States have persisted in the recognition of a mythical commercial law, and have professed to decide so-called commercial questions by it, in entire disregard of the law of the state where the question arose. Mitchell refused to follow their lead, and summoning to his aid the profound constitutional disquisitions of his former learned colleague in Philadelphia, Judge Hare, he dropped his plummet to the



bottom of the question. He reasoned thus: "Law is defined as a rule prescribed by the sovereign power. By whom is a general commercial law prescribed, and what tribunal has authority or recognition to declare or enforce it outside of the local jurisdiction of the government it represents? Even the law of nations, the widest reaching of all, is a law only in name. It has but a moral sanction, and the only tribunal that undertakes to enforce it is the armed hand, the *ultima ratio regum*. The so-called commercial law is likewise a law only in name. Upon many questions arising in the business dealings of men, the laws of modern civilized states are substantially the same, and therefore it is common to say that such is the commercial law, but except as a convenient phrase such general law does not exist. There must be a state, or government, of which every law can be predicated, and to whose authority it owes its existence as a law. Without such sanction it is law without reference to its origin or the commerce of other states or people. Such sanction it is the prerogative of the courts of each state itself to declare. Their jurisdiction is final and exclusive, and in this respect there is no distinction between statute and common law."

Another interesting instance of conflict arose in *Loftus vs. F. & M. N. Bank*, 133 Pa. 97 (A. D. 1890), where it was held that while it was a settled general rule that the validity of a transfer of personal property was to be determined by the law of the owner's domicile, yet this rule was subject to the power of a state to declare otherwise as to property having an actual or legal *situs* within its borders. Thus a married woman residing in England, but owning bonds of the City of Philadelphia, was held to be subject to the regulations of Pennsylvania as to the transfer of such bonds. After winding his way most skilfully through a maze of conflicting authorities he pays tribute to the





value of a lucid statement of principle by saying: "Mr. Dicey is a common law writer whose clear and accurate pages are as refreshing as the blue sky after the foggy disquisitions of Story and Wharton."

#### VIII. CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS.

In dealing with questions affecting the powers of the government under our State Constitution, Mr. Justice Mitchell was at his best, his spirit was fully armed, and his great powers of reasoning and expression were exerted to the utmost. He sought steadily to preserve the independence of each branch from encroachments by the others, regarding the sovereignty of the legislature as representing the will of the people, and not to be confined too closely by constitutional clamps, unless the denials of power were plainly expressed, or irresistibly implied. The first marked exhibition of this doctrine is to be found in *Perkins vs. Philadelphia*, 156 Pa. 554 (A. D. 1893), in which the majority of the court held the Public Building Commission Act to be unconstitutional. Justice Mitchell dissented. He admitted that if the objections taken to the Act were substantial, then no matter how well meant and desirable the purpose, it must fail. That was "the penalty of living under the present Constitution," he said, "pervaded as it is by a profound distrust of the legislature. In the impatience of people with some of the evils of special legislation, they have rushed to the other extreme, and so hedged about and bound up the legislative arm of the government that legitimate and necessary powers can be exercised with difficulty, if at all. Article 3, on Legislation, as our brother Dean has pointed out, contains sixty specific prohibitions, besides other restrictions and regulations not absolutely prohibitory. It is a barbed wire fence around all legislative action, bristling with points of danger even to the most honest, desirable and essential laws. A





literal adherence to all its provisions would have stopped the wheels of government, and so this court was forced to hold when the first great question of the needs of municipal legislation came before it. Some elasticity was absolutely indispensable, and it was found in the principle of classification." He contended for a broad and liberal way of looking to the spirit of the constitution as more controlling than its words. In *Waters, Appellant, vs. Wolf*, 162 Pa. 153 (A. D. 1894), he again dissented, and on the same principle. He declared: "It is the province of the legislature to declare the public policy of the state, including what contracts shall be lawful, in what form they shall be made, and what shall be their effect. From the earliest days of the republic it has done this without question, wherever the contract itself or its collateral effect touches matters of public interest or policy, of which the legislature is the conclusive judge." These views found their triumphant expression in *Commonwealth vs. Moir*, 199 Pa. 534 (A. D. 1901), generally known as the Pittsburgh Ripper case, in which in the face of much loud public denunciation, he firmly adhered to his conception of his duty as a judge, to uphold an Act of the Legislature unless undoubtedly in conflict with the constitution. The merits or demerits of the Act did not concern the bench; it could deal alone with the question of power. With *Cooley*, he declared that the judiciary could not run a race of opinion upon points of right, reason, and expediency with the law-making power; with *Rogers* he agreed that he knew of no authority in this government to pronounce such an act void, merely because in the opinion of the judicial tribunals it was contrary to principles of natural justice, for this would be vesting in the court a latitudinarian authority which might be abused, and would necessarily lead to collisions between the legislative and judicial departments. With *Sharswood*, he believed



that nothing but a clear usurpation of power prohibited would justify the judicial department in pronouncing an act of the legislative department unconstitutional and void.

And yet when the test came, in the limit of a municipal debt, he did not waver: "the bar of the constitutional prohibition is clear, and we may not permit it to be evaded," as he said in *Keller vs. Scranton*, 200 Pa. 130 (A. D. 1901).

In *Commonwealth vs. Barnett*, 199 Pa. 161 (A. D. 1901), he maintained the independence of the Executive Department, holding that the Governor was an integral part of the law-making power of the state; that his approval, or disapproval known as a veto, was essentially a legislative act.

As a final stroke, so to speak, in completing the circle that enclosed his consideration of public powers and duties, he was called on to discuss in *Commonwealth vs. Shortall*, 206 Pa. 166 (A. D. 1903), the features of martial law in preserving the peace of the Commonwealth. "There may be peace for all the ordinary purposes of life, and yet a state of disorder, violence and danger in special directions which, though not technically war, has in its limited field the same effect, and, if important enough to call for martial law for its suppression, is not distinguishable, so far as the powers of the commanding officer are concerned, from actual war. The condition in fact exists, and the law must recognize it, no matter how opinions may differ as to what it should be most correctly called. When the civil authority, though in existence and operation for some purposes, is yet unable to preserve the public order and resorts to military aid, this necessarily means the supremacy of actual force, the demonstration of the strong hand usually held in reserve, and operating only by its moral influence, but now brought into active exercise, just as the ordinary criminal tendency in the



community is held in check by the knowledge and fear of the law, but the overt law breaker must be taken into actual custody."

At times he displayed a playful humor. In *Shulz vs. Wall*, 134 Pa. 262 (A. D. 1890), after discussing an innkeeper's liability to a guest for goods stolen, and likening it to that of an insurer of the safety of the goods, he pleasantly added: "And however it might have been in the days of good Queen Bess, when Calye's case (8 Rep. 63) was decided, and when the length of his wine bill might have been deemed sufficient consideration for the duty of an innkeeper to take care of his guest, drunk or sober, it is now held in our own case of *Walsh vs. Porterfield* (87 Pa. 376) that intoxication is no excuse for the negligence of a guest which contributes to his loss."

These instances sufficiently illustrate his judicial manner.

Lavater, whose great work on Physiognomy has kept his fame alive for more than a century and a half, once wrote: "Actions, looks, words, steps, form the alphabet by which you may spell *Character*: some are mere letters, some contain entire words, lines, whole pages, which at once decipher the life of a man. One such uninterrupted page may be your key to all the rest." In the spirit of this passage I have reviewed the opinions of Justice Mitchell, and now observe how completely they reveal his individual traits as an appellate judge, his easy mastery of principles, his firm control, his stability of judgment, his reverence for authority, his love of orderly procedure, his calmness of temperament, his clearness of statement, his vivacity of style, his enlightened sense of justice and his sturdy common sense, as well as his simplicity, steadfastness and courage as a man.

On January 4, 1904, Justice Mitchell became, through the death of Chief Justice McCollum, the official head



of his tribunal, although for more than a year previous he had been Chief Justice *de facto*. He lived to complete his full term, in the unabated vigor of his mind, and without the slightest relaxation of his judicial duties. In the consultation-room he was, I am told, a model colleague. "Of the labors of the consultation-room no one can judge who has not participated in them. There, the arguments of counsel are considered, the points discussed, and the cases decided. It often happens that this consumes more time than the argument at Bar. And all this is preceded by a careful examination of each case, and of the authorities cited, by the Justices respectively at chambers." So much was revealed to us by Chief Justice Paxson in his address at the opening of the New Court Rooms in the City Hall in January, 1891 (Introduction to 137 Pa., xxxiv). It remained for Chief Justice Mitchell to complete the revelation: "There learning counts, industry counts, as they always and everywhere count, but above either and both, most important of all, the judicial quality is inevitably displayed or found wanting." (*In Memoriam* John Dean, June 22, 1905, 211 Pa., xxxi.) I have been told by a former colleague that Chief Justice Mitchell in consultation was at his best: patient, tolerant, learned, industrious, punctual, courageous and firm. He retired at the close of December, 1909, to become the official custodian of the records of his court, and to begin a task for which no one was so well qualified, but which, alas, was not completed, of rescuing early archives and dockets from neglect and disorder, a service which Lord Langdale as Master of the Rolls had made so honorable in England.

He died on July 4, 1915, in the eighty-first year of his age. His life was like the stream described by Sir John Denham.

"Though deep, yet clear; though gentle, yet not dull;  
Strong without rage; without o'erflowing, full."







## WILLIAM PENN'S JOURNAL OF HIS SECOND VISIT TO IRELAND.

[In the Granville Penn Collection, Manuscript Division of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, are two letters written by Admiral Penn to his son William on his return from his first visit to Ireland.

Sonne William

I have writt several ters to yo since I recd any fro yo. By this I agayne charge yo & strictly comand that yo come to mee with all possible speede in expectacon of yo complyanee. I remayne  
yo<sup>r</sup> aff<sup>t</sup> father

W. Penn.

Navy Office October 12 67.

Sonne William.

I hope this will find yo<sup>a</sup> in health. The cause of this Writing is to charge yo<sup>a</sup> to repair to mee with all possible speede p<sup>r</sup>sently after yo<sup>r</sup> receipt of it & not to make any stay there [Bristol] or any place upon y<sup>a</sup> roade untill it please God yo see mee (unless for necessary rest & refreshm<sup>t</sup>.)

Yo<sup>r</sup> very aff<sup>t</sup> father

W. Penn.

October 22, 67.

In the same Collection is the original journal which Penn kept on his second visit to Ireland, of which the following is a copy.]

### *My Irish journall.*

Parted from London on y<sup>e</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> mo: 1669:

7<sup>br</sup> 15<sup>th</sup>

I came to watford, to Ann Mericks, A: S: & J: G: accompanying me

16

I came to J. P. A. S. & J. G. being w<sup>th</sup> me; we had a meeting there: A. S. left us & went for watford.

17

J. G. went for london, I remain'd there: I left Amer-sham & took leave for my journey, but at maiden-head mising of my ser<sup>t</sup> I return'd to J. P.



18

I went with G. S. to Pen-street, return'd at night.

19

G. S. S. H. &c: went a foot to meeting at Russby, & I with them. writt to Ailesberry for P. F.

20

P. F. came early; J. P. Jo. P. M. P. J. G. my selfe & P. F. went for Reading; G S. & T. E. accompany'd us beyoind Maiden-head. T. E. & P. F. exchaing'd horses; one at 05-10.00. y<sup>e</sup> other at 09-00.00—we arriu'd at Reading, visited y<sup>e</sup> Prisoners.

21

Jo. P. P. F. & my selfe parted from Reading. J. P. M. P. & J. G. return'd home. we din'd at Newberry, & lay at Mals-berry.

22

We parted. Jo. P. went to Brist. by bath, & wee two by chipnam. we mett that night at Bristoll, they two lay at y<sup>e</sup> In, I at D. H. w<sup>th</sup> G. W. I visitted G. H. M. ff. W. & J. Y. T. B. & L. ff. y<sup>t</sup> night;

23

I went to F. R. to lye, they to T. B. wee remain'd there till y<sup>e</sup> 23 of y<sup>e</sup> next month, I lay at seuerall friends houses, we were very kindly entertain'd; metings grew fresh. I was mou'd among others to testefy to G. As M.

8<sup>b</sup> 23

we left bristoll, came to kingroad accompany'd by T. S. T. L. C. ff. F. & W. R.

24

we sayl'd y<sup>e</sup> wind being east N. east. gott beyoind Come 7 L.



25

We arriu'd at y<sup>e</sup> coaue off Cork & lay there all night.

26

we came to Cork. din'd at T. M. visitted y<sup>e</sup> prisoners S. T. being there, we lay at E. Pikes.

27

W. M. & my selfe went to y<sup>e</sup> Mayors, but to no purpose. I mett C. P. F. S. J. B. we had a meeting in Prison at Night where we also had dined. I writt also to both Barronys to prepare them: to R. S. for 30<sup>£</sup> payable to G. R.

28

Left Cork w<sup>th</sup> P. D. W. M. din'd at killwarth, sup'd at clohane, at A friends Inn. W. Laiford.

29

wee came to Jo: ffennills; din'd at Cashall at y<sup>e</sup> Cow. past through holy-Cross (so call'd) from a superstitious conceit y<sup>t</sup> a peece of X<sup>ts</sup> cross was brought theither from Jerusalem & by clas town: were y<sup>e</sup> English were murder'd by the ffitz Pat: lay at Thurles, y<sup>e</sup> Ancient manner hous off the D. of Ormonde

30

We came to J. Hutchinsons a friend, who was gone before us towards Rosanalla. past by Montroth, y<sup>e</sup> earles hous & town; where we saw y<sup>e</sup> Iron-works. lay at Rosanalla at W: Ed:

31

Was y<sup>e</sup> Generall meeting for Linster. 2 friends spok from Dub. W. E. kept y<sup>e</sup> meeting. & heavenly it was.

1. 9<sup>th</sup> mo

we left W. E. stops at M<sup>t</sup> Melech. Came to kildare & there lodg'd.



2

we came to the Naise, their din'd, & Lay at Dub. at J. Gays. I visitted M. Canon & F. step. y<sup>e</sup> night.

3

W. M. P. D. & wee mett at my chamber. F. step. came to see me. din'd & sup'd at home.

4

W. E. came w<sup>th</sup> friends to y<sup>e</sup> Citty. we were at meeting. W. Ed. G. G. ff. P. spoak. P. D. W. E. & G. G. pray'd. din'd and sup'd at home.

5

All friends mett at my Lodging to keep y<sup>e</sup> Nationall meeting, W. E. W. M. & G. G. spoak. the sufferings off friends came before us, Munster, & Linster. but Ulster were return'd. A Paper was sent to all y<sup>e</sup> Provinciall mens-meetings to advise them to be more punctuall in y<sup>e</sup> regestering of all sufferings; & to transmitt them in briefely to y<sup>e</sup> nationall meeting. A paper by way of Adresse was carry'd by W. M. & W. P. to y<sup>e</sup> Mayor who abus'd them, but did not releive y<sup>e</sup> Prisoners of y<sup>e</sup> Citty. sup'd at home, no diner.

6

wee mett at S. Cla: where wee drew up y<sup>e</sup> Linst. & Munst. sufferings by way of Address to y<sup>e</sup> Ld. Lt. din'd & sup'd at home.

7

wee mett at y<sup>e</sup> little house, where W. E. & one sharp spoak. W. E. & P. D. pray'd. J. G. his wife & children were present. sup'd at home.

8

I Receiu'd A letter from J. S. about his daughters buriall, haueing writt to him. Deane came to me & W. Ed. about It at E. Gard. din'd & sup'd at home.





## 9

sr. G. Ascue come to see me all friends went w<sup>th</sup> M. Conning Jo. st. daughter to our burying ground. they cary'd her with about 10 coaches. din'd & sup'd at home.

## 10

Coll. Packer came to see me but T. Fouls said to meet Rob. & Lawrence about a dispute, though deny'd by him. he affirmed.

1. y<sup>t</sup> I was eternally damn'd if I did not own y<sup>t</sup> christ's death was to justify y<sup>e</sup> vindictive justice of god.

2. y<sup>t</sup> there were examples among the Martyrs y<sup>t</sup> suffer'd more signally, & more with joy & peace, & more gloriously, & with greater triumph then christ did.

we went y<sup>t</sup> afternoone, I An Gay. J. P. P. ff. little D. In a coach to chapple Kord to see C. Lawrence he was in town. he makes Imagery.

C low, & Ma. Jones come to my Lodging & Dr. Roules. the last was quiet & affable. the other Passionate & Confounded, about y<sup>e</sup> morall religion. & water baptisme. W. M. present. din'd and sup'd at home.

## 11

Sr W. Petty came to see me, stay'd 3 hours. he was very friendly. E. Morcoe & her hister dyn'd at my Lodging. we went to y<sup>e</sup> castle: receiu'd a slight account by C. Herle. from thence to Col. Shapcores, about C. Wallis. he was kind. I din'd, sup'd at home.

## 12

I went to y<sup>e</sup> Castle. C. H. very ciuil but nothing done. visitted by fouls. Din'd & sup'd at home. giue 2 siluer candlesticks & suffers to A. G. for their care & lodging.

## 13

stay'd at home, writt to Erl. of dr. for England, to G. S. J. & M. P. to E. J. & E. B. visitted by D. Rouls. he deny'd vindictive justice In y<sup>e</sup> nature of good.



din'd & sup'd at home.

P. D. went for Eng.

14

we kept meeting at the old meeting hous I declar'd about one hour. I pray'd afterwards. a great meeting. din'd and sup'd at home.

15

I went to y<sup>e</sup> Ld. Dra. about friends. he treated me w<sup>th</sup> all Civility. promessed his utmost Invited me to dine w<sup>th</sup> him at my pleasure.

mett T. h. W. M. G. W. here at my Lodging. disputed w<sup>th</sup> foulds. din'd & sup'd at home.

16

the Professors of all souls declin'd a meeting. I din'd w<sup>th</sup> sr. w. Petty. Sr. G. Ascue came to see me; discoursed with Bird about G. land. Sup'd at home. visited by J. Steppy.

17

I went to y<sup>e</sup> Earle of Dragheadahe he treated me w<sup>th</sup> great ciuility. I meet y<sup>e</sup> Earl of Arran & of Roscommon. R. H. y<sup>e</sup> Ld. Jo. C. T. Ld. D. G. T. &c: I disputed w<sup>th</sup> wilson. was visited by Rouls, F. Step. Josep & ther kinsman Capt. J. Barniot come to town & w<sup>th</sup> me. din'd & sup'd at home.

18

I was w<sup>th</sup> Jo. Bur. in y<sup>e</sup> morning. I din'd at home. discours'd w<sup>th</sup> C. Dis. & his sister M. F. we had a precious meeting at y<sup>e</sup> great hous. Jos. Step. was with me at night. so was Jo. Bur. G. Web. & an other friend. Sup'd at home also.

19

I was w<sup>th</sup> the Ld Kingston who was very Civil & Kind. I went to Bany & deliver'd him y<sup>e</sup> Adresse in y<sup>e</sup> morning, in y' Afternoon I went to Councill, I mett



y<sup>e</sup> E. of D. there. y<sup>e</sup> Address was not read, I mett also w<sup>th</sup> W. Fitz Gel<sup>d</sup> & Rob. ff. G. I din'd & sup'd at home.

## 20

visited by j. ffouls. noe meeting can be had w<sup>th</sup> Prof. there came also W. Bird & C. Sands about G. S. busi- nesse. the estate being neglected. is gone, all but a 3<sup>d</sup>.

writt for England to my ffa. to A. P. F. R. G. S. din'd & sup'd at home.

a letter resceiv'd from the chancellors chaplin about T. S. j. visited by Ingenious Bon: an account resceiv'd off y<sup>e</sup> Reuenu of the Kingdom £219500.—

## 21

y<sup>e</sup> ffamely went w<sup>th</sup> me to meeting at Dublin, where I have been since y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> Instant. J Burniot spoak, a good meeting it was in y<sup>e</sup> powr of y<sup>e</sup> allmighty. many people came amongst the rest seuerall off y<sup>e</sup> Ruder Boisterous Gallants to gaiz on me, which they did for allmost an hour. meeting being done, we went out where I spoak to them very sharply, and so we parted. I sup'd at home.

## 22

I was at y<sup>e</sup> Councill about friends, It satt not because of y<sup>e</sup> Ld Lt Illnesse. I mett there Sr G. Lane, Sr A. fforbise, Sr T. Jones, Dr. Yarde &c. they spoake merely to me, but I urg'd a relese of poore friends upon them 3 of y<sup>m</sup> being Privy Councillors. I went to y<sup>e</sup> Castle saw C. Heade from thence to Sr G. Ascue so to C. Shapcore where I Gott y<sup>e</sup> Articles of agreement betwixt C Wallis & I.

I feed him w<sup>th</sup> 6 Cobbs. I stuled y<sup>e</sup> purchass of y<sup>e</sup> Corke Inhabitants. from thence to Jo: Bur. & so home where I din'd & sup'd.

## 23

I was visited this morning by Lt. Coll. Young. I visited Sr. J. Semple & Sr G. Lane. neither at home.



T. Gooking was to see me. Din'd at home. Boneele din'd w<sup>th</sup> me. sup'd at home. J. Bur. lay here y<sup>t</sup> night.

24

Tho. Gook C. Phair & Dr Roules din'd here. T. frouls come to see me. Dr. Hull was to visit me also. I was at C. Shap. he was not within. I went w<sup>th</sup> A. G. to J. Bur. W. Bird come to see me at night. din'd & sup'd at home.

25

I was at C. Shap early but did little. from thence I went to J. Burniots from thence to C. P. Lodging, where I meet sr st Jo: Brod. where we discours'd of P. matters. I Caus'd my hair to be Cutt off & putt Into a wigg because of Baldness since my Imprisonment. I was at meeting, & a very heavenly one It was.

I was with Coll. Shap. where I ended my business about C. Wallis, & y<sup>e</sup> Inhabitants of Corke. from thence to supper at home, & so to J. B. Lodging, w<sup>th</sup> A. G. to take our leave of him. din'd & sup'd at home.

26

Jo: B. went towards the mole from the Citty of Dublin. C. P. Come to se me. so did Hawkings F. frouls, D. Tree. Sr J. Ascue: & — Bonneele. din'd & sup'd at home; nothing was done at Councill.

27

S<sup>r</sup> Aims Meridith. C. Phair. Lt. C<sup>n</sup> Walker din'd w<sup>th</sup> me at my Lodging. I writt to G. S. to G. ff. to G. W. to T. ffr. to G. Web. to my ffa. to Fr R. & to J. Y; din'd & sup'd at home.

28

I was at meeting, it was large. I declar'd 1<sup>h</sup> &  $\frac{1}{2}$ —pr: twice. y<sup>e</sup> meeting was fresh & quiet. sup'd at home. friends came to my chamber at night where we had a precious meeting.





## 29

frinds were releas'd In this Citty w<sup>th</sup> great love & Civility from y<sup>e</sup> Judges. Nothing was done, nor is likely to be done at Councill, because of y<sup>e</sup> Army & Revenues. Dr Roules & Jo. Scott were to seen me, R. T. E. G. W. moir & his wife were here. seuerall friends books were by me dispers'd. G. W. G. ff. E. B. A. R. W. P. primers. &c:—my accounts ended w<sup>th</sup> Jo: Gay.

## 30

we came from Dublin to Racole; J. G. his wife, y<sup>e</sup> children, S. C. A. S. & another friend. I left orders w<sup>th</sup> J. G. about all matters.—miles 6:

*1 of y<sup>e</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> mo: 1669.*

we left Racole—they went with us 2 miles & so return<sup>d</sup> we bated at blakrwoth, & lay at Carloe, where I sent for C. Chaffin. gave him books to dispers. miles 26.

## 2

we parted early from Carloe & pas'd through Castle Diermont, & bated at kilkenny from thence we Came to Bat-Fouks his hous where we lay. miles 21.

## 3

we parted thence, & pass'd through Callin. & bated at 9 mile hous call'd Grange Mac-Cleere. and lay at Clonmell being 14 mile. sup'd w<sup>th</sup> Mead w<sup>th</sup> home I had much dispute about originall sin.

## 4

we chaing'd J. P. horse w<sup>th</sup> Mead, & had one peece & 2 Cobbs too boote. we parted from Clonmell, famous for oliuers seige, its present strength, & great fruitfulness of soyle. we pass'd through y<sup>e</sup> 4 mile water & came to Copper Quin where in passing ouer y<sup>e</sup> Blackwater, a riuier of great note, rapidity, & depth;



y<sup>e</sup> horses were so unruly, especially J. P. y<sup>t</sup> we were all Endanger'd of Drowning. J. P. was struck ouer board & by mighty mercy, I & y<sup>e</sup> Boatman caught & Sau'd him. P. ffords hors slew ouer, & swone back portmantor on all to tother side; & whilst I & y<sup>e</sup> ferry man were saueing J. P. my horse & his had well neigh flung us both vpon him & they vpon us, which y<sup>e</sup> god of mercy for his name sake, prevented. we return'd. J. P. Lost his hat, gott him to an Inn, putt him to bed. pyles him w<sup>th</sup> hott cloths, Strong waters, & what could be gott to preserve him; after 2 hours stay to drye & recruit him we past the ferry & Come by lismore y<sup>e</sup> E<sup>e</sup> off Corks great seal, & so to Talloe, a road well Improu'd & much English where we lay at the signe of y<sup>e</sup> George. miles 17.

5

we left Talloe & came to Cap<sup>t</sup> beuls. we pas'd by a great Company of Irish gather'd to y<sup>e</sup> mass upon A hill we Din'd At C. B. went to se y' vaile of shangary. stop'd at Cap<sup>t</sup> Boles farm he holds of my ffa. well Improu'd from thence to C. B. were we sup'd & lay.

6

I left Cap<sup>t</sup> Beuls & went to see C. Phairs wife; & thence w<sup>th</sup> C. Bent, his wife, & daughter went to Cork. where I went to see the prisoners y<sup>t</sup> night.

7

we went to meeting, I spoak in y<sup>e</sup> powr of y<sup>e</sup> Ld God a fwe words to Backsliders, thence to diner at T. Mitchels. & so to Prison & so home at E. P.

8

I stay'd to write letters I could not agree w<sup>th</sup> Capt. Boles. I went to Prison where I spoak a fwe words In y<sup>e</sup> pure life. from thence home.



## 9

I left Cork. J. Boles in company to kinsale, C. Rooth came to visit me at y<sup>e</sup> Green dragon, & C. Penn.

## 10

I went to R. Southwel who was Civil. I received advice from him. from thence we went to y<sup>e</sup> fort, where we dined, I gave y<sup>e</sup> soldiers 2 cobs or plate peeces. from thence I came to Cozen Crispins.

## 11

I left C. Cris'n & came to Immokilly, he came w<sup>th</sup> us to y<sup>e</sup> first Ferry 7 miles. I call'd at F. Smiths, meet Jo. Spat & P. vowel, came to Capt Beuls were was Ens. Cro:

## 12

I sent P. F. to Cork for Jo. Gos. with letters to sherif feild & sheirif haray, also to Jo. Gos: & S. Thornton. I went to see C. Phairs wife. spoak some words there. sup'd at Capt. Beuls had much dispute w<sup>th</sup> Ens. Cro. disafected.

## 13

I stay'd at home all day. C. osb. serj Rouls. Capt. ffreak. P. vowel: Fran-smyth. & old ffranckland Come to see me y<sup>e</sup> 2 first about land, but had noe positive answer till y<sup>e</sup> 16 following, becaus P. Muskal was not there who opposes serj: Roul's now in possession of Ballelowrace & balleroe. Rid out Into y<sup>e</sup> feilds In y<sup>e</sup> euening. lay at Capt Beuls.

## 14

I went to see Ballelowrace & Balleroe & Boms quarter, litt at serj Rouls, saw lissally & Ballimullie, & Ballinuobir. lay at C. Beuls. J. G. & P. F. came from Cork.

## 15

we went to admeasure Geivogh & Knockvyaple Fr. Smyth being there. & J. Boles, it mounts to . . .



acres. . . more then by y<sup>e</sup> Line Sirvay C. Wallis come to me to see me. lay at C. Beuls.

16

F. S. Serj. R. & Pr: Mascall Come about y<sup>e</sup> lands of Ballelowrace & Balleroe. It was detemind for Rouls. much dispute at table Against y<sup>e</sup> Priest; people satisfy'd. still at C. Beuls. J. G. & P. suruay'd ffr. S. Land again.

17

we went to serj. Roul's to admisure his. we lay there that night.

18

we made an end of Rouls his lands. Ballevullin & Lissally. C. B.<sup>s</sup> & Came home y<sup>t</sup> night.

19

F. S. Came for a lease. we agreed at 42<sup>s</sup> An<sup>o</sup>. Serj. Rouls we also agreed with at 4.6 per Acre. with other Considerable Improvements on y<sup>t</sup> halfe ploud land. din'd & sup'd at home as I have done all y<sup>e</sup> while. Receiued a Packet from Cork, one from G. S. A. P. R. Pen. T. Cook. J. & A. Gay.

20

we went to C. Pharis. we sup'd there; lay at C. Phairs.

21

we went to C. Boles his hous, admeasur'd his lands in part. din'd there. I returnd & Jo: hull w<sup>th</sup> me. Jo. P. J. Gos. & P. F. stay'd yt night. I writt for Eng. to F. R. J. Y. G. S. A. P. G. W. P. E. S. M. &c:

22

we went to Cap<sup>t</sup> Boles finish'd his land, & so to Abad-dagh, to C<sup>t</sup> Wakehams. & lay there. J. H. went to Balli-crenan mett w<sup>th</sup> Maj<sup>r</sup> woodly.





## 23

& deliuer'd for 42<sup>11b</sup> per An<sup>o</sup> y<sup>e</sup> first yeare, & 40<sup>1b</sup> per & Sr. P. Smith came to us; Articles were sign'd seal'd & deliuer'd for 42<sup>11b</sup> per An<sup>o</sup> y<sup>e</sup> first yeare, & 40<sup>1b</sup> per An<sup>o</sup> afterward. during 3 liues. S. Thornton come in y<sup>e</sup> while. return'd with him to C. Boles, so to C. Phair who was come home. and thence to C. Beuls hous where we lay. and had some seruice.

## 24

we went to Cork. I to P. Walkhams, finish'd y<sup>e</sup> ad-measurement there.

## 25

was Pye Day. none could be gott to worke. J. I. G. P. & I. went to Cork. by C. Phairs. where we first dined. we lay at T. Cooks. visitted frinds In prison, first: S. T. lay w<sup>th</sup> me.

## 26

we went to a meeting at G. Bennetts 4 miles out of Cork. we ouer took J. Stubbs & many Mallow friends: we had a large & blessed meeting; we returned to Corke. lay at T. C. S. F. J. S. & I lay together.

we had a meeting at our lodgeing, y<sup>e</sup> widdow Plas-teed, & T. Mitchell were there.

## 27

S. T. went for Mallow, J. S. stay'd In Cork & I came Into Immokilly to my ffathers hous. Shangary or old Garden. haueing call'd At C. Phairs. we were Ciuilly treated.

## 28

we went to se C. Wallis trenches In y<sup>e</sup> great Bog where he has made a duble ditch 2 miles quicksetted & many great dithes & cross, by which It may become profitable land. Jo. P. fell into a trench stepping over. J: hul came to us. din'd sup'd at sh.



29

Major fformer & J. Boles came to me. I had advise from F. din'd & sup'd at sh. I have perus'd Part of y<sup>e</sup> Jesu. Book.

30

I went to meet J. S. but found him not. he came late In y<sup>e</sup> euening. w<sup>th</sup> G. Pennick. lay with me.

31

he went w<sup>th</sup> C. Pen. to Youghall, where he had a meeting. I carry'd him part of y<sup>e</sup> way, and then return'd. mett at shangary Cll. osborn. Rich. Hull. F. Smyth. Serj Roules & Jo. Bouls also G. ffitz-Gerald. I did little businesse, they din'd here. we had some Controuersy together about matter of liberty. serj. Rouls is to Conclude w<sup>th</sup> me about y<sup>e</sup> businesse. G. ffGerald. would haue a forme none can beset him. they left us, I went with them, so did J. Hull C.ll. wallis & J. Boles allmost to Ballicrenan. then return'd.

*1 of y<sup>e</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> mo.*

Cll. Wallis J. Boles & I. went to Inches, found the hous out of Repair. thence to C<sup>t</sup> Walkhams & so w<sup>th</sup> J. G. & P. F. home to shangary.

2

we stay'd at shangary. All but J. G. & P. F. went to gales. was about y<sup>e</sup> Ans. to y<sup>e</sup> Jesuits.

3

I was very busy about y<sup>e</sup> Answear all day allmost. J. Hull transcrib'd it.

4

J. B. came to me, C. W. he J. P. & I went to Cp<sup>t</sup> Gales rid Into y<sup>e</sup> sea. J. G. & P. F. went to admeasure T. ffranck lands farme & Return'd to Shangary y<sup>t</sup> night. M. W. come to Dinner. J. hul went to Corke



& carry'd y<sup>e</sup> first sheet to y<sup>e</sup> press. J. B. went home, & woodly to Gales.

## 5

I went an hour before day to Capt Bents for aduice. he come back two miles. I ouertook Capt. Walkam & J. B. I Concluded w<sup>th</sup> Capt. Walk for 90<sup>lb</sup> per An. for Fenore, Car. Ball. Arce. Cond. Rall. & Seskens.

Major woodly & I have not quite agreed. he went to Roleses & C. walk home.

## 6

Major woodly & I could not Agree. I din'd & sup'd at shangary.

## 7

I writt much off my answear to y<sup>e</sup> Jesuits. & J. P. transcrib'd It.

## 8

I writt for england to G. W. J. Y. ff. R. & My ffa. I bought frize for M. Lowr ff. w. P. E. P. P. S. M. I sent Another sheet to y<sup>e</sup> presse Gale came. we agreed at 82 per An°

## 9

C<sup>t</sup> Gale came again, we agreed still at y<sup>e</sup> same price. I writt some of my answear.

## 10

Cap<sup>t</sup> Wakeham & J. B. came, y<sup>e</sup> lease agreed upon & drawn. At 84 per An°. Serj. Rouls was also here & agreed at 4<sup>s</sup>-4<sup>ds</sup> per Acre.

## 11

C. Phair came to see me. we went to Gales I had a letter from R. Soe Capt Rooth, M. Loue about the souldiers pay. orders giuen about It. P. F. Returnd w<sup>th</sup> J. Bu<sup>r</sup> & S<sup>u</sup>.

## 12

J. Bur. J. P. Sam<sup>u</sup> & I went to tallo. lost our way by 6 miles. we baited there. took a guide to cloheen. we



were lost on y<sup>e</sup> mountain, fain to groape our way. at last gott Ouer by many wonderful precipiscees, & came to cloheen by an other guid from y<sup>e</sup> foot of the mountain. being In all about 29 Irish miles. near 50 English.

13

next morning we went to Jo: fennils. found S. Eccles there had a meeting. J. B. & S. E. spok. it was a most precious meeting, many friends were there. G. Baker, J. Bouls & J. Hutchenson. &c.

14

J. B. & S<sup>n</sup> went for Carloe, S. E. & J-ffen<sup>n</sup> to Waterford & we returnd by tallo where we bated to shangary.

15

C<sup>t</sup> Gale Came hether. we Concluded at 40<sup>th</sup> per An<sup>o</sup>.

16

J. P. & P. F. & I went to C. Gales, putt out y<sup>e</sup> gray gelder to grass. he gave me a stone Coult. Came home to shangary again.

17

C. Walkham, Cap<sup>t</sup> Gale, Cap<sup>t</sup> Boles, Major woodly & Priest vowell came to see me. finish'd with Cap<sup>t</sup> Boles at 62<sup>th</sup> per An<sup>o</sup>—I had much dispute at table w<sup>th</sup> vowell Farmer Landy was there. I went w<sup>th</sup> P. W. to y<sup>e</sup> strand. much discourse with him.

18

he came again, & C. hulls wife & y<sup>e</sup> lady Tents t'other two daughters Coll. Phair & Saph & their wiues Gale & Jo: Phair came also to see mee. Phillip went to Cork.

19

I writt more of my Answer. I went to C Phairs w<sup>th</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Gale lay there meet Phillip as We went he returnd with us to C. Phairs.





## 20

went to Cap. Beuls also, to advise about M. Woodly's reference.

## 20

Coll. Phair & I &c: went to Gar. ff<sup>z</sup> Gerald's of Lisquinland to view Clonmain. we din'd there, had a dispute w<sup>th</sup> the Priests Powell & Webb one Chaplen to y<sup>e</sup> Ld. Pres. y<sup>e</sup> other at Youghall. we return'd & parted vpon y<sup>e</sup> hill by y<sup>e</sup> windmill to y<sup>e</sup> poore 1<sup>s</sup>

## 21

I went & Coll Wallis to Coll. Phairs, about y<sup>e</sup> reference the land was return'd 4<sup>s</sup> 3<sup>ds</sup> per Acre. I paying quitrent.

I abated 6<sup>d</sup> per Acre, & y<sup>t</sup> was 3<sup>s</sup> 9<sup>d</sup> p Acre. we so agreed on all sides. he before C. Phair Beul ffarmer, Wallis &c: gave vp Inches y<sup>e</sup> hous not to touch & arrears of rent to pay. so we return'd home to C. Phairs ser<sup>t</sup> 1<sup>s</sup>

## 22

I mett Ger. ff<sup>z</sup> Ger<sup>id</sup> about y<sup>e</sup> windmill, we concluded on 44<sup>lb</sup> per An<sup>o</sup> & what It shall be adjudg'd more worth by Farmer, & Gale. I paying quitrent.

## 23

we stay'd within I writt part of my letter to my ffa. we waited vpon y<sup>e</sup> Lord. went a walking.

## 24

I made an end of my ffathers & writt one to my sister about Fran Cook. I receiv'd A letter from Cap<sup>t</sup> Smith's wife at Ballicrenan, I answered it.

## 25

I went to Capt Bols from thence to Coll. Phairs & so to Capt Beuls.

ffrom thence to Cap: Rous, agreed w<sup>th</sup> him Phillip



went to Cork. I call'd At Coll fitz Gerald was not at home, mett him returning to Cap<sup>t</sup> Boles. sup'd there, Came late to shangary.

26

Coll. osborne, Capt. smiths wife, & hulls wife came to me at shangary about Cap<sup>t</sup> Smiths farme, they earnestly sollicited for an abatement of y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>s</sup>-6<sup>d</sup>-p Acre, but I could not be moued from my Commission, & judgment. It was agreed y<sup>t</sup> It should be so taken & Coll. osborne y<sup>e</sup> security they return'd. much was added to my answer.

27

G. Webber, S. M. & J. C. came w<sup>th</sup> Phillip from Corke. stay'd one night.

28

they return'd by Capt. Boles, & C. Beuls there S. M. Pray'd, we carry'd them on their way to Carrigtohill. and there Parted. they went for Corke. J. P. & P. F. & my self for Capt. beuls, & so to shangary. J. Bayly brought me a letter from J. Gay.

29

I went to Coll. osbornes Coll. wallis & Jo: Baly accompanying me. the Coll. Lady Tent. M. Smyth. R. & E. hull &c: were very Civill, I agreed with smyth, osborne is security, y<sup>e</sup> price is 4<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup> we return'd to shangary.

30

we stay'd at shangary, I proceeded In my businesse, in order to depart y<sup>e</sup> next day. I writt a letter (very smart) to F. S.

31

we departed, Come to Capt. Beuls. lay there y<sup>t</sup> night.

12<sup>th</sup> mo. 1<sup>st</sup>.

M. ffarmer & M. woodly Came to C. Beuls I spoak to them. from thence we Went to Corke. J. Boles being



with us. we mett with Coll. Phair. his wife. & seuerall of his ffamily.

2

ffrom Cork we went to kinsale. I was at the ffort. was visitted by Gooking, & others G. Webber, & G. Gamball came to me about y<sup>e</sup> burying place, bought of Jo: Galway.

3

seuerall din'd with us at kinsale at y<sup>e</sup> green-dragon. I went to see R. Southwell who receiu'd me civilly. we return'd to Cork.

4

I went from Cork, to w. Laifords, G. G. P. F. & J. P. being w<sup>th</sup>.

5

from cloheen, we came to Jo: Fennells, & there mett w<sup>th</sup> Sol: Eccles. & L. Cook we went thence to Cashell. to G. Bakers.

6

we had a meeting there being 1<sup>st</sup> day. Sol. spoak. then I. then lucretia. Soll. & I pray'd. M: Martin & her sister were there. & many off the town's people, we return'd to Jo: Fennells.

7

we returnd thence to w. L. & thence to killworth; had a meeting there. S. E. & I. spoak.

8

we went to Tallow, call'd at Cap<sup>t</sup> Campains a friend by y<sup>e</sup> way. had a meeting at Talloe, where we were disturb'd by a busy Connestable. we refused to goe vnlesse he produc'd his Commission, I spoak much to him, at last y<sup>e</sup> man was smitt, & departed, Sol. pray'd & spoak, so did I. I had much discourse with Rob: Cook.

9

R. C. P. C. S. E. W. H. his daughter, J. P. G. G. & my selfe Came to youghall, I visitted & Inuited Ed:



Landy to meeting, he did not deny me, yet came, not. we had a blessed meeting. both of us spoak. sup'd at y<sup>e</sup> Inn.

10

we left youghall, & w. H. his daughter, R. C. & P. C. & y<sup>e</sup> rest of us Came to M. ffarmers, & thence to shangary, where we lay being Civilly treated.

11

we left J. P. at shangary ill of a stopage In his throat at shangary & S. E. G. G. & my selfe came to Coll. Phairs, & so to Cap<sup>t</sup> Beuls where we din'd; & I left my chestnut nag, takeing his daughters mare, & Came y<sup>t</sup> night to Cork & lay at G. G. where ffriends came to see us. S. M. G. W. H. fflag. J. C. R. B. &c:

12

We continu'd at G. Gamballs y<sup>t</sup> day. I shau'd my head din'd there, did somthing About my book. sup'd At G. Webbers, with G. G. his wife S. M. S. E. &c: return'd to G. G. lay there.

13

we went to G. Bennets 5 miles off to meeting had A precious one. S. E. S. M. & my selfe spoak returnd & sup'd At G. G. had a meeting at R. Brockles by S. E. S. M. & I spoak. it was A large conuinced meeting. lay At E. Erberys.

14

we din'd at Eli Erb. & came to Joan Cooks, sup'd there. G. W. spoak. S. M. pray'd. S. E. spoak.

15

I writt for Eng. to G. Sp. & f. P. din'd at S. Mitt. & lay there. seu<sup>n</sup> friends came to town.

16

we had a great meeting being y<sup>e</sup> 6 weeke meeting for Cork. S. & S. M. spoak. & some others things were





well orderd as to truths affairs, we lay at G. Gambels.

## 17

Coll. Phair & I ended Priggs, & Gales busnesse. S. E. J. Hull. W. Mor. J. P. P. F. & my selfe went to kinsale, bought some of w. Mask. Basketts.

## 18

we went to Bando only will. Morrice will Mask went with us to Bandon we had A meeting there. S. E. spoak. I also spoak. we were at y<sup>e</sup> end disturb'd. for y<sup>e</sup> Prouost & Priest w<sup>th</sup> 3 Conestables Came to us. I satisfy'd the Prouest, nonplus'd the Priest. writt him a challenge, & gott the victory.

## 19

we Came to Jo: Allens. lay there.

## 20

we had a large meeting there. S. E. & my selfe spoak. we lay there y<sup>t</sup> night.

## 21

we came to Will: Morices y<sup>t</sup> is S. E. G. W. J. P. P. ff. & I: Jo: Allen came with us. & return'd. we lay there.

## 22

we went to skippreen will Morice Paul Morice &c: with us. S. E. spoak we return'd y<sup>t</sup> night. y<sup>t</sup> is W. M. P. M. J. P. P. ff. & I. but S. E. & G. W. went with J. hull to his Island.

## 23

Capt. Moore, Abell Garlions. P. Maddox. A. Clark. W. Harris. W. Berry. Ed. Nace. & old ffranckland. also. Philpott, Hundall Crowley, heart German oheay. & others. I Bargain'd w<sup>th</sup> A. G. C. M. & y<sup>e</sup> rest parted civily. haueing appointed them their respective days.



to ballance accounts, & to article for y<sup>e</sup> time, to Come. seuerall din'd at W. Morrices w<sup>th</sup> me. W. M. J. P. & P. ff & I went y<sup>t</sup> afternoone to J. hulls Island to S. E. & G. Webber. lay there. a pleasant & retir'd place. given me a Greek Psalter.

24

we all of us went to Ballamore, had a meeting at J. ffens, S. E. & I spoak; he & G. W. stay'd but the rest return'd we to W. Morrices, J. hull to his Island.

25

G. Web. & Sol. Eccles came to W<sup>m</sup> Morris. I went to see y<sup>e</sup> lands.

26

G. Web. went to Cork. S. E. & went with him. saw J. Stubs his farme. we return'd. I could not agree with P. M. nor Ed. Nace.

27

Seuerall came to meeting from seuerall parts. Cap<sup>t</sup> Moors children, & many others. S. E. & I spoak. It was a precious meeting as I was euer In S. E. went to Jo: Allens.

28

P. Mor. J. P. J. hull & I went to Bandon we went to meeting I was call'd out by y<sup>e</sup> Prouests man; I had 3 hous discours w<sup>th</sup> the Prouests very neere, & Praying w<sup>th</sup> many of the Dirtyst people of the town. my stay-ing preuented the breaking up of the meeting. I endurd much In spirit, In reproaches, slanders, & y<sup>e</sup> wickedness of the multitude: yet, in y<sup>e</sup> end they were traml'd vpon In y<sup>e</sup> dominion of y<sup>e</sup> truth. we lay At S. Massys.

*1<sup>st</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> mo:*

we return'd to Cap<sup>t</sup> Moores at Ross, by M. Allens. we dyn'd At his hous & sup'd there. Tho: Gooking came w<sup>th</sup> me from Ross to to Capt. Morrices.



## 2

I finish'd with Jo: Woods, & Tho: Gookin went to Ross. I settled some of the proprietors; Warner was with me, but nothing Concluded. D. Crowley, & D. Germin sign'd their Articles.

## 3

Adam clark came to me, I writt a letter to y<sup>e</sup> Earle of Barrimore by him. his businesse is vnconcluded About Carrigroe. Walter Morris came In y<sup>e</sup> afternoone, he Engag'd to discharge arrears, but agreed not for y<sup>e</sup> future, only left It In suspence. J. hull Come & lay with me.

## 4

I went to Ross, & J. H. J. P. P. F. W. M. & P. M. to Capt Mores. there Breakfasted, & thence to L<sup>t</sup> Ed. Clarks thence to blantikilly. Mett w<sup>th</sup> Maddox, concluded not. from thence to Bandon, many Accompaning me good part of the way. from thence to Cork. I had y<sup>e</sup> Priests letter & shall Answer It.

## 5

we & many friends to y<sup>e</sup> Number of 23 from Cork, to Youghall, others came from other parts In order to y<sup>e</sup> Next days meeting. S. E. & I lay at Rob: Sandarns.

## 6

we had an exceeding great meeting & y<sup>e</sup> people sober, & seuerall reach'd, all peaceable, & y<sup>e</sup> Mayor himselfe said had he not been mayor he would have Come. we sup'd at the two ends being deuided. & too many for one. S. E. S. M. J. C. G. W. P. F. & I went to Ed. Landys, we much reach'd his loue & hopes were begotten of him & so return'd he accompaning of us a great part of our way.

## 7

I visitted M. Newlons father, a fine old man, & Civill, he liues highly, as to y<sup>e</sup> outward. also J. Gerald, meett



Gouverneur Osborne. Cap<sup>t</sup> Hull Ens. Russell & Owen solver ended y<sup>e</sup> controversy w<sup>th</sup> him, but Woodliff flinches—we left Youghall. I brought friends to Carrigtohill, by y<sup>e</sup> way at Corabby I chaing'd my dun Nag for a flea bit mare. return'd to Coll. Phairs sup'd there & then to Cap<sup>t</sup> Beuls to bed.

9

writt for England, to fa. G. P. F. went to Cork. I went to Coll. Phairs. stay'd till evening, then return'd to Cap<sup>t</sup> Beuls Cap<sup>t</sup> Bart was Come home. he has almost done his businesse with Barrimore.

10

we stay'd at Cap<sup>t</sup> Beuls. went ouer to Coll. Phairs w<sup>th</sup> C. Beul. & din'd there return'd to Cap<sup>t</sup> Beuls I writt a sheet or two against Priest more & purpose, effect

11

Phi. fford Came fro Cork. y<sup>e</sup> judge was Come to Cork. friends Imprison'd, great sevirty express'd.

12

C. Beuls man went to Cork, to excuse his masters not Coming to town to y<sup>e</sup> E. off Barrimore.

13

Phi. went to Cork again for Cap<sup>t</sup> Rooth. Came not y<sup>t</sup> day but Beuls man came. he brought me a Packet. one letter from my ffa. one from Gul. one from T. firm. one from my sister.

writt to y<sup>e</sup> Judge.

14

Phil. Came with my Cousen Rooth from Cork. friends barberously dealt with. Mayor & judge Agreed. many appear for them. my Cos. Rooth, & C. Beul agreed as far as could be. I have bought his





stone-hors, for 15<sup>lb</sup> y<sup>t</sup> is my black hors of J. ffen. & 9 pounds ster.

## 15

we came all to Cork. C. R. C. B. my selfe &c: I litt at Tho: Cooks. writt letters went to y<sup>e</sup> Prison, & saw Dr. ffriends. many ffriends were at y<sup>e</sup> stes.

## 16

I went to y<sup>e</sup> Judge Could not speak to him in y<sup>e</sup> morning. I went to G. Webbers, saw shannon. went w<sup>th</sup> him. Sr. St. Jo: Broderick. & Red: Bor. to y<sup>e</sup> Judge. discoars'd with him. effected but little. but cleer'd truth, & came ouer y<sup>e</sup> Judge.

## 17

W. Mor. Carry'd my letter to y<sup>e</sup> judge, he seem'd Civil, but dealt wickedly. he affronted Jona. Demsey on our account & in y<sup>e</sup> County hall finish'd y<sup>e</sup> matter against ffriends y<sup>t</sup> he should haue done in y<sup>e</sup> Citty hall. many appear'd for us. But nothing done for us. we waited to speak with the judge prepar'd E. Barrimore L<sup>d</sup> shannon, & Capt. More; & writt y<sup>e</sup> A letter deliuer'd by the Ld shannon but nothing done. only y<sup>e</sup> tooles are not to be taken away, & Room to be giuen for lodging. y<sup>e</sup> Judge went out of town, & left y<sup>e</sup> Prisons full, & friends were fin'd 195 pounds besids fees. one friend was beaten In y<sup>e</sup> Court, but was not regarded by judge nor Jury. a wickeder mayor nor judge had not been in y<sup>e</sup> Citty of Cork, since truth Came. we went to Prison inform'd friends, & went to our lodgeings.

## 18

I left friends In Prison. P. F. J. P. & I went to Imokilly, by y<sup>e</sup> lord shannons Cap<sup>t</sup> Ro. & Jo: Gay accompanying us. y<sup>e</sup> Ld. S. made us wellcom from thence ouer both Passages to C. Beuls.



19

I went to Col. Phairs return'd at evening. I sett about a book against persecution call'd y<sup>e</sup> Great Case of L. of C. Debated & defended.

20

I writt much y<sup>t</sup> day of y<sup>e</sup> said discours stay'd at Cap<sup>t</sup> Beuls all y<sup>e</sup> while.

21

I went, Phil. with me, to G. F<sup>r</sup> Gerald & sign'd articles with him, cleer'd arrears with Capt R. Smith. went to y<sup>e</sup> lady Tents ended w<sup>th</sup> Coll. osbor: for himselfe & Capt Smith. we din'd there. return'd by shangary. Coll. wal. brought us beyoind C. bouls. we call'd there. we found at Cap<sup>t</sup> Beuls major Woodlife, at last Concluded with him, & pass'd articles betwixt us.

22

I proceed with my discours much. Coll. Phairs & Capt Gayle Came to me. y<sup>e</sup> business in suspense with Gale stil. & Coll. Phair also.

23

I proceeded & almost finish'd my discours against persecution. P. went to Rous nothing done with him. still at C. Beuls.

24

I proceeded still with my Book. Coll. Phair ended with me. we left Capt Beuls & Came to Cork. I went to visit Friends whose Tooles are taken from them. lay at Tho: Cooks.

25

I spok w<sup>th</sup> J. Gould did nothing. sent one sheet of y<sup>e</sup> G. C. to Dub. Jo: Gay. gaue order for my little wig to be made into two Cap borders. went to prison. thence to G. G. his child just then expired. went to Bandon. saw S. Mas. & Th. DAVIS & lay at Dash.



## 26

we went to Will. Mor. call'd at Cohanakilly twas very stormy. sent for Cap<sup>t</sup> More he came partly agreed with him. lay at W. Mor.

## 27

we had A very good metting W. Mor. spoak 3. myselfe 2. & once call'd vpon the lord god of life. Cap<sup>t</sup> mors wife & Huces son & daugh. were there. parted w<sup>th</sup> G. Bal.

## 28

W. Mor. went towards Maryborough vpon Truths account. A. Giul. came. but refus'd his arrears & so parted. his Distress was sent for by F. & c; o. ffea. P. Maddux was here. he was himself still & so he parted. no sheif without arrears.

A. Guil. came again. y<sup>e</sup> businesse of still. y<sup>e</sup> Cattle violently rescued.

Dauid Ger. had his lease.

J. Southwel sign'd articles for Carhow at 26<sup>lb</sup> per An<sup>o</sup>.

## 29

we went to D. Germ. din'd there. W. Harris & his Bro: J. Martin came theither. we agreed not. all of us went to cheahbegg, to vew y<sup>e</sup> Irish mans farm. thence to Tho: Gookins, who was not within, & so to L<sup>t</sup> Ed. Clarks. & agreed w<sup>th</sup> him at 40<sup>lb</sup> per An<sup>o</sup>. a great Bargain in consideration of old friendship, & seruice Done my ffa. & his own great charge. thence to A. Clarks, to whom I gaue a letter to be sent to y<sup>e</sup> E. of Barrimore & so home by Ross to Will. Morris where we lay.

## 30

we stay'd at home I writt much of my G. C. of L. of C. nuce came. nothing done.



31

we went to T. Gookins. spok w<sup>th</sup> P. Mad. he was rude & surly, we passed thence to y<sup>e</sup> sloueens, Geiragh & Kile, & so home again.

2<sup>d</sup> Mo. 1<sup>st</sup>

E<sup>m</sup> Nuce, Come to me but y<sup>e</sup> leases were not Come. I writt more of my book. we stay'd at home. J. H. came. W. Har. & J. Mar. ended with me. Ed. Nuce. & D. Crowley came, y<sup>e</sup> first had his lease, y<sup>e</sup> last could not. It was not come. we stay'd at home, I did proceed in my book.

3

we had a good Meeting at W. Morrices. Cap<sup>t</sup> Moors wife was there. & J. Hull.

4

I went to Cap<sup>t</sup> Moors. all of us went w<sup>th</sup> A. Gul. to Aghamilly. he had 4 trees. we return'd to Cap<sup>t</sup> Moors & there lay.

5

we all went to Ed. Nuces. thene Cap<sup>t</sup> Moore & I went to P. Mad. he was not at home. we return'd to Ed. Nuces. there din'd, & so come to Cap<sup>t</sup> Moors. I gott my quitrent of y<sup>e</sup> man of Geiragh, but did not agree with him about y<sup>e</sup> saile of his lease.

6

P. Mad. came, I offer'd him his farme at 24<sup>lb</sup> per An<sup>o</sup>. if J. S. would giue way. he would not & said he was resolv'd in his mind. L. C. Mead Came, & din'd at Cap<sup>t</sup> Moors, Martha Moore her Daughter, little Manne P. Jo. & I walk'd to W. Morrices but return'd at Night.

7

Cap<sup>t</sup> Moore, J. Hul. P. Jo. & I went to Bandon. visitted ffrriends. E. Barrimore was not their. lay at L<sup>t</sup> Dashwoods.





## 8

we went to Cork. saw friends In prison, took fresh horses, & so for Castle Lyons. A. C. & F. Hungerford w<sup>th</sup> us. from Castle Lyons we went to shangary in all 38 Irish miles.

## 9

we went to y<sup>e</sup> lady Teuts Agreed w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> E. of Barrymore for 20<sup>lb</sup>, to haue Carrigroe y<sup>e</sup> 9 Greens free, only quitrent excepted. Coll. osb. & his lady not being at home, came into y<sup>e</sup> yard as we were going out to take hors. we rid to ffranck smiths he was not within, we din'd there. so ouer y<sup>e</sup> fferrys to Cork. took our horses, & so for Bandon y<sup>t</sup> Night. being 12 Irish miles after 6: lay at Dashwoods.

## 10

G. Gambal Come to me. we broak fast & I Mounted for Ross, ouertook a Bening Barberous like y<sup>e</sup> heathen. Came to Ross. J. Hull was there. we lay there.

## 11

we Continued there, y<sup>e</sup> sur<sup>r</sup> G<sup>ll</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> harbers came, went to Bullemore. J. H. accompany'd him. y<sup>e</sup> young Gookings Came. W. Berry Came, we concluded on 22<sup>lb</sup> 10<sup>ss</sup> for to release his farme but to haue it one year.

## 12

W. Freak come. W: Berry come, for 6<sup>lb</sup> he surrender'd his years lease, y<sup>t</sup> is he promess'd to doe It. I was to meet him y<sup>e</sup> day following at Clanokilly to resolve. W. ffreke took Kilman at 22<sup>lb</sup> per An<sup>o</sup> for Cap<sup>t</sup> freke. A. Clark took deneduff at 24 per An: & 22 fine.

## 13

we left Rosse, went T. Gookins, sent for Berry he come not, we went to him at Clanakilly, he boyl'd I fell out with him & so return'd to Rosse to settle y<sup>t</sup> bus-



inesse. I ouertook Bohona y<sup>e</sup> Irish tennant Brought him to Rosse. sen J. & L. Hart to distraine the Cattle on Berrys ffarme.

14

y<sup>e</sup> distress come early y<sup>e</sup> mony paid & engag'd for to be paid. Berry Comes was as before, I offerd him what I at first did & he demanded, he refus'd It before Cap<sup>t</sup> Moore, he Bid him begon.

15

Phil. went to Cork. mett berry, he submitted & leaft himselfe at my mercy. I meet him as Benduff paid him 6<sup>lb</sup> & 20<sup>sh</sup> ouer & aboue, & finish'd our difference he acknowledged his fault & so W. M. & J. H. & I come to Ross. W. Mor. Return'd. we stay'd.

16

we went vp to m<sup>t</sup> salem. lay there.

17

P. ff. return'd from Cork. we had a very good meeting. seuerall strainges came. I. Nar. Moore stay'd & supp'd at W. M. we return'd to Ross. lay there receiud let: from my ffa.

18

C. More. & we went to Imsscone, spoak to Ruddock, did nothing & so to Macross by E. Pouels Island. stay'd there y<sup>t</sup> Night. lay at Cris. Goulde.

19

stay'd there y<sup>t</sup> day, by reason of raine. saw y<sup>e</sup> Castle & gardens. was at y<sup>e</sup> widdow goulds bespock 7 & 3 gallens of vsquebough.

20

we came to kinsale. left Cap<sup>t</sup> more at Ballengloss to returne home-words. we were wett saw T. G. C. R. C. P. &c:



21

I went to see old R. Southwell, stay'd 2 hours with him, he & his wife were civil to me, found no Papers but Ruddocks.

din'd at my lodging. came to Cork. saw friends, lay at y<sup>e</sup> Slows

22

went to y<sup>e</sup> Prison again, & so Into Immokilly.

23

Cap<sup>t</sup> Boles & his son come, & sign'd their lease.

24

I follow'd my Book of L. of C. J. B. came heither.

25

I went to Ladys Bridge. Coll. osb. & M. woodlif come & took their leases 2 to osb. 1 for himselfe & 1 for smith. & woodly one for himselfe; went to Rous gaue order y<sup>t</sup> he & walkam should come on y<sup>e</sup> 27<sup>th</sup> Instant.

26

P. ff. went to Cork. J. B. came. Joshua Mantle & his wife. I follow'd my Book.

27

I went to Balleerenan J. Boles w<sup>th</sup> me. call'd at Coll. ff.Geralds & G. ff.Geralds, at ladys Bridge & saw sr ff. Hanly. I could doe little w<sup>th</sup> osb. about C. Beuls businesse.

28

b. Gratricks. Coll. P. &c: din'd here. Cap<sup>t</sup> Rous, & Sel: Walkham. I ended w<sup>th</sup> Rous at 33<sup>h</sup> per. An<sup>o</sup> dismiss Joshua Mantle. Phillip come from Cork. & ald. sanger lay here.

29

I went to meet Coll. osb. at Curabby Concluded on nothing, he said It was In agitation since y<sup>e</sup> last 6<sup>th</sup>



mo: call'd August. J. Bo: was with me. I went thence to Cap<sup>t</sup> Boles his Barne & so to Coll. Phairs where I dined

30

Will ffreak come hither P. went to Cork. James Gold & tho ffranck. come for a surcease of y<sup>e</sup> Arrest. stay'd y<sup>t</sup> night.

3<sup>d</sup> Mo: 1.

they went to Cork. Gale struck vp. & Concluded.

2

P. came home. went with me to Inch & Walter Croker took possession. returnd by Cloyn. there din'd & so home.

3

the Irish Inhabitants come, they had their houses & gardens as before. two were maid serjeants to keep y<sup>e</sup> Grass &c: Croning & Peirce. J. Walk. Come. Tho. ffranck. & his son. I bought his sons hors. gaue one ginny of earnest for 11. Sr. ff. Hanly. & G. ff. Gerald came y<sup>e</sup> last had his lease. they sup'd & so returned.

4

Cap<sup>t</sup> Walkham went with me & P. ff. to Jalloe mett Coll: osb. but not y<sup>e</sup> Earle of Barri. from thence we went to sr Boy<sup>l</sup> Maynards, so to Walt: Crokers. there y<sup>e</sup> Ld Broghill mett us, went w<sup>th</sup> him to Castle Lyons. lay there.

5

I was at y<sup>e</sup> Castle, I spoak w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> lord shannon, & Ld. Barrimore. & his lady. did my businesse as well as I could, & so return'd to Cap<sup>t</sup> Beuls. Cap<sup>t</sup> walkham went to Aghaddagh.

I writt away to Castle Lyons to y<sup>e</sup> Ld. B. & y<sup>e</sup> Ld shan: receiu'd.

6

reciu'd letters from y<sup>e</sup> lord shannon & Ld. Barr: stay'd at Cap<sup>t</sup> Beuls





w. croker went away.

I made y<sup>e</sup> steps in to y<sup>e</sup> private walk. P. & I had some words.

## 7

P. went to Cork. Franckland came not. I enjoy y<sup>e</sup> lords y<sup>t</sup> night.

## 8

I enjoy'd y<sup>e</sup> lord y<sup>t</sup> day. J. P. & I waited in my chamber together I went to Cap<sup>t</sup> Boles. had w: R. H. G. & J. o.

## 9

P. F. came from Cork. we went to Rous, ended with him. had his security of 30 Beast. & 2 leases for y<sup>e</sup> payment of 43<sup>lb</sup> 10<sup>s</sup>—returnd to to Cap. Beuls meet Tho: Mitchells & J. Haman.

## 10

we came to Cork, I writt to B. to y<sup>e</sup> Ld. shan. to my Dr. Bos to y<sup>e</sup> C. of Clan. to E. B. to T. L. To T. E. &c: P. F. went Post to Dub. I saw Cap<sup>t</sup>. Moore.

## 11

we had a precious meting. P. D. S. M. G. W. W. H. J. H. & my selfe spoak. I Pray'd.

## 12

we went to Prison, stay'd mostly w<sup>th</sup> friends, J. Gold. & J. B. were here. I lay at Prison.

## 13

I stay'd y<sup>e</sup> morning at T. Cooks about businesse went to Prison at night spoak a fwe words. lay at home. I was with the Mayor about my books, he abus'd me with names as, Cokscome, Jackanapes, fellow, foole, &c.



14

I writt by Cap<sup>t</sup> more to y<sup>e</sup> Provost & Burgesses of Bandon In answear to the Priest. I went to see friends lay at Prison all night. disputed w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> collector.

15

we had A good meeting we were disturb'd In It & 3 more were stop'd they mist me, though they saw me, & came for me. I come home, I spoak twice.

16

went to ffriends, sent a letter to charlevil disputed w<sup>th</sup> Alder. Coult & Dunscum. return'd to my lodgeing at tho: Cooks.

17

I was at Prison al day. We drew up A Paper of ffriends sufferings to be sent for Dublin. I receiu'd an expresse from C. C.

18

we went to kinsale. lay at y<sup>e</sup> ffort;

19

w<sup>th</sup> old R. S.—disputed w<sup>th</sup> him. ended w<sup>th</sup> C. Penn. din'd w<sup>th</sup> C. Rooth, disputed much at table. return'd to Cork. Phillip come from Dublin nothing done. lay at T. C.

20

I receiu'd A Packet from y<sup>e</sup> Ld. Bryan from Charlevill, y<sup>e</sup> Mayor vpo a letter to him return'd y<sup>e</sup> Books. we went to meting. lay at T. Cooks.

21

we went Into y<sup>e</sup> County at C. B. fix'd T. ffr. leases & sign'd Jo: Boleses. writt to the tennants.

22

Jo: Boles Comes to se us; we stay'd there.



23

Cap<sup>t</sup> Gaile has his lease finish'd. Cl. Ph. came & his wife to see us.

24

Jo: Rous Come about his bond we ended y<sup>e</sup> we came to Cork. saw friends, lay at T. Cooks disputed w<sup>th</sup> A. Popish Coll.

25

I was at prison for y<sup>e</sup> most part that day.

26

the Tennants came to town. sign'd G. Bale. leases. D. Crow. lease. Ld. Clarks, J. South. 2 of Adam Clarks & Cap<sup>t</sup> ffreke

27

I writt to W. Mor. I gave sect'y offering a note for 4<sup>th</sup> per An<sup>o</sup> & young T. offering fourty shillings. I receiu'd A statute staple from Jeans Gold. for to secure a rent charge of 20 per An<sup>o</sup>

Sign'd Walt HARRISES lease & James Martins.

did much other business. went to Prison, & so to my lodging. & about 12 at night took Post for Dublin. gott to Talloe.

28

gott to Clonmell. rid y<sup>t</sup> night to Bennets Bridge.

29

gott to Carloe, & thence to kilkullin, & so to Dublin by Break of day following. being the

30

Tho: ffearon & R. Tur. came to see me. An order obtain'd, but to be on boyle not excepted.

31

I writt to y<sup>e</sup> Ld. Lt. & sir Ellis Ceighton y<sup>e</sup> secretary to haue admission to the Ld. Lt. It was promess'd next day. visitted friends, I also writt to y<sup>e</sup> chancellor.



1. 4<sup>th</sup> mo.

I was with the chancellor, discours'd w<sup>th</sup> him much promiss'd I was with the Ld. Lt. Mett y<sup>e</sup> Earle of Arran there, I had kind admission. he promess'd me faire, we were call'd Into y<sup>e</sup> Councill, y<sup>e</sup> Ld. Arr, came for me, haueing first carry'd in our Papers.—an Order of reference was granted to seuerall to enquire about friends sufferings.

2

I was with y<sup>e</sup> Ld. Arran. we went to y<sup>e</sup> meeting had A good one.

3

we went again to Councill, I was with with the Ld. Arran at y<sup>e</sup> Red house his Coach brought me home. An order was granted for y<sup>e</sup> release of Marys Borrough friends.

4

the Ld. Arran Ld. shannon, Ld. Kingston, Maj. ffairfax, Buckly, Sesser, Sheifeild &c. din'd with me. I writt for England to o. b. ff.

5

we had a large but hard meting being y<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> day. Seuerall great ones, the Countess of M<sup>t</sup> Allexander & of Cloncarthy, the lady horny, &c: & gods powr was ouer them all. & they reach'd. had an other at my lodging Tho. ffearon & I spoak.

6

I was with the chancellor, also with the Ld. off Arran, & y<sup>e</sup> Ld. Lt. in his closet alone. he promessed to release our friends & did so by order of Councill In y<sup>e</sup> afternoone; my ffa. businesse is also done.

7

I was with the Ld. Shannon, & Sr St Jo: Bro: they eat with me.





8

I was at Council, we obtained An answeare, but Barry was safe to us. the Ld. shannon went to take the Air, sup'd w<sup>th</sup> me.

9

I was at the meeting spoak there. we returned. I was w<sup>th</sup> the Ld. shannon.

10

I was with the Ld. L<sup>t</sup> shannon also at Council. we were nothing better.

11

Tho: ffearn & I was together; I writt to my o. d. ff. 2.

12

we went to meeting I & tho: spoak, we had A prescious & power full meeting. afterwards an other at our hous.

13

I was with the chancellor & y<sup>e</sup> Ld. Ar- gaue him Jo: hulls letter. we had an order for J. H. at Coun. we waited there the Ld shan: was with me at sup.

14

the Jesuit would not meet me according to Promesse. the Ld. shannon & I was together.

15

I was at the ld. shannons, I went to y<sup>e</sup> Council I was call'd In. heard, we obtained an order for the release of y<sup>e</sup> remaining nine. also for J. hull.

I gaue y<sup>e</sup> chancellor my letter. din'd at y<sup>e</sup> lady Clanl. the Ld. shannon sup'd with me.

16

I was at y<sup>e</sup> Ld shannon saw y<sup>e</sup> Ear<sup>l</sup> off Clanl. Ld. shan. Bro. & his wife din'd with me. Phillip went to Cork with y<sup>e</sup> orders.



17

I was w<sup>th</sup> the Ld. shan. disputed there. din'd at home. he came & Bro. after diner. was w<sup>th</sup> Coll. shap. & Cou. stephens. sup'd at home. visited by Tho. Fearon. & Ab. fuller

18

I was w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Ld. shannon. also w<sup>th</sup> Coll. shapcore & O. stephens nothing yet done about y<sup>e</sup> letters. din'd & sup'd at home.

19

we went to meeting, Tho: ffearon spoak 2. I. 2. two other friends once, apeece, return'd single & mett again at y<sup>e</sup> old meeting house C. Bukly run ye meeting.

20

I was w<sup>th</sup> the Ld. shan. also w<sup>th</sup> old j<sup>d</sup> Fouls din'd & sup'd at home. I was w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Ld. Ranelagh.

21

I was at the meeting of men-friends. we order'd seuerall businesses.

22

the Ld. shan. & Mazereen was with me.

23

I was sent for to y<sup>e</sup> Lady M<sup>t</sup> Alex. I disputed with the Papists, manifested their great folly. went home so to T. ff. so supper & so to y<sup>e</sup> Ld. shan.

24

I was at home. I saw T. ff. heard from P. from Cork. receiu'd my B. off L. C.

25

I went in Coach to Ballymonicevshie w<sup>th</sup> T. ff. Phi & J. P. come to town.



26

we had a good meeting there being the first. returned at night, sup'd at home. receiu'd L. from my o. b. ff. S. M. & E. B.

27

was at y<sup>e</sup> Councill, gaue two addresses one for C. & one for M. one to ye Ld. R. & one to y<sup>e</sup> Ld. A. an order to fetch up ff: by A. per servant.

28

we were at A meeting W. E. judge in & T. F. but it disgusted ff<sup>ds</sup>

29

I was w<sup>th</sup> the Ld. L<sup>t</sup> he was kind, w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Ld Ar. gaue him a horse. with the chan: y<sup>e</sup> Ld. shan &c: dined w<sup>th</sup> the L. M<sup>t</sup> Alexander.

30

we went to meeting. Meet S. E. & W. S. T. ff. S. E. & W. S. spoak. sup'd at my lodging.

31

I was w<sup>th</sup> Mazereen. dined w<sup>th</sup> M. Forster. S. E. was at Councill obtain'd an order.



## THE STATE HOUSE YARD, AND WHO OWNED IT FIRST AFTER WILLIAM PENN.

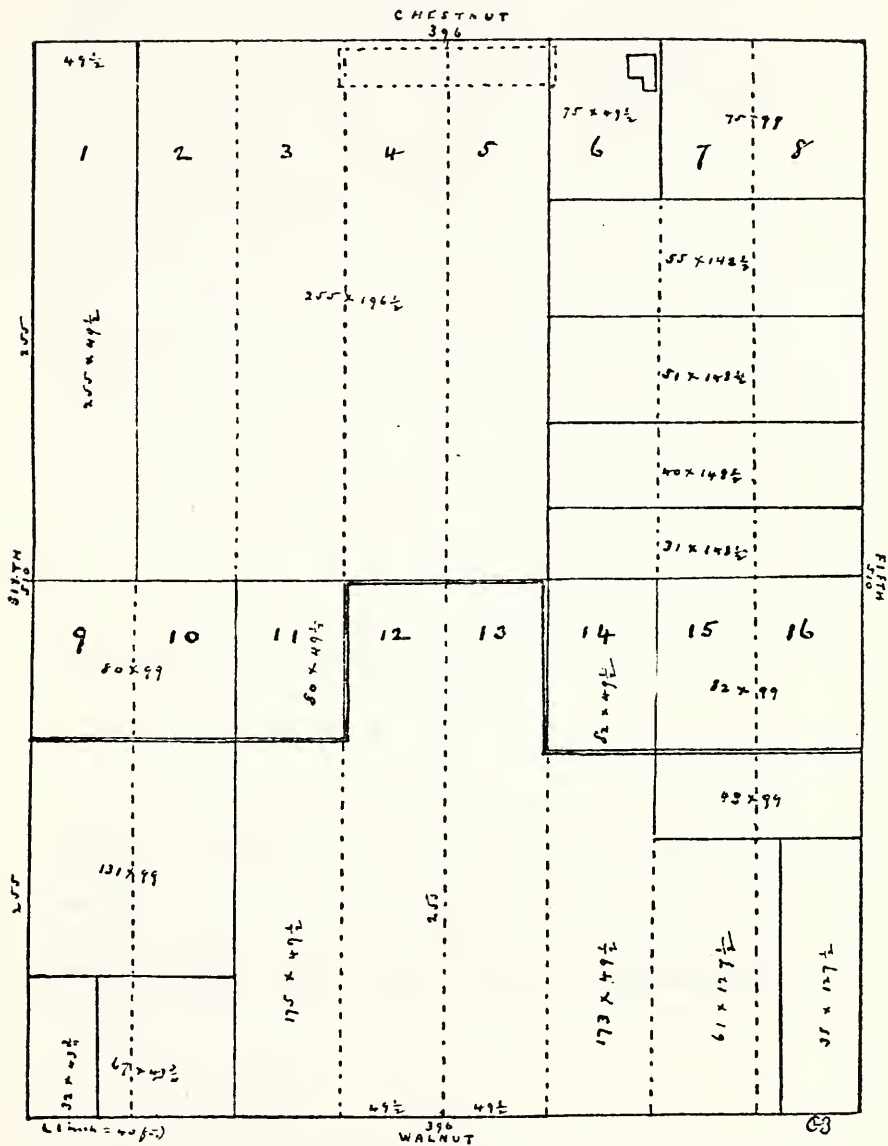
BY CHARLES H. BROWNING.

[The following information supplements the items about the State House Yard, Philadelphia, contributed by Hon. N. S. Barratt, *Penna. Mag. Hist. & Biog.* Vol. XXXIX, October, 1915, pp. 505-6.]

Originally this parcel of ground was only one of the many city blocks, or "squares," (but it was far from being so geometrically, being 510 by 396 feet), on the first plan, and, till well into the eighteenth century, was far, as conditions were then, from the chief settlements on the bluffs of the rivers. It was divided into sixteen equal portions, or lots, each 49 1/2 feet in width on Chestnut and Walnut Streets, and each lot 255 feet deep. (On the accompanying map of the State House Yard, I have indicated these original lots by figures 1 to 16 for convenience.) Being of little value, these lots were used by Penn as "bonus lots," which is to say, when he first began to sell his land, he gave to each purchaser of a "country lot," or a farm site, a city lot, till he exhausted his supply. Two of his city blocks he had set aside as gift lots for certain Welsh Friends, purchasers of acreage in the great Welsh Tract, and their lots were described in early records as "the Welsh Lots." One of these blocks was situated between Fourth and Fifth Streets, and the other between Fifth and Sixth Streets, both lying between Chestnut and Walnut Streets. The eastward block was given to the Welshmen settling in the townships of Merion and Haverford, and the other, which became the State House Yard, to the Radnor Welshmen. These Radnor township Welshmen, all but one from Radnorshire, the









first owners of the Yard, were (aside from David Powell, a Provincial surveyor, and a Welshman), prominent in the affairs of the Welsh Tract, or "Barony,"<sup>1</sup> (that locality adjoining Philadelphia on the west, now known as "along the Main Line" of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Of them were John Roberts, (not the founder of the "Pencoid" family); Edward Jones, (not the early physician); James Morgan and his son John Morgan; "John Evans, gentleman, from Nantmele;" David Kinsey, a carpenter; Richard and Samuel Miles, brothers, from Llanvihangel Velgyen; "Evan ap Oliver, gentleman, from Glascombe," said to have been a shipmate of Penn, in 1682; David James, a mariner, and his son Howell James, from Glascombe; William Davies, a Church of England man, at whose home in Radnor township, the Episcopal Welsh congregation of St. David had services before the present church was built; John Jarman, at whose dwelling house the first meetings of the Radnor Friends were held; Rees Thomas, a woodsawyer, who was one of most prominent men of the Welsh Barony, and John Jones, whose quaint letter<sup>2</sup> gives us a queer impression of the first settlers of Philadelphia.

In the early years of the Province, the General Assembly had no permanent place for its meetings, and met at private houses,<sup>3</sup> the Friends' Meeting House, and in the schoolhouse, and in forty-six years had worn out its welcome in the homes of rich Philadelphians, and then it was thinking of trying the hospitality of the homes of the rival town, Chester, for a while. This may have been only a threat, anyway it awakened the Philadelphians, and in the Spring of 1729, while the

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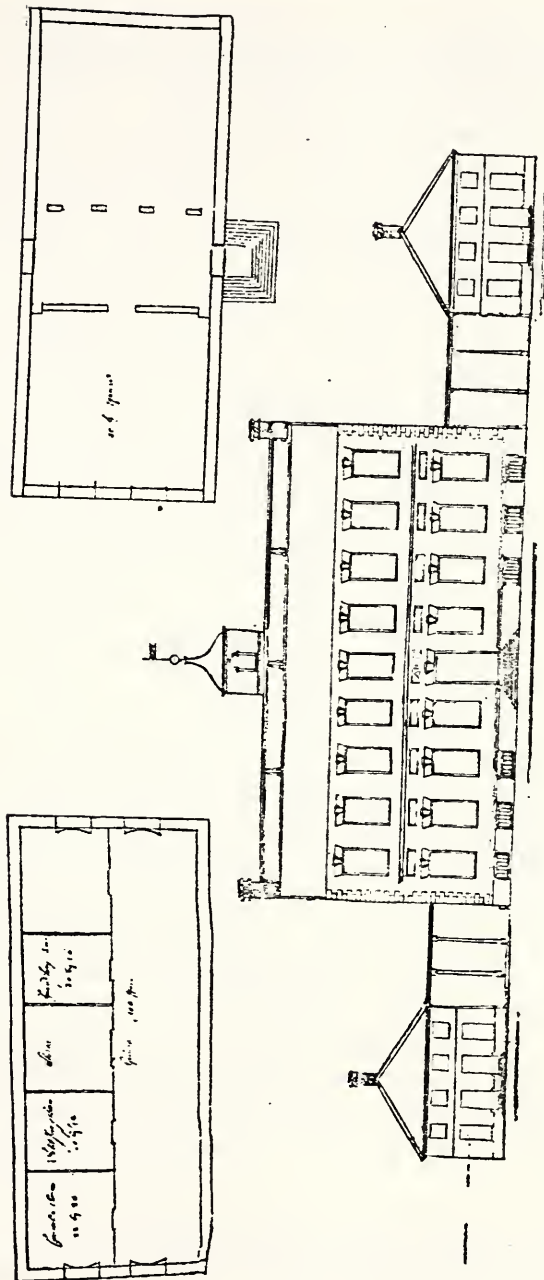
<sup>1</sup> See Glenna's "Merion in the Welsh Tract," Browning's "Welsh Settlement of Pennsylvania."

<sup>2</sup> Browning's "Welsh Settlement of Pennsylvania," pp. 309-11.

<sup>3</sup> Homes of Whitpain, Carpenter, Norris, and Shippen, according to Assembly Minutes, and at Makin's schoolhouse.



The State House Yard.





Assembly was hunting a place in which to hold its meeting, the Philadelphians petitioned to be allowed to erect a "State House." This seemed to be a new idea to the Assemblymen, and the suggestion pleased them, for immediately they "resolved" that "such a house was very much needed," but they declined to burden the Philadelphians with its cost, and enacted that £2000 be raised for the purpose, including the payment for a site. A committee (Messrs. Thomas Lawrence, Andrew Hamilton and John Kearsley), was appointed to select the site, get the plans for the building and contract for its erection. At this time, Mr. Hamilton, who was the Speaker, and Judge William Allen were named the trustees of the purchasing and building fund, and authorized to buy the land on which to build the State House. Thereupon, trouble began to brew in the committee. Kearsley wanted the building placed in High Street, but Hamilton urged Chestnut Street. Kearsley wanted his idea for the style of the building accepted, but Hamilton also had an opinion. Lawrence said nothing. Finally, the difference of opinion had to be submitted to the General Assembly. It settled the squabble in short order, giving the Speaker, Mr. Hamilton, full power to do as he thought best for the interest of the Province. Thus, Hamilton, who like Jefferson, had an "architectural head," won, and Kearsley, who has to his credit the design of Christ Church, Philadelphia, never got over his defeat. Thus, the State House came to be built after Hamilton's plan, and upon the site he selected. (The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has his original drawing of the elevation.) It was at this juncture, about October, 1730, when Allen and Hamilton began buying the lots (Nos. 1-8, on plan), on Chestnut Street.

*Lot No. 1* (on which, in after years, and the adjoining Lot No. 2, the Philadelphia County Court House, 50 feet front, was erected), was, with Lot No. 9, given





to David Powell,<sup>4</sup> the Surveyor, in payment for work for the Province, who patented it, 26 October 1715. He sold and conveyed it, by deed dated 15 Feb. 1725-6, to Rees Thomas, a sawyer, and Sampson Thomas, of New Castle, (son of William Thomas), all Welsh Friends. Subsequently, these men borrowed some money, giving Lot No. 1 as security, from a Thomas Barnard, and, by a deed dated 10 Dec. 1728, conveyed the whole lot to him. In 1731-2, when Mr. Hamilton wished to buy this lot, No. 1, for the Province, he found that the mortgage had not been paid off, and that Rees Thomas was dead, thereupon, Sampson Thomas gave deed, dated 12 June, 1732, to Mr. Hamilton, for his interest in the lot, and the said Barnard also being deceased, his relict, Sarah Barnard, gave her deed, dated 28 Feb. 1732. Mr. Hamilton secured the passage of a resolution by the Assembly, 20 Feb. 1735-6, to take over this Lot No. 1 for the Province, and to authorize Philadelphia County to erect a court-house upon it. By his will, dated 31 July, and 1 August, 1741, Mr. Hamilton devised the whole of this lot, and some others, portions of the Yard, which he had also bought for the use of the Province, in 1732-36, to Judge Allen, and by his deed, (Lib. H. XV, fo. 112), dated 13 Sept. 1761, Judge Allen and James Hamilton, the heir of Andrew Hamilton, conveyed this Lot No. 1, and the other lots devised by Mr. Hamilton, to Isaac Norris, *et al.*, the trustees then acting in the acquirement of the portions of this block which the Province did not then own, to complete the Yard. An Act of the Assembly, 17 Feb. 1762, provided for the conveyance to Philadelphia County, of fifty feet, (or 49 1/2 feet), of land on Chestnut Street, and 75 feet along Sixth Street, which was this Lot No. 1, at the Southeast corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets,

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<sup>4</sup> Powell probably used Lots Nos. 1 and 9 as a pasture, as in 1708, it was complained that he "had wholly inclosed the breadth of the sixth street on the south side of Chestnut street."



“on which should be erected within twenty years, a building to be used for the holding of Courts,” and as “a Common Hall.” The balance (180 feet on Sixth Street), of this Lot No. 1 remained with the Province, and on 29 March, 1787, 15 feet on Sixth Street, were added to the County Court House lot, by an Act of Assembly, and, soon after this, the erection of the courthouse was begun, and was fairly completed in the winter of 1788-9. The subsequent history of this building having been well recounted in recent years,<sup>5</sup> it would be supererogation to continue it here.

*Lot No. 2*, the next lot eastward, was given originally by William Penn to Richard Miles, a weaver and a Welsh Friend, as bonus for having purchased 100 acres of land in Radnor township, in the Welsh Tract, where he settled as a farmer. Miles, whose warrant for this lot was dated 22 Nov. 1683, sold his lot, by deed dated 13 Nov. 1695, to David Powell, the surveyor, (Lib. J. VI., fo. 154).

*Lot No. 3*, was given as a “bonus lot,” by warrant dated 29 March 1683, to David Kinsey, a carpenter, and a Welsh Friend. He and Miles both came from Radnorshire, and he also bought 100 acres of land in Radnor township. On Kinsey’s decease, his daughter, Madeline, succeeded to the ownership of this lot, when she was the wife of Howell James, of Radnor township, and they, by a joint deed of 10 Nov. 1695, sold it to David Powell, for £8. 15. 0. (Lib. J. VI. fo. 151).

*Lot No. 4* was the “bonus lot” of Peter Edwards, who had also bought 100 acres of land in Radnor township, on 30 July, 1683, as did Miles and Kinsey, out of the 5000-acre tract there located by “Richard Davies,

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<sup>5</sup> See “An Address by Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, LL.D., at the last session of the Court of Common Pleas, No. 2, in Congress Hall,” 16 Sept. 1895. “Congress Hall,” by George C. Mason and C. H. Browning, *American Historical Register*, Vol. IV, March 1896, pp. 36-58. *Public Ledger*, Jan. 1896, April 23, 1911.



gentleman of Welshpoole." Peter assigned his claim to this lot to another Welshman, "John Evans, gentleman," from Nantmele to Radnor township, who sold the town lot also to David Powell, the surveyor.

*Lot No. 5*, was the "bonus lot" of "Evan Oliver, gentleman," who removed from Glascombe, in Radnorshire, to a 200-acre farm property he had bought in said Davies' great Radnor tract. After his decease, his town lot stood some time in the name of his relict and widow, Jean Oliver; she sold it also to David Powell, who patented it 17 Dec. 1689.

Thus the four lots, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, being 196 1/2 feet on Chestnut Street, and each 255 feet in depth, were owned at one time by Surveyor Powell, and he, by deed dated 26 March, 1706, sold and conveyed them to Richard Hill, merchant, after whose death, his nephew, Levin Hill, of Anne Arundel Co., Md., possessed them, and they were purchased from him (deed dated 14 Oct. 1730), by Judge Allen, as trustee, "for the use of the Province." At this date, the Judge also purchased the remaining lots, Nos. 6, 7, 8, they being 150 feet on Chestnut Street, and running back 255 feet on Fifth Street. After his lots had passed from Powell to Hill, there remained to Powell, through deeds between them, dated 26-7 March, 1706, "a strip of land one foot and a half in breadth, and in length 255 feet" off of the east side of Hill's purchase, or between Lots 5 and 6. Did he reserve this strip of land for half of an alley, as it would lie along the rear ends of his lots fronting on Fifth Street? (Exemp. Lib. VI., fo. 219.)

*Lot No. 6* of the three Chestnut Street lots, was the "bonus lot," by warrant dated 8 May, 1690, of John Jarman (this name variously written Jermon, Jormon, Jermin, Jarmain, &c), a weaver, and a Welsh Friend, who removed with his family from Llangerig parish, Montgomeryshire, in 1683, to land he had bought in Radnor township. By his deed of 10 July, 1690, he



sold this town lot to Surveyor Powell, who built a brick dwelling house on it, the first building erected in this block, or in what was to be the State House Yard. (Exemp. Lib. VI. fo. 299.) He may have himself resided here. The house was standing when the Chestnut Street lots were conveyed to Judge Allen, and it may be that the Assembly met in it, while the State House was being built. This is possible, as the house could accommodate the then Assembly, and the State House proper, being about 100 feet on Chestnut Street, erected upon Lots Nos. 4 and 5, would not encroach upon Powell's house, but when the detached offices were built it had to give way to the eastern one.

*Lot No. 7* was the gift lot to John Roberts, a maltster, who purchased 150 acres of land in Radnor township, from "Richard Davies, gent." He sold his town lot to David Powell, who in turn sold it to Richard Hill, by deed dated 1 Nov. 1705, whose nephew, Levin Hill, aforesaid, sold it to Judge Allen, the Provincial trustee, 14 Oct. 1730.

*Lot No. 8*, at the southwest corner of "Chestnut Street and the Fifth Street from the Delaware," was the "bonus lot" of "Edward Jones, of St. Harmon, gentleman," by warrant dated 29 Nov. 1683. He had bought from Richard Davies 250 acres out of his 5000 acre tract in Radnor township. But subsequently, he sold this farm land, by deed of 4 Feb. 1690, to James Morgan, and never came to Pennsylvania. The "bonus" reverted to James, and, his son and heir, John Morgan, sold it to David Powell, 10 Nov. 1695, who sold it, with the adjoining lot, to Richard Hill, whose heir conveyed it to Judge Allen, trustee, 14 Oct. 1730. Years after, it was on this lot and part of the adjoining one the City Building was erected.

It was thus that Judge Allen, as trustee for the purchase of these lots along Chestnut Street from private parties for the use of the Province, by two deeds, dated







14 Oct. 1730, acquired from Levin Hill, and his wife, Elizabeth, the two parcels of land on Chestnut Street, one being east and west, 150 feet, and the other, east and west, 196 1/2 feet, or 396 feet on Chestnut Street, from Fifth Street, west to David Powell's lot, (49 1/2 feet front, which had been conveyed to the Trustee), at Sixth and Chestnut Streets, the whole being 255 feet in depth.

When Judge Allen bought these seven Chestnut Street lots for the State House Yard, there were four tenants on them, holding leases from Richard Hill, (several times Mayor of the city). These rents were conveyed to Andrew Hamilton, as trustee, who devised them to Judge Allen, as trustee, and by a deed dated 17 Sep. 1761, (Lib. H. XV, fo. 112) the Judge and James Hamilton, (Andrew's heir), conveyed them to Isaac Norris, *et al.*, the "State House Trustees." The citations in these leases are of interest, as one shows that, in 1720-1732, one Thomas Paglar, "a founder," (*fondeur*), who worked as one of the bricklayers on the State House, occupied Powell's brick house, with a lot 49 1/2 feet on Chestnut Street, by 75 feet deep, it being a portion of Lot No. 6. Below Paglar, resided Matthew Dowlin, (or Danlin ?), a butcher, occupying a house on a lot 55 feet front on Fifth Street, and below him, on Fifth Street, was William Davies, a Welshman, on a lot 40 feet on Fifth Street, and below him, resided Michael Morris, on a lot 34 feet on Fifth Street, thus showing the irregular sizes of city lots in the "suburbs."

By the aforesaid deed of 17 Sep. 1761, of Allen and Hamilton, we learn that by further purchases, the Chestnut Street lots, Nos. 1, 2, 3, and Nos. 6, 7, 8, were extended southward about 80 feet. That is, William Hudson, a tanner, (he was the Mayor in 1726), had sold, by deed dated 28 Aug. 1732, to Andrew Hamilton, as a State House trustee, a lot of land, "82 feet" on



Fifth Street, "running back the width of two ordinary lots," or 99 feet. Subsequently, Thomas Hobbs parted with 49 1/2 by 82 feet off of his back lot, (No. 14), and, at the same time, Thomas Stappleford, a joiner, conveyed to Mr. Hamilton "80 feet" on Sixth Street, 99 feet deep, and John Becket, later, 80 by 49 1/2 feet, the back end of Lot No. 11.

But it was not until in 1761, by the final deed of 16 Sept., as mentioned, that "The Honourable William Allen, Chief Justice," &c, conveyed to the State House Trustees, the land purchased from Levin Hill. In Nov. 1733, Judge Allen had conveyed for the sum of £500, "the lots and rents," for "the use of the Province," to certain trustees, but there being some irregularity, or dissatisfaction, the Assembly, by a new Act, 21 Feb. 1736, vested "the State House and other Public Buildings with their lots" in new trustees, "for the use of the Province," and it was also enacted that Mr. Hamilton and Judge Allen should convey the land bought for the Province to them.

Returning to the period when the site for the State House was bought, we will find that it was not until in August, 1732, that Hamilton was in position to inform the Assembly he had engaged the ground, and asked for the purchase money; he also stated, that he had procured materials to build with. This decides that the actual work on the State House<sup>6</sup> began some time after 8 August, 1732.

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\*To present-day people it may seem strange that there was no cornerstone "laid" with ceremonies, especially the Masonic, because Judge Allen was the Grand Master, in 1731-2, the first in America, and James Hamilton filled the same office in 1735, and Thomas Lawrence subsequently; but the extant records of St. John's Lodge, beginning 24 June, 1731, "Brother Ben Franklin's" private books, 1730, &c., and his "Gazette," 1731, &c., say nothing about such a function. The records or minutes of the Grand Lodge for this period cannot be found, and are probably forever lost. But it is possible that Friends' influence was still strong enough to stop such "senseless proceedings."



Because of changes in the plans, and difficulty with the "allied trades" (for there seems to have been an incipient "trades' union" this soon, when laborers thought they had some "rights"), the building was far from finished in January 1734, and so reported to the Assembly. Nor was it much more than roofed, when, in October 1735, the Assembly had its first sitting in the State House. Nor was the second floor usable next year, much to the disappointment of Judge Allen, for he had to spread his civic banquet, as the new Mayor, in the Assembly Room, on the first floor, 30 Sep. 1736.

Mr. Hamilton did not live to see his building completed, as he died on 4 Aug. 1741, for the interior woodwork, panelling, doors, &c, was not finished till in 1744. He had rendered, in October 1738, the account of the money (£4043. 16. 11, Penna. Currency), he had expended, and it was satisfactory to the Assembly, which, thereupon, voted him £402, 3. 9 for his services, but only £32 each to Lawrence and Kearsley for their part. Included in Mr. Hamilton's expenditures was the cost of two office buildings, which were not included in the original estimate. These two small, two-story brick houses, which were ordered to be erected in March 1734, were unfinished in January 1736. One was built at each end of the State House, but not joining it. This was the general appearance of the State House as it stood in 1756; and, as it was without the present brick tower, in which the stairs to the second floor are now located, it has been an interesting question how the second floor was reached. Possibly, this was done by an outside stairs, as the second stories of the two adjacent office buildings were reached this way. In 1749-50, measures were taken to erect a tower, "to contain the stairway," and for "a suitable place for hanging a bell."

Sometime after 1732, when Hudson and Stappleford sold the land which was added to the State House Yard,





as mentioned, and before 1740, a brick wall was built on the back ends of the Chestnut Street lots, as indicated in map, indented by two unacquired Walnut Street lots. When transfers were made of the lots abutting on the yard, the "State House Wall" was always given as the northward boundary.

If at first there were walls along the Fifth and Sixth Streets bounds of the State House Yard, and how far they were carried, I do not find positive information, but from the following item of June, 1741, it appears that the Assembly ordered to be built "a boarded Fence from each Office to each wall, as high as the Wall, and doors fitted in the Wall adjoining the Offices, to inclose the whole;" and "part of the Brick Wall ought to be taken down, and new built, and the North End of each Wall turned round, or carried upright, to prevent Children getting over." As to the rear, or South wall, under the same date, it was reported to the Assembly, that "the Earth being high, and the Wall low, on the South Side of the Brick Wall, the Earth should be taken away to prevent getting over." From these items, it seems that the Yard was not open to the public. From this early report on the condition of the Yard, it may be further learned, that the builders of the brick walls could not get proper, or sufficient flat stones to top it, and, for this reason, there was fear for the stability of the brick walls through water and frost, for, it was explained, "the Bricks having many joints where water can get into the wall," it was recommended to "put a Cornish on each side of the Wall to carry the Water," and to cover the top with cedar shingles. As to the surface of the ground within the walls, no attempt was made to improve, or embellish it till many years later, and we can imagine the state of the Yard till in 1760-1, when measures were first taken by the Assembly to acquire by purchase the adjoining lots on Walnut Street.

Taking up the acquisition, by the trustees for the





State House, of the eight Walnut Street lots, it is found, that, in 1762, the Assembly had appointed a new set of trustees of public buildings, and passed an Act enabling them "to purchase the lots of ground then remaining in private hands of the Square [*sic.*] whereon the said State House now stands." For this purpose £5000 was appropriated. (Laws. vol. IV. p. 336). In due time, this Board started out to spend this appropriation, and buy the Walnut Street lots, as follows:

*Lot No. 9* was given to Surveyor Powell for services, and he took patent for it, 26 Oct. 1715. As he had also acquired the lot above, (No. 1), he owned at this time the whole of the Sixth Street side of this block, as well as the whole of the Chestnut Street side and some more. By his deed of 29 Dec. 1715, Mr. Powell sold and conveyed the whole of this No. 9 lot to John Townsend, a carpenter.

*Lot No. 10* was the "bonus lot" bestowed by warrant, dated 13 Oct. 1685, on John Jones, a Welsh Friend and a Radnor township settler. But he assigned his right to this town lot to William Davies of Radnor township who owned 450 acres, in three lots there. Mr. Davies had the lot patented to himself, 1 March, 1692-3. (Lib. E. IX., fo. 86). Both of these Welshmen were also owners of another Walnut Street lot, as will appear. William Davies, by deed dated 4 March, 1692-3, sold this No. 10 lot to Joshua Fearne, a Chester County land owner, on whose decease, his son and heir, Joshua Jr., of Morris River, West Jersey, inherited it and by deed dated 8 Oct. 1713, sold the whole lot to Surveyor Powell, who conveyed it, 27 Dec. 1715, to John Townsend, aforesaid. Thus, Mr. Townsend, in 1715, owned all of the two lots, Nos. 9 and 10, at the corner of Sixth and Walnut Streets.

On 14 July, 1716, by deed, John Townsend sold out of the upper part of his two lots, 211 1/4 feet by 99 feet on Sixth Street, to Hugh Lowdon, (who owned a lot at



Fifth and Walnut Streets), who by his will, 1722, devised his purchase to his nephew, Thomas Gamble, who sold it, 2 April, 1725, to Thomas Stappleford, who sold, as mentioned above, (80 by 99 feet on Sixth Street), to Andrew Hamilton, trustee, which portion eventually became a part of the first State House Yard. In 1739, Mr. Stappleford devised the balance of his lot, (131 by 99 feet on Sixth Street), to his daughter Mary, the first wife of Thomas Gordon, (1742-1772, son of Alexander Gordon of Philadelphia, merchant). By a deed dated 10 July, 1762, Thomas Gordon, and his second wife, also named Mary, (born Clark), sold and conveyed this lot to the State House Yard trustees.

John Townsend, dying intestate, the remainder of his lots, 99 feet on Walnut Street, by 43  $\frac{3}{4}$  feet on Sixth Street, went to his nine children, who by an arrangement between themselves as co-heirs, sold to a brother Charles Townsend, a carter, 67 feet on Walnut Street, (the balance of Lot 10, and a portion of Lot 9), and he sold this lot, by deed dated 6 Feb. 1769, to the State House trustees. This closed out Lot No. 10.

James Townsend, another son and co-heir of the carpenter, received the balance of Lot No. 9, which was 32 feet on Walnut Street, by 43  $\frac{3}{4}$  feet on Sixth Street, with a dwelling house. He sold the little lot and house, 26 Oct. 1756, to Edwin Erwin, a carter, and the Trustees purchased the corner from him, by deed dated 6 Feb. 1769. This closed out Lot No. 9.

Going to the corner of Fifth and Walnut Streets, or *Lot No. 16*, it is found to have been the "bonus lot" of John Evans, mentioned before, by warrant dated 6 April, 1683, which he patented 1 May, 1691. He was the purchaser of 350 acres of land, out of the 5000-acre tract of Richard Davies, in Radnor township, and out of this purchase he sold 100 acres to each John Jarman and John Roberts, the maltster, mentioned above. David Powell also bought this lot, by deed dated 10 Nov. 1695.



The adjoining property, *Lot No. 15*, was the "bonus lot" of David James, another Welsh Friend and a Radnor township land owner, by warrant dated 22 Nov. 1683. David died, and his daughter and sole heir, Mary James, sold the whole lot, 20 Nov. 1695, to, of course, David Powell, the surveyor. Thus this active Provincial surveyor, a Welsh Friend, an employee of Mr. Holme, the surveyor-general became the owner of all the corner lots of the State House Yard, all of its Chestnut Street front, and part of the Walnut Street side.

After Powell became the owner of Lots 15 and 16, that is 99 feet on Walnut Street, and 255 feet (half the depth of the block), on Fifth Street, he first sold to John Bird, a carpenter, the Walnut Street front, 127 1/2 feet (called also 130 feet in a deed), on Fifth Street, 14 Aug. 1695, and on 29 Aug. 1705, he sold to Bird the balance of the big lots, 127 1/2 by 99 feet, and thus John Bird owned Lots Nos. 16 and 15 in 1705, excepting the very corner of Fifth and Walnut Streets, for, by deed, dated 23 Dec. 1695, Bird had sold it, 38 feet on Walnut Street by "half the length of a common lot," or 127 1/2 (or 130) feet on Fifth Street, for £8, to John Redwood. By deed of 21 March, 1716, Bird sold the remainder of his two lots, 61 feet on Walnut Street by 127 1/2 feet on Fifth Street, to Hugh London, a merchant, for £200 Penna. Currency.

Now we shall see how these Fifth and Walnut Street lots came into the possession of the State House trustees, to be added to the Yard. John Redwood, who had built a dwelling house on his corner lot, sold his lot, 36 by 130 feet, to John Crewe, a potter, 29 June, 1698, who sold the same to John Pidgeon (*sic*), 22 August, 1701, who sold it to Robert Hinds (who worked as a bricklayer on the State House), 20 May, 1719, who took patent for it, and a lot above it, 43 feet on Fifth Street, 4 February 1745. He devised these



two lots, 17 Dec. 1746, to his daughter, Rachel, wife of Robert Tempest, and by deed dated 10 Sep. 1762, Robert and Rachel, for £1400 Penna. Currency, sold the two lots, 38 feet on Walnut Street, and 43 feet on Fifth Street, "adjoining the south side of the State House Wall," with three dwelling houses, to the Trustees.

We have seen that Hugh Lowdon owned, in 1716, two lots, namely 61 feet on Walnut Street, by 127 1/2 feet deep, and 127 1/2 feet on Fifth Street by 99 feet deep, the width of two original lots. By his will, in 1722, Mr. Lowdon devised to his wife Constance and his nephew, Thomas Gamble, the Walnut Street lot, with two dwellings on it, and to Thomas Stappleford his Fifth Street lot. In 1724, Gamble conveyed his interest to his aunt, the said Constance Lowdon, who thereupon gave the Walnut Street lot to her niece Mary (Brockcumbe), then wife of John Chappell, an inn-keeper, who patented it 24 Feb. 1745. By deed dated 26 May, 1767, Chappell, and his wife Martha, living at Mooreland, Philadelphia County, sold the lot to the Trustees, for £750 Penna. Currency. Of the balance of Hugh Lowdon's holding here, the part he devised to Stappleford, we have seen that the latter sold it to the State House Trustees, in 1732, 82 feet on Fifth Street, which was included in the first State House Yard. The balance of his lot, 43 feet on Fifth Street, and along the State House Yard wall, passed, as above, through Hinds and Tempest to the Trustees, 10 Sep. 1762. Thus the State House Trustees acquired the corners of Walnut and Fifth and Sixth Streets, which leaves Lots 11, 12, 13 and 14 to be accounted for, and as briefly as possible.

*Lot No. 11* was another "bonus lot" of the Welshman, David James, of Radnor township, in 1693, which his heiress, Mary James, sold to David Powell, of course, who sold it to one John Beckett, who sold the back end, 80 by 49 1/2 feet, "to the use of the Prov-







ince," which portion, with Stappleford's lot, was added to the first State House Yard. The next owner of the balance of the lot was Joseph Shippen, Jr., who sold it to the Trustees, 13 Oct. 1762, for £396 Penna. Currency.

*Lot No. 12* was the "bonus lot" of Samuel Miles, another Welshman, by warrant of 4 July, 1684, he having purchased 100 acres of land in Radnor township. He came from Hamhanghobyeholgen parish, Radnorshire. Miles sold his town lot, 20 July, 1691, to one Thomas Hobbs, a mason, who sold it to Anthony Morris, a brewer, 16 June, 1727, who sold to Judge Allen personally, 21 Dec. 1742, who sold it, in 1762, to the Trustees, for £156. 3. 3, Penna. Currency. Because of such a tree on this lot, it was described as "Allen's cedar tree lot."

*Lot No. 13* was the "bonus lot" of "the Govern's Mill'r," Ellis Jones, another Welshman, of Radnor township. He assigned his right to it, 12 Dec. 1687, to William David, who assigned it to James Morgan, both of Radnor township, Welshmen. His son, and heir, John Morgan, one of the extensive land owners of Radnor township, sold the lot to David Powell, the surveyor, from whom, through John Bird, above mentioned, it eventually came to the Trustees, in 1762.

*Lot No. 14* was the gift-lot of Thomas Jones, a Welsh Friend from Llanlanread in Elvel, Radnorshire, because of his purchase of 100 acres of land in Radnor township. He assigned his right to this town lot to his nephew, John Jones, to whom the lot was warranted 13 Oct. 1685. John sold this lot, and his "country lot," in Radnor township, to William Davies, aforesaid, a Radnor neighbor, who took patent for it, 1 March, 1692, and on 4 March following, he sold the whole town lot to Joshua Fearne, above mentioned, for £13 Penna. Currency, who, in turn, sold it to Surveyor Powell, 8 Oct. 1713. In 1732, the State House Trustees bought



82 by 49 1/2 feet off the back end, and added the same to the first Yard. Thomas Hobbs bought the balance, and eventually, or in 1762, it was purchased by the Trustees.

'Twas thus, the whole of the block, bounded by Chestnut, Fifth, Walnut and Sixth Streets, was acquired by the Province for a Yard for the State House, or for public ground, *alias* a "Square," and a plaza. And it has been shown that the original sixteen lots, of which the Yard was composed, were first the bonus lots of as many Welshmen, purchasers of lands in Radnor township, in the Welsh Tract, and that one Welshman next owned by purchase all but one (No. 12) of them.

The Yard remained unimproved, simply a fenced-in vacant lot, till in 1785, when an eight-foot brick wall was built on its east and west and Walnut Street sides, and the Yard was laid out into walks and flower beds; the entrance being in Walnut Street through "a ponderous high gate, and a massive brick structure over the top of it." (*Watson*). In 1811, this wall was cut down, and mounted with an iron railing.

After the General Assembly had removed from the old State House, and wishing to pay for the new one built at Harrisburg, it was proposed in an Act, in 1813, to continue Sansom Street through the Yard, and lay out the Yard in building lots, and sell them at auction. The City protested. Nevertheless, an enabling Act was passed 11 March, 1816, to sell the whole Yard at auction on 1 June, following, but at the same time the City was given an option to buy it at private sale before then, the State's buildings, including the clock, the bell, and the land, for \$70,000. This private sale was consummated, and with the same proviso as in the Acts of 1735 and 1762, namely, that the part of this ground lying south of the State House shall never be used for any sort of building, but "shall be enclosed and remain a Public Green and Walk for ever."



PENNSYLVANIA MARRIAGE LICENCES,  
1762-1768.

1762.

*January.*

- 1: Gerrard Irwin—Rachael Owen  
Ebenezer Owen—Sarah Jones
- 2: John Garrat—Hannah Bond
- 5: William Sellers—Sarah Balley
- 6: John Bryan—Elizabeth Cloud
- 7: Lewis Lewis—Deborough Richardson  
Peter Allen—Rebecca Holth  
John Weaver—Catherine Singnar  
William Rutherford—Lillis Hunter
- 9: Benjamin Drake—Rachael Davis
- 12: Jacob Baker—Mary Miller
- 13: Thomas Whitehead—Mary Huffman
- 15: William Maddock—Isabella Cahoon
- 16: Nicholas Holderman—Catherina Guilden  
George Frank—Mary Elizabeth
- 19: Aaron Hassard—Catherina Ritchee
- 20: Joseph Head—Mary Dickinson (Negroes living in  
this city)
- 21: John Prentice—Prucilla Scull
- 22: Edward Yorke—Sarah Stelle
- 23: Abraham Morris—Rachael Pew  
Edward Harry—Jane Lewis  
Evan Harry—Abigail Clues  
Jacob Bealert—Lydia Edwards  
James Waterman—Lea Willson

*February.*

- 1: Daniel Dungan—Martha Lockley  
Edmund Butler—Barbary Amell
- 3: William Butterfield—Elizabeth Bryan  
William Burnet—Margaret Royall  
Thomas Tynand—Mary Cally  
William Boram—Deborah Drake



- 6: George Thompson—Susannah Donavan
- 8: Tench Francis—Ann Willing
- 10: Paul Hemings—Eleanor Audly
- 11: W<sup>m</sup>. McCleane—Rebecca Charlesworth
- 13: John Elliot—Mary Thomas
- 15: William Davis—Eleanor Smith
- 16: James Reynolds—Juday Replin  
John Gibson—Sarah McGraugh  
Joseph Adams—Ann Morrow
- 17: Jn<sup>o</sup>. Thompson—Mary Huston  
James Wattkins—Comfort Griffin
- 18: Benjamin Randolph—Ann Brummage  
John Satter—Rebecca Wilkinson  
Michael, a Negro, bel<sup>s</sup> to Col<sup>o</sup> Byrd, and Molly a  
Mullatta bel<sup>s</sup> to M<sup>r</sup> Beach
- 19: Geo. Frederick Kuhl—Susannah Kuhl
- 23: William Ayers—Elizabeth Rush
- 24: Joseph Lukens—Margaret Dixey
- 25: William Wills—Ruth Reynolds
- 27: John Pinkerton—Lydia Potts

*March.*

- 1: Giles Sheppard—Rebecca Saunders  
John Vanhorn—Rebecca Saunders
- 2: James Crawford—Catherine Howell
- 3: Mathew Cardwell—Hannah Creemer  
John Bird—Mary Stilley
- 6: William Plummer—Jane Yardley
- 9: James Grigg—Hannah Plumly
- 13: Henry Willibe—Susannah Sickle
- 23: Andrew Donaldson—Eleanor Toy
- 25: Francis Cox—Juno (two Negroes of this city)
- 30: William Falkner—Heclace Garrard
- 31: James Cummins—Jane Cummins  
Gabriel Sagert—Margaretta Telbin

*April.*

- 3: Isaac Wood—Margaret McDowel  
John Folk—Mary Armstrong
- 5: Joseph Dean—Frances McCracken  
Richard Whitman—Elizabeth Whitton
- 6: John Mason—Deborah Stevens  
Samuel Vickery—Rebecca Lumley





- 7: Nathaniel Bonsel—Hannah Gamble  
 8: Richard James—Nancy Baxter  
 Barth<sup>w</sup>. Sutton—Deborah Doyle  
 10: Jn<sup>o</sup>. Wilson—Jane Wright  
 Sam<sup>l</sup> Bensele—Sarah Chatten  
 Leonard Rost—Charlotte Mause  
 12: George Tannacker—Margaret Herger  
 Darby Savage—Ann Molley  
 Alexander Carlisle—Mary Gordon  
 14: Charles Harrison—Esther Shores  
 15: David Brown—Susannah Paul  
 James Wilkins—Elizabeth Ward  
 15: William Palmer—Margaret Pew  
 17: Robert Wilson—Mary Davis  
 19: John Tomlinson—Sarah Black  
 20: Christopher Rhinewald—Mary Master  
 21: Abraham Sutphin—Elenor Scout  
 22: Benjamin Jenkins—Eliz<sup>th</sup>. January  
 Jn<sup>o</sup>. Remberger—Mary Bonrem  
 24: Henry Peters—Elizabeth Ironfield  
 26: James Martin—Deborah Williams  
 27: Samuel Rogers—Martha Martin  
 28: William Morris—Ann Griffith  
 Edward Middleton—Ann Griffith  
 29: Enoch James—Rachael Richards

*May.*

- 1: Joseph Rhoads—Ann Jackson  
 3: Francis Mills—Mary Pimple  
 4: John Finley—Sarah Todd  
 John Field—Sarah Coward  
 5: Abraham Hasselberg—Elizabeth Mets  
 William Young—Rebecca Flower  
 Samuel Buzby—Mary Ward  
 6: Jn<sup>o</sup>. Young—Mary Ann Bedford  
 10: Ralph Nuns—Margaret McIntossh  
 11: Patrick Davis—Elizabeth Williams  
 Peace Woodman—Mary Thrasher  
 12: Alexander Burney—Margaret Dickey  
 Richard Leedom—Sarah Calley  
 13: Lewis Price—Martha Pursell  
 Patrick McClean—Elizabeth Young  
 18: Jn<sup>o</sup>. Mitchel—Mary Hoswell



- 19: Samuel Flower—Sarah Ann Williams  
21: John Brooke—Elizabeth May  
Rob<sup>t</sup>. Johnston—Easter Chambers  
18: William Dowell—Grace Peel  
22: Henry Jones—Nancy Anderson  
John Little—Grace Nicholson  
24: Aquilla Potts—Martha Taylor  
James Brown—Sarah Marin  
Henry Lanaway—Thomison Crowley  
29: Edward Hare—Martha Watt  
Isaac Lewis—Elizabeth Rees  
Blathwaite Jones—Mary Morris  
31: Henry Ireland—Elizabeth Osburn

*June.*

- 1: Christopher Fechlman—Rebecca Kitts  
William Bolton—Sarah Graham  
2: James Russell—Rachael Dobins  
5: Robert Vernon—Phœbe Hart  
Thomas Booth—Cathrine Farmer  
8: Christian Corsan—Elizabeth Cruzer  
9: Isaac Carty—Rachel Cosswell  
10: Philip Hyle—Jacobina Zeiglerin  
John Franks—Margaret Philmeyer  
12: Joseph Falconer—Rachel Collins  
14: Mathias Folk—Cathrine Smith  
Josiah Sharrald—Rachel Knight  
16: Michael Davis—Ann Cotnam  
21: William Clark—Ann Kappock  
23: William Colston—Ann Taylor  
24: John Flinthem—Margaret Steel  
26: John Smith—Elizabeth Jones  
28: Thomas Wilkins—Mary Jaggard  
29: Samuel Mackelduff—Mary Darlington

(To be continued.)



SELECTIONS FROM THE MILITARY PAPERS  
OF BRIG. GEN. WILLIAM IRVINE.

[Manuscript Division, Historical Society of Pennsylvania]

*Col. William Irvine to Board of War.*

Col: Irvines most Respectfull Compliments to General Gates—& the other Gentlemen of the Board of War—Requests they will please to think of some plan for his Exchange—& if Exchanged he hopes his Rank will be preserved in the line—he will not presume to say how these things ought to be done as he has the utmost Confidence in the wisdom & Justice of the Board

Jan<sup>r</sup> 29—1778

The Hon<sup>ble</sup>

Horatio Gates Esq<sup>r</sup>

Major General—

*Elias Boudinot, Com. Gen. of Prisoners, to Col. W. Irvine.*

Camp April 23<sup>d</sup> 1778

D<sup>r</sup> Sir

It is with Pleasure that I inform you that I accomplished your Exchange the Day before Yesterday for Coll Rutherford of the North Carolina Insurgents—On this Occasion I have only Time heertily to Congratulate you—

Am Sir

Your very Hble Serv<sup>t</sup>

Elias Boudinot

Com. Gen<sup>l</sup> of Pres:

Coll: W<sup>m</sup> Irwin.

Addressed: On the publick Service

To

Coll: William Irwin

near

Carlisle.



*Gen. Anthony Wayne to Col. William Irvine.*

Mount Joy 27<sup>th</sup> April 1778.

Dear Colonel

It's with the sincerest pleasure I Congratulate you on your Exchange—and hope to see you in Camp in the Course of a few days where you are much Wanted

The Intelligence out of Phil<sup>a</sup> is, that the Hessians are Ordered home—but to this I can't give much Credit—as Mr. Howe could not possibly keep the City were they to be Withdrawn.

The Commissioners are said to be Lord Amhurst, Adm<sup>l</sup> Kepple & Gen<sup>l</sup> Murry, whose names sounds more like *Heralds of War*—than *Ambassadors of Peace*.

Adieu and believe me yours most

Sincerely

Ant<sup>r</sup> Wayne

Col Irvine  
Valley Forge.

*Oath of Allegiance of Col. William Irvine.*

I William Irvine Colonel of the 7<sup>th</sup> Pennsylvania Regiment—10<sup>th</sup> January 1776—do acknowledge the United States of America to be free, Independent and Sovereign States, and declare that the people thereof owe no allegiance or obedience to George the third—King of Great Britain; and I renounce, refuse and abjure any allegiance or obedience to him; and I do—Swear—that I will, to the utmost of my power, support, maintain and defend the said United States against the said King George the Third, his heirs and successors, and his or their abettors, assistants and adherents, and will serve the said United States in the office of Colonel, which I now hold, with fidelity according to the best of my skill and understanding.—

W<sup>m</sup> Irvine

Col: 7<sup>th</sup> Pen<sup>a</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>

Sworn before me—Camp  
Mount Joy this 12 day of  
May 1778—

Ant<sup>r</sup> Wayne B. G.





*Gen. Geo. Washington to Gen. William Irvine.*

[May 4, 1779]

General Washington's compliments to General Irvine—begs the favor of his company to dinner to-day. The Lieut Girard is to be of the company.

Tuesday morning.

*Gen. Geo. Washington to Gen. William Irvine.*

After Sunset 6<sup>th</sup> June 1779

Sir,

I just now received your letter; & am happy to inform you that our supplies, of provision are rather promising; every exertion has been used to forward them on this side, many waggon loads are not far off, and I flatter myself from the accounts handed to me that if necessary we may draw on the magazines over the North River.—With respect to spirits I have also given the necessary orders to forward what stock might be at Morris Town and its vicinity—

Your information concerning the enemy is entirely groundless, & so different, that I wish you to keep a vigilant watch—

Major Dun who is with you by this time will have delivered you my orders—I am S<sup>r</sup>

Y<sup>r</sup> Most Obed.

Gen<sup>l</sup> Irvine

G<sup>o</sup> Washington.

P: S: some Vessels have gone down

*Col. Alex. Hamilton to Gen. William Irvine.*

[June 8, 1779.]

Sir

His Excellency requests you will be at Head Quarters this day at 10 O'Clock

Sr Y<sup>r</sup> Obed Sr

Smith's Tavern

A. Hamilton

June 8

Aide De Camp

B. G<sup>l</sup> Irwin



*Col. Alex. Hamilton to Gen. William Irvine.*

Sir,

His Excellency requests you will have an exact return made of the total strength of the Pennsylvania batalions; in which you will designate the different terms of service for what the men are engaged—He is aware there is only one distinction between those for *during the war* and those for *three years or during the war*. He wants to know the precise number of each—The Board of war have requested it and the State have requested it—the latter, to know the deficiency in their batalions—But The General would have the matter kept out of the men's sight as much as possible; because it is expedient to interpret the alternative in favour of the public, even if it should be found adviseable to give the soldier a *douceur*.

I have the honor to be

Be pleased to have the return as accurate and cleare as possible

Y<sup>r</sup> Most Obed. Ser.

Alex Hamilton

Aide De Camp

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> June 11<sup>th</sup> 1779

*Gen. William Irvine to Mrs. Irvine.*

Camp near Morristown Dec<sup>r</sup> 22<sup>d</sup> 1779.

My dearest love

I wrote you twelve days ago, I am extremely anxious to get an answer to that letter, or indeed to hear from you at all—as I have not got a line from you since October. I mentioned in my last my having received a letter from M<sup>r</sup> Niell, in which he says he will go up to take you & the children down with him for the Winter—I wrote him for answer that I wou [torn] that alltogether to you & him—however I hope you have got my letter on that subject.

As the time draws near that you had reason to expect me home I am unhappy on your Account least you should be uneasy.



But surely you should know better by this time—as you well know I cannot make my own time—I cannot I fear leave this in less than fifteen days from this time—which will make it near the 20<sup>th</sup> of January before I reach home—But in some measure to make up for this disappointment I am in hopes to obtain leave of Absence till the first of April—I need not tell my love—that I will go as soon, & stay as long as in my power—I never longed so much to see you & my dear little ones in my life—I look every day for an answer to my last—I am so anxious to know your determination about going to Baltimore—I can only assure you that what ever you do shall be pleasing to me—pray [torn] make your self as happy as possible—

I am My dearest love

Yours Most Affectionately

W<sup>m</sup> Irvine.

P: S: I have not yet determined what road I shall take—but if there is snow on the ground I will go in a sle[igh] by Reading—as that is near a days Ride nearer than by Philad<sup>a</sup>—

M<sup>rs</sup> Irvine



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## William Brooke Rawle.

It is with a peculiar sense of sadness that the Council of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania is called upon to chronicle the death, on November 30, 1915, of William Brooke Rawle, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society and, for many years, a member of the Council.

Colonel Rawle seemed, as it were, an integral part of the Society itself, for it may be said literally that there was no activity in life in which he took a keener interest and to which he was more generously attached. It was an interest that he inherited, for his great-grandfather, William Rawle, and his grandfather, William Rawle, Jr., in their day, were the very head and front of the Society, and this was a fact in which their descendant always took a justifiable pride. But where some might have done little more than show a sentimental regard for the Society, because his forbears had played such an important rôle in its founding and progress, Colonel Rawle, with his characteristic energy and enthusiasm, went much further. There was, indeed, nothing in reason he would not do to further the aims of the institution, and although he was a busy man he never considered any time wasted which he devoted to the administration of the Society. His connection with it was long and noteworthy.

His relations with the Society were as follows: He was elected an Active Member on October 21, 1872, and became a Life Member on December 23, 1907. He was elected Recording Secretary on May 27, 1878, and served as Secretary of the Council from October 27, 1879 to December 29, 1881. He was elected Vice-Presi-





dent on May 14, 1900. At the time of his death he was a Trustee of the Gilpin Library, and a Trustee of the Ferdinand J. Dreer Collection of Manuscripts, the Pennsylvania Historical Study Encouragement Fund and the Building Fund. He was always particularly interested in the Manuscript Collections of the Society.

No Minute of the deceased would be complete without a reference, however brief, to his distinguished career as a cavalry officer in the Civil War. When the Rebellion broke out, he was a student in the Collegiate Department of the University of Pennsylvania, but by permission of the Trustees, he entered the military service of the United States, and was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Third Pennsylvania Cavalry in December, 1862. It is interesting to note that at the very time he was fighting at Gettysburg, the University of Pennsylvania, at its Commencement in July, 1863, was conferring upon him the degree of Bachelor of Arts. His bravery and energy in the War caused him to be promoted in due course, and at the end of the conflict he was honorably mustered out with the brevet rank of Lieutenant Colonel. Colonel Rawle then declined a commission in the regular army, and thenceforward devoted himself to the practice of law, and acted as agent in this country for the Penn Estate.

As an attorney, to which profession he brought to bear great integrity and a fund of common sense, he occupied an enviable position of trust, but he also found time to make important contributions to the literature of the Civil War, and was always at the service of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

He was a man of whom city and state have reason to be proud, and his death is an irreparable loss to the Society.

*(Minute of Council.)*

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## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## Notes.

LETTER OF MAYOR OF PHILADELPHIA TO GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1747.—*To the Hon. GEORGE THOMAS, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, and Counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, upon Delaware.*

*The humble Address of the Mayor and Commonalty of the City of Philadelphia, in Common-Council assembled.*

*May it please your Honour,*

As you have publickly declared your Intention to depart the Province, we the Mayor and Commonalty of the City of *Philadelphia*, beg Leave to say, that it is no new Thing to address Governors upon their entering their Governments, and to enumerate their Virtues, before it has been experienced whether they have any; but when their Authority is like to be at an End, Instances of this Kind are very rare, either owing to their mal Administration, or to a Love of Change in the People.

We, however, after having had the Happiness to live under your Government for nine Years, have so high a Sense of the Integrity and Uprightness of your Administration, that we think ourselves obliged, in Gratitude and Duty, in this publick Manner, to declare our Sentiments, and, at the same Time, to express our great Concern at your resigning the Government.

We may, with the greatest Truth, say, you have had clean Hands, and have acquired no Money amongst us unjustly.

During your Administration, no Offices have been sold (tho' most of the considerable ones in the Province have been vacant) but such as you judged the most capable to discharge them, have been by you appointed, without Fee or Reward; nor has the Course of Justice been interrupted by *Noli prosequi's*, in order to fill your own Coffers, tho' these Things have been too often reckoned Perquisites in many of the Colonies.

Your Prudence and great Abilities have, upon all Occasions, been conspicuous; and tho' Party Differences have run high among the People, you have so conducted yourself, that however dissatisfied they have been with one another, yet they all agree in having an affectionate Regard for you.

We beg Leave, with Hearts full of Gratitude, to return your Honour our most sincere Thanks for the Countenance and Protection you have always shewn this Corporation, in preserving to them their just Rights and Privileges granted by Charter. That you may have a prosperous Voyage, and your Health fully restored; that you may long enjoy it, and all Manner of Felicity, are our most earnest Wishes.

Signed by Order of the Board,

W. ATWOOD, Mayor.

*Philadelphia,*  
*May 27, 1747.*

*To which Address the Governor was pleased to make the following Answer.*

*Gentlemen,*

I Thank you for this very kind Address. The only Return I can now make for the favourable Opinion you are pleased to entertain of my



Administration, is to assure you of my warmest Wishes, that your Infant City may become more and more the Admiration of Strangers, by an Increase of Buildings, Reputation and Trade: and that you may ever enjoy these Privileges, which have been so greatly instrumental. not only to your own. but to the present prosperous Condition of the Province in general.

GLEANINGS FROM PHILADELPHIA NEWSPAPERS.—

ELECTION.

Pennsylvania Hospital, 4th mo. 4, 1799

The contributors to this institution, are hereby notified, agreeably to the Charter of Incorporation, that a general election will be held at the Hospital on the 6th day of the 5th month 1799, being the second day of the week, at 3 o'clock, P.M. for twelve Managers, and a Treasurer for the ensuing year.

By order of a Board of Managers.

Samuel Coates, Sec'y.

VAUXHALL.

The Gala, postponed on account of the weather, will take place

This evening, 17th inst.

when the Garden and Temple will be brilliantly illuminated with Variegated Lamps.

In the number of vocal performers, Mr. McFarland, from the Theatre, Boston, will make his first appearance in this city.

The band will be numerous and complete.

Entrance in Broad street, near Chestnut, where can be had tickets of admission, on the evening of performance—Price \$1.00.

The doors to be opened at seven o'clock. The music to begin at half past seven.

Smoking is not permitted in or near the temple.

*Gazette of the United States*, April 27, 1799

THE COMMISSIONERS.

Appointed by the corporation to open books of subscription for a loan to introduce wholesome water from the River Schuylkill by means of steam engines (already contracted for) to the Center Square and from thence to be distributed through the city, give

NOTICE,

That a book will be opened at the City Hall tomorrow, the 13th instant, and will be continued from day to day, until the Loan is completed, where the commissioners will attend from 10 o'clock in the morning until one, to receive subscriptions.

By order of the Board,

2d mo. 12.

Jacob Shoemaker, Sec'y.

N. B. Ten dollars to be paid on each share at the time of subscribing,

30 dollars at the expiration of	} From the time of subscribing
two months	
30 ditto, ditto, 4 months	
30 ditto, ditto, 6 months	



June 3, 1814.

## PENNSYLVANIA HOSPITAL.

*The Sitting Managers are*

Joseph S. Morris, No. 86 North Second street  
 Thomas Stewardson, No. 90 Arch street

*The Attending Physicians are*

Thomas Parke, No. 20 South Fourth street  
 Joseph Hartshorne, No. 246 Spruce street.

*For the Lying-in Department*

Thomas C. James, No. 146 South Second street

Applications for admission must be made first to one of the Physicians, then to one of the sitting Managers. The sitting Managers and Physicians at the Hospital, on the fourth and seventh day morning of every week, to receive and discharge patients. Recent fractures and wounds happening in and about the city, if brought immediately as they occur, will be admitted gratis, and without any security being demanded of the person who brings the patient to the house.

N. B. Comfortable accommodations are provided for poor married women, in the lying-in department, where they are attended free of expense.

Published by order of the Managers,  
 Thomas P. Cope, Secretary.

## ICE.

For sale, at the Pennsylvania Hospital, or delivered to customers, at their dwellings. Those who are willing to favor the Hospital with their custom will please send their names to

5 mo. 4

Samuel Mason, Steward.

## NOTICE.

Pennsylvania Hospital, 4th mo. 24.

S. Colhoun, Physician to the out patients, will Vaccinate any of the Poor of Pennsylvania, gratis; who will call upon him for that purpose on every day of the week at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, Sabbath day excepted.

By order of the Managers,  
 Samuel Coates, President

## CHARITY.

Pennsylvania Hospital, 3d Mo. 3, 1814.

Linen rags being very much wanted for dressing the wounds of the patients—the friends of the Institution, and the public in general, are respectfully requested to supply what they can spare. By sending them to Martha Powell, No. 15 south Third street (who has kindly offered to receive them) or to the Pennsylvania Hospital, they will be thankfully received by

Samuel Mason, Steward.

## NOTICE.

All persons indebted to the estate of Godfrey Gebler, late inn-keeper, of this city, deceased, are requested to make immediate payment, and those who have demands against the said Estate, to present them, duly authenticated, to Matthias Gebler, acting Administrator, for settlement.

Matthias Gebler,  
 Adam Echfeldt,  
 Administrators.





## SOME ACCOUNT OF GEORGE ORD, BY REV. LEIGHTON COLEMAN.—

During the war of the Revolution George Ord commanded a privateering schooner, his commission having been signed by John Hancock. He acted under the instructions of General Washington and the Secret Committee of Congress. It was he who surprised the British fort at Bermuda and robbed its magazine of the powder stored there. A schooner from Charleston arrived there at the same time and on the same errand. It was arranged by the two captains that they should at an appointed time on a certain day meet in their vessels before the fort, and act in conjunction. The southern captain did not appear at the time agreed upon, and Captain Ord executed alone the plan which had been laid. He gave to the other some of the captured powder, and it was by means largely of this very ammunition that not long afterwards the people of Charleston were enabled to defend themselves from an attack which the British made upon them. [C. F., PENNA. MAG., vol. IV, p. 258.]

LOSS OF THE BRITISH NAVY FROM APRIL, 1775, TO JANUARY, 1782.—The *Political Magazine* printed in London, for January, 1782, contains the following item: "In the course of the present war we have lost 4 ships of seventy-four guns, 3 of seventy, 4 of sixty-four, 2 of forty-two, 10 of thirty-two, 10 of twenty-eight, 12 of twenty, and 8 sloops, etc. Taken by the enemy, 1 of sixty-four, 1 of fifty, 2 of forty-four, 3 of thirty-two, 3 of twenty-eight, 6 of twenty, and 10 sloops, etc."

LETTER OF HENRIETTA DE HAAS TO HER FATHER, COL. JOHN PHILIP DE HAAS, 1776.—Mr. Simon Gratz has recently added to his collection of manuscripts in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 266 letters and documents. Among them are three letters from the wife, son John Philip and daughter Henrietta, of Col. John Philip de Haas, of the First Pennsylvania Battalion, addressed to Crown Point, where he was stationed with his command. The letters of Mrs. de Haas and son John Philip are written in German, while that of the daughter is an attempt in English, but all contain expressions of attachment and affection for the absent husband and father fighting for his country, long for his safe return home, and mention some home news which they hope will interest him. The Nicholas Hausseger alluded to in the letter, is evidently the Major of that name, of the Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion, Col. Anthony Wayne, and later Colonel of the German Regiment, who retired from the service in 1778, and died on his farm near Lebanon in July of 1786.

Lebanon the 21th of July 1776.

Dear Dadi,

We are all goot gott is pleast, in good health, but Mami was a litel wile Sick, but now she is bater, i hob dem fue lince wil Kom to you, in good health, i will be weary glat, i am in hops you will come home son, we long all to se you veri much, i hobe you will Kom home as son as you Kan, we Kand to most with out you them two Lebanon patalions Marches, Mr. Rorer send his Kind love to you an Mr rude Kalkar Dear Dadi Mami is a croing wari [torn] bleas Dadi to leat ous no if Nicolous Haussecar is with you. i ani Dear babe your dueful and affecti Josey and pansiman

Henrietta De Haas.

Addressed: "To John Philip De Haas  
Cornel at Cronpint."

PASS FOR CAPTAIN THOMAS WEBB, THE METHODIST PREACHER, 1778.—[Gratz Manuscripts.] The chronicler of Bethlehem, Penna., records: 1777, *May 31*—"Capt. Thomas Webb, the Methodist preacher, with liis



family of 7 persons, arrived from Philadelphia. He is a prisoner on parole, with permission to reside here or within six miles of the town until exchanged. Lodgings were given them." 1778, Aug. 11—"Today Mrs. Webb and family, who have been here fifteen months, left for New York."

Bethlehem Feby. 1778.

Capt<sup>n</sup> Thomas Webb a British officer now held Prisoner by the united States having applyd to me to go to Philadelphia with a Light Wagon & two Horses in order to settle some private affairs, these are to certify that he & his family have leave to go with a Light Wagon & two Horses as far as the out Post of the Continental Troops on the East side of Schuylkill.

Given under my hand

Humpton  
Lt. Col

Endorsed on the back: Please to permit Capt<sup>n</sup> Thomas Webb to pass and repass with a Light Wagon & two Horses into the City of Philadelphia to transact his private affairs, to purchase necessaries for his family.

Bethlehem,  
Feb<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> 1778

Evans  
Justice of the Peace.

LETTER OF EDWARD BURD TO JAMES WILSON, 1775.—[Gratz MSS.]

Dear Sir

The Letter directed to the Delegates of this Province from our Committee informed you of the part I intended to act in this unhappy Dispute with our Mother Country.

I had long ago determined in my own Mind to march as soon as any Necessity appeared for Troops from these parts. When your Letter came to the Committee of this County I found that Companies of Rifle men were wanted, in which Case I thought the Officers ought to be at least equal Marksmen with the Men. This prevented me from offering my service immediately, I afterwards saw Dr. Plunkett who informed me that it was not necessary for the Officers to be compleat Marksmen & that Rifle shooting was a Thing easily learned by a little practice. Col. Thompson afterwards arrived & agreed with Dr. Plunkett adding that an Officer who did his Duty would not have Occasion to fire above three or four times in a whole Engagement. He brought an Account of the late Action at Bunkers Hill & at that Time it was thought we had suffered great Loss both of Men & Artillery. This acct determined me in going on the Expedition. We had a Meeting of the Committee that Evening, I offered myself & was recommended as an Officer. The Committee also resolved on the Encouragement of Col. Thompson to raise a whole Company. It was proper to advise the Congress of this Resolve by an Express—Then & not before I wrote to my Friends on the Subject, as a matter upon which I had resolved. You cannot conceive my Uneasiness at the Receipt of their Answer—On the one Hand I had gone too far to retract with Honor & if I could do it did not wish to do it on my own Account. On the other Hand I found my dearest Friends strongly opposed the step I had taken—Their Reasons were that I was not inured to the Fatigues of Woodmen nor used to Rifles, That therefore I was not only in the Opinion of all my Friends but of the Public improper for a Command in a Rifle Company—My situation you must needs conceive was a painful one. I loved my Friends & wished to satisfy them and at the same Time was desirous of contributing my Mite in the public Cause & could not decline it altogether without Loss of Honor. I then wrote to them



proposing the Scheme of serving as a Volunteer in the Army—To this they cheerfully agreed & thereby rendered me happy.

It is extremely inconvenient to my Business to serve at all & my going will make no Difference in the Success of the Cause but still I am anxious to be near the place of action for a short Time at least & join my weak Efforts in the general Struggle for Liberty—perhaps a little Experience may be of Service at my Return in the Defence of our own County. I purpose returning to the November Courts if nothing extraordinary prevents it

I am Dear Sir  
with great Esteem,  
Your affectionate Friend  
& humble Serv<sup>t</sup>  
Edw. Burd.

P.S. If any Reflexions shu<sup>d</sup> be cast on me as a Person of a fickle Disposition I depend on your Friendship in my Vindication.

Reading 10<sup>th</sup> July 1775.

Dear Sir

Mr. Burd wrote the above a few days ago, since which he has been taken ill and is now confined to his bed by an Accident he met with about a fortnight ago, but is now getting better and intends to set off for the Army as soon as his health will permit. I am with great Esteem

Dear Sir  
Your obed<sup>t</sup> humble Servant  
Thomas Dundas.

CONSTABLES OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, APPOINTED 4 JULY 1749—

Dock Ward .....	Christopher Dingey
Upper Delaware Ward .....	John Greenway
Lower Delaware Ward .....	William M <sup>c</sup> Carter
Walnut Ward .....	Andrew Bartholomew
Chestnut Ward .....	Joseph Davis
High Street Ward .....	Joseph Gairn
North Ward .....	John Snowden Jr.
South Ward .....	Robert Tempest
Middle Ward .....	James M <sup>c</sup> Cullough
Mulberry Ward .....	John Harrison

LETTER OF EDWARD FARMAR TO NICHOLAS SCULL, 1739.—

Nicholas Scull

'Tis wonderful strange to me to Consider your ways of going on. The often repeated falshoods of making me easy and Coming time after time to settle acts, (as my son tells me) and no truth in it as plainly appears. I was in hopes since this Gentleman Mr. Whitefield had preached up the Doctrine you your self aplauded so much that it might have had that Impression on you as to Convert you from that Damnable Doctrine of free thinkers, which is you remember what was s<sup>d</sup> at Germantown, would drive all such notions out of aney thoughtfull breast, to deny our Saviour who layd down his life for us what Damnable Doctrine is this. Now as to the Chiefe business that my son has to town is to see if possible I might obtain that favour as to bring up Joseph your brother, tis not enough to keep me out of what money you owe me but by Josephs not sighning to Colliday he will likewise pay me no more untill he does, tis Barbarous ussage which no man pretending to Honesty could have a face to put on it. I am your abused Kinsman

Whitemarsh

Edward farmar

X<sup>br</sup> 18, 1739.



FRANKLIN FURNITURE.—Among the Stephen Collins Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, there is the ledger of Solomon Fussell, 1738–1751, from which the following account is copied.

Benjamin Frankling		Dr
10mo:19:1739	To one Nurse Chair .....	0 5 0
	To mending one Chair .....	0 2 2
2mo:30:1740	To matting mending Colouring & varnish- ing 8 Chairs .....	1 1 8
		1 8 10
Contra		Cred <sup>t</sup>
5mo:2:1740	by 3 past bords .....	0 0 10
	by one years News .....	0 10 0
	by Cash .....	0 18 0
		1 8 10
3mo:13:1742	To mending one Chair .....	- 1 -
11mo:12:1742/3	to one Nurse Crookt foot Chair .....	- 10 -
6:mo:20:1743	To Conlering varnishing Beadornish .....	1 1 6
10:mo:30	To Childs Chair .....	- 2 6
11:mo:24:1743/4	To one Childs Tablechair .....	- 5 -
9mo:29:1744	To white Childs Chair .....	- 2 6
3mo:11:1745	To 4 white Chairs .....	12 -
11mo:15:1745	To mending one Chair .....	- 1 4
mar:13:1745/6	To one four slat Nurs Chair 6/6 .....	} - 15 -
	To 2 white three Slats 6/ .....	
	To mending one old 2/6 .....	
10:mo:24th:1746	To 3 white Chairs 3/ to mending 3 old D <sup>o</sup> 3/3 .....	12 3
6:mo:19th:1747	To mending 2 Kane armchairs .....	8 3
1:mo: 2th:1748	To 3 best Crookt feet Chairs .....	1 15 -
2 mo 23th	To mending one Crooked foot Chair .....	2 3
8 mo 25	To 2 white Chairs .....	7
		5 15 7

LETTER OF F. B. SANBORN TO HON. JAMES T. MITCHELL.—The following letter of F. B. Sanborn, the Massachusetts, reformer and biographer of John Brown, to the late Chief Justice Mitchell, of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, classmates at Harvard, is preserved in the Manuscript Department of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The notes collected relating to the engraver Akin, while a resident of Philadelphia, from his reply to Mr. Sanborn's letter, are characteristic of the thoroughness which Judge Mitchell gave to all investigations referred to him.

Concord, Mass., January 11, 1897.

Dear Mitchell—

I am seeking to find out more than I now know from conversations long since with my Grandfather, and uncle and aunts, about James Aiken, originally of South Carolina, then a clerk in the State Department, at Philadelphia, under Timothy Pickering, then an artist and engraver in Newburyport about 1800. He was there as late as 1808, for in that year he came to my native town (Hampton Falls, N. H.), and made portraits in water color of my Grandfather and Grandmother. He drew well, and for at least fifty years he published engravings (chiefly caricatures). The earliest I have seen was of Jefferson milking







the Cow which John Bull and Napoleon held by the horns and tail, and the latest I recall, was England and the U. S. quarrelling (two dogs), over a bone marked Oregon.

After leaving Newburyport, Aiken settled in Philadelphia, at first as an engraver and then as an apothecary. As you are a collector of judicial portraits, it may be that you have come upon some of Aikin's work, or may know some one who can give information of him. I hear of you now and then in your judicial capacity, settling grave questions and adorning the bench, and wish I could see you oftener. We remembered you at our Class Dinner of ten—Abbott, Arnold, Phillips, Paine, Reed, Sanborn, Tileston. Willard, Longfellow,—and Everett who did not come, though he said he would.

Yours as ever,

F. B. Sanborn.

Attached to this letter are the following notes collected by Judge Mitchell from the city directories, relating to the engraver:

*James Akin,*

so he spelled by himself in his will in half a dozen places, as well as his signature, appears in Philadelphia directories as engraver, 1799 to 1805 inclusive.

1806-1810 inclusive, not in directory—probably the time he spent in New England. Mr. Hildeburn says that about 1808, he was in partnership with Anker Smith in Boston.

1811-1813. In directory again as engraver.

1814-1817. Not in directory.

1818-1822. Again as engraver.

1823-1825. Name appears without occupation, but residence "rural lodge, opposite the new penitentiary"—a suburban location near the rural region of Fairmount, a place of resort for picnics.

1828-1829. Appears in directory, occupation "eating house," 19 Chestnut st. That this (1823-1829) is the same man I only infer from the fact that he is the only one of the name, and it disappears as engraver from 1823-1829, and reappears as engraver in 1830, while the rural lodge and eating house disappear coincident in 1830.

1830-1836. Engraver, 18 Prune street.

1837-1839. "Druggist, Second and Brown," a long way from the business centre of what was known as the "city proper," i.e. the legal city of Philadelphia, to the incorporated subdistrict of the Northern Liberties.

1840-1841. "Designer," still at 2d and Brown streets.

1842-1845. Again as engraver at 18 Prune st.

1846. "Draftsman for patents."

He died in 1846, and letters testamentary were issued to his widow Ophelia, on Aug. 14, 1846. His will in his own hand is headed in German text with elaborate flourishes, quite professional in appearance. By it he leaves to his widow, "my best friend in this world," all his estate, including specially his house 18 Prune st., 200 shares of the Bank of South Carolina and 25 shares of the Planters and Mechanics Bank of Charleston—all for life with remainder to any child or children who may be living at the widow's death. One "infant daughter Caroline Christie Akin" is mentioned, but whether he had any other children then living does not appear clearly, though he mentions a legacy to his children "from his sister Eliza Akin, of Charleston." His widow, Ophelia, continues in the directory at 18 Prune st., until 1854, after which the name disappears.

J. W. J.

THE PAINTER'S CLUB OF PHILADELPHIA. The Painter's Club of Philadelphia, composed of artists and engravers, met weekly on Thursday



evenings at 8 o'clock, and in 1824, was composed of the following members:

John Neagle,  
J. R. Lambdin,  
John Sartain,  
D. Dickinson,  
J. M. De Frausa,  
Henry Warren,  
Thomas B. Walsh,

Thomas B. Vatou,  
W. J. R. Smith,  
Joseph Kyle,  
Bass Otis,  
William Kness,  
Thomas Birch,  
David Edwin.

LETTER OF GEN. JEDEDIAH HUNTINGTON TO MATHEW IRWIN.—[In Manuscript Division, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.]

Camp Valley Forge 20 January 1778.

Dear Sir,

I heartily thank you for your kind Offer and wish the Affairs of Camp would allow me to embrace it, one Business crowds so close upon the Heels of another as to forbid Recreation, The Brigadiers are become Sope boilers, Oilmen Armourers—Tanners—Shoemakers and the Lord knows what. but I hope for better Times when a few more such men as Col. Trumbull & some others lately appointed, have the Direction of our military Arrangements—please to tell him I expect the Pleasure of a Visit from him, by the Time he comes my House will be done which will afford a welcome Reception to him & M<sup>rs</sup> Irwin—Compliments to Miss Irwin—from d<sup>r</sup> Sir

Your sincere friend & mst obed<sup>t</sup>

J Huntington

M<sup>r</sup> Irwin Esq:

Endorsed Mathew Irwin Esquire  
Reading

Gen<sup>l</sup> Huntingtons Compliments to Col. Biddle and desires him to forward this.

Camp Valley Forge  
20 Jan<sup>r</sup> 1778.

J. Huntington.

### Queries.

MEDICAL GRADUATES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA: Biographical information is asked, or the source whence it can be had, of the following medical graduates of the University of Pennsylvania, for the Alumni Catalogue now preparing. Information may be sent to Ewing Jordan, M.D., 1510 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Penna.

#### CLASS OF 1842.

Anderson, John Quincy	N. C.	Clements, Wm. W.	N. C.
Anderson, Thomas Jefferson	Ala.	Cormick, Wm. Thomas	Va.
Ashton, Henry	Va.	Crudup, Edwin Alston	N. C.
Banister, Momo	Va.	Currie, Shelby Swain	N. C.
Banks, Wm. H.	N. C.	Davis, Wm. W.	N. C.
Batte, Wm. Hobbs	Va.	Dickinson, John	Tenn.
Baxter, Oscar Fitz Allen	N. C.	Dozier, James Albert	Ala.
Brinson, Wm. A.	Ga.	Edgar, Samuel M.	Tenn.
Brown, Walter A.	Va.	Egan, John F.	St. Croix, W. I.
Budd, Andrews Eckard	N. J.	Graves, Asa W.	Va.
Burt, John L.	Ohio	Green, Jas. William	Va.
Cage, Edward R.	Tenn.	Hammitt, George A.	R. I.
Chamberlaine, Samuel	Md.	Heard, Joseph M.	Ala.
Christian, Patrick Henry	Va.	Henry, Edwin W.	Md.
		Hogan, James	Mo.
		Hood, James M.	Ky.



Hotchkiss, J. Temple	N. Y.	Boone, Jesse T.	Ohio
Hunter, John A.	Va.	Bowling, William E.	Ky.
Johnes, Theodore	N. J.	Bradley, Samuel	S. C.
Jones, Josian N.	Va.	Brandon, James C.	Miss.
Kennon, Richard	Va.	Briggs, Etheldred E.	Va.
Littlefield, Edward B.	Tenn.	Burgess, Jesse	Pa.
McFarland, James P.	Tenn.	Burwell, George N.	N. Y.
Manry, Josiah	Va.	Byrd, Flavius A.	Ala.
Mason, John K.	N. Y.	Coleman, William H.	Ala.
Meade, David Edward	Va.	Conway, James H.	Va.
Mettert, John H.	Va.	Curtis, Benj. White	Me.
Old, Hollowell	Va.	Davis, Charles H.	Va.
Page, Mann A.	Va.	Elliott, James L.	Pa.
Palmer, William Price	Va.	Fessenden, Benj. F.	N. C.
Peck, John Speed	Tenn.	Grantland, Fleming T.	Ga.
Phillips, Jas. William	Tenn.	Grigg, Jacob	Pa.
Postlethwaite, John B.	La.	Hadley, John L.	Tenn.
Pritchett, Edward H.	Va.	Harrison, Benj. S.	N. C.
Reid, Jas. Madison	Ky.	Harwell, Rufus S.	Tenn.
Revely, Thomas C.	Va.	Housekeeper, Benj.	Pa.
Rider, William G.	Md.	Hunter, Wm. G. J.	Tenn.
Robinson, Moore	Va.	Jenkins, Wiley	Miss.
Roycroft, Thomas S.	N. Y.	Jones, Benj. Franklin	Ala.
Scholl, Griffith Jones	Pa.	Jones, John Richard	Pa.
Shove, George	Mass.	Kemper, Charles R.	Va.
Steele, Robt. Johnson	N. C.	Kerr, John J.	Pa.
Stevens, Richard Henry	Mo.	Laird, Thomas H.	Va.
Strother, William	Va.	Leggett, Nazareth	N. C.
Taliaferro, Benjamin F.	Tenn.	Martin, Gabriel S.	Ga.
Tannor, John G.	Va.	Mason, Thomas W.	Ala.
Taylor, Thomas B.	Fla.	Mercer, Thomas S.	Md.
Thomas, Reuben P.	Va.	Merritt, John	Del.
Todd, William	Ky.	Miller, Henry C.	S. C.
Tompkins, Frs. Otway	Va.	Moor, Geo. Washington	Mass.
Towles, Thomas	La.	Morton, Thomas M.	Ky.
Trippe, Jesse E.	Ala.	Musgrave, Geo. John	N. C.
Walker, John Brooks	Mass.	Nash, Clurin V.	Ala.
Ward, Edward H.	Pa.	Nichols, Chas. Henry	R. I.
West, Francis	Va.	Pearson, Richmond	
Wharton, Albert C.	N. C.	Nicholas	N. C.
White, John F.	Va.	Pope, John T.	N. C.
Woodland, Thomas W.	Md.	Raines, William N.	Va.
Wright, John J.	Va.	Reynolds, Thomas	N. C.
Yancey, Henry	N. C.	Rogers, John Cave	N. C.
Young, Thomas H.	Miss.	Simmons, Edward L.	Va.
		Singleton, Spyers	Pa.
		Stockwell, Nathaniel	Miss.
		Thomas, Jason B.	Mass.
		Tyler, John Webb	Va.
		Walker, William	Tenn.
		Wellford, Robert	Va.
		Wilson, William R.	Va.
		Wilson, William B.	Pa.

## CLASS OF 1843.

Bagley, Anderson	Va.	Thomas, Jason B.	Mass.
Baker, Charles Lewis	Pa.	Tyler, John Webb	Va.
Ballard, Charles E.	N. C.	Walker, William	Tenn.
Barnes, William E.	Pa.	Wellford, Robert	Va.
Best, John Milton	Ky.	Wilson, William R.	Va.
Boon, James H.	N. C.	Wilson, William B.	Pa.

EDWARD EDWARDS.—Any information is asked concerning the family of Edward Edwards, who resided in Philadelphia previous to 1820, and had as far as is known two daughters, Mary and Eleanor, and one son, whose given name is unknown. In 1820 the family moved to England, where the daughter Mary married a Mr. Weatherby. The son was lost at sea during his voyage to England. H. C.





## Book Notices.

**BLUE BOOK OF SCHUYLKILL COUNTY. WHO WAS WHO AND WHY.** By Mrs. Ella Zerbey Elliott. Pottsville, Penna., 1915. 8vo, pp. 456. Illustrated. Price \$3.50.

This work, the result of five years of much labor and painstaking research, contains a mass of valuable historical and genealogical information not elsewhere obtainable and is invaluable for reference. Part I is mainly devoted to early days in Schuylkill county; notable settlers and their descendants; patents and land titles, with reproductions of original maps and surveys; the Indian troubles, and the military records of those who took part in our two wars for Independence and the Mexican War. Part II contains the genealogical records, of the Zerbey (Zerbe), Schwalm (Swalm) Miller, Staudt (Stout), Rieths (Reeds), Muench (Minnick, Mennig), Bartolet, Linder-muth, Helms, Haesler, Boyer and Merkle lines, with the records in part or in full of more than sixty other families. The book is a fine specimen of the typographical art and the numerous illustrations add interest to the text.

**TEXAS IN THE MIDDLE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.** Studies in Spanish Colonial History and Administration. By Herbert Eugene Bolton. Ph.D. Vol. III of University of California Publications in History. Berkeley, 1915. 8vo, pp. 501. Illustrated. Price \$3.50.

- Contents:* I. A General Survey, 1731-1788.  
 II. The San Xavier Missions, 1745-1758.  
 III. The Reorganization of the Lower Gulf Coast, 1746-1767.  
 IV. Spanish Activities on the Lower Trinity River, 1746-1771.  
 V. The Removal from and the Reoccupation of Eastern Texas, 1773-1779.

This volume is a collection of special studies, designed to develop a neglected period in the history of one of the most important of Spain's American provinces—Texas—and covers its history from 1731 to 1788. The history of Texas during this period, has been little known, and therefore has been regarded as of an unimportant and uninteresting character, but during these years was of great importance in the history of the expansion of New Spain. Professor Bolton has based his studies almost exclusively on manuscript sources, which have been for the most part unknown and unused, derived from the archives of Spain, Mexico, Texas and the United States. While historical in treatment, the studies contain much of interest to the Ethnologist, attention being given to Indian affairs, and to the student of Spanish Colonial government, new material illustrative of the methods of administration; while the narrative of frontier life as experienced by Spanish pioneers, missionaries, soldiers and adventurers, is interesting. The bibliography contains an extensive calendar of documents from the various archives, and a good index has been added. Typographically the volume is a credit to the University Press.

**A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE WIDOWS' SOCIETY OF BETHLEHEM,** by Rev. A. Schultze, D.D., L.H.D.; with STATISTICAL MATTER COLLECTED AND COMPILED FROM THE RECORDS OF THE SOCIETY, by Augustus H. Leibert. Bethlehem, Penna., 1915. 8vo, pp. 113. Illustrated. Price \$1.00.

This work traces the history of the Widows' Society of Bethlehem, organized in 1770; therefore, one of the oldest beneficial societies in the United States. During its organization of one hundred and forty-five years, 887 members were admitted, and 513 beneficiaries received upwards of \$200,000.00. The statistical section contains a copy of the





Act of Incorporation and By-laws of the Society; an alphabetical list of members, date of admission and death; the officers with length of service, and statement of the dividends paid. On sale by Augustus H. Leibert, Bethlehem, Pa.

SOME ALLIED FAMILIES OF KENT COUNTY, DELAWARE. By Thomas Hale Streets, Med. Direct., U. S. Navy, Retrd. No. 5, 1915. Pp. 107. Published by Thomas Hale Streets. Wyncote, Penna. Price \$1.75.

The Stout family of Delaware, Dr. Streets' latest contribution to his series of "Allied Families of Kent County, Delaware," is introduced with the story of Penelope Stout, one of the most thrilling stories of capture by and rescue from the Indians, which reads more like romance than reality. The data of seven generations of this family have been compiled with the same care and research so characteristic of the preceding series.

ANTHRACITE. An instance of Natural Resource Monopoly. By Scott Nearing. Philadelphia, 1915. Pp. 251.

The author claims that his work is not a general study and that it does not set forth any new hypotheses. It aims to explain some of the more important phases of modern economic life as they apply to one industry, localized in one corner of our state.

SOME EMIGRANTS TO VIRGINIA. *Second Edition, Enlarged.* By W. G. Stanard, Richmond, Va., 1916; Bell Book and Stationery Co. 8vo, pp. 94. Price, \$1.00.

The first edition of this collection of memoranda with regard to several hundred emigrants to Virginia during the Colonial period, whose parentage is shown, or former residence indicated by authentic records, was rapidly exhausted after publication and the demand has been sufficiently urgent to require another and enlarged edition. Necessary corrections and alterations have been made in the text of the first edition, and twenty pages of names added, all being arranged alphabetically. Genealogists will find the work helpful in their Virginia researches.

LINCOLN AND EPISODES OF THE CIVIL WAR. By William E. Doster. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1915. 8vo, pp. 282.

*Contents:* Abraham Lincoln; Washington City, 1862; the old Capitol and Carrol prisons, 1862-63; the War Department and its head, 1862-63; Incidents of Provost Duty; Free Negroes, Contrabands and Slaves; Cabinet Members and Army Officers; The Campaign ending with Chancellorsville; The Campaign ending with Gettysburg; The Capital in 1864—A Diary, and Conspiracy Trial, 1865.

This volume occupies a distinguished place among the works devoted to the period of the Civil War, because an important part of it is given to accounts of the author's trials, experiences and observations as Provost Marshal of Washington, during 1862-63, and also, as one of the lawyers for the defense in the famous Conspiracy trials of 1863; he writes from inside knowledge. Gen. Doster's distinguished services in the campaigns of Chancellorsville and Gettysburg are traced with the help of a diary which he kept and therefore of unusual interest and value. The chapter on Abraham Lincoln is an address delivered at Lehigh University on the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of the martyr President.

YEAR BOOK OF THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY, 1915. Edited by Barr Ferrec, Director of the Society. New York, 1915. 8vo, pp. 272. Illustrated.

The Year Book of the Pennsylvania Society in New York, in addition to the usual lists of officers, members and committees, contains an in-



teresting account of the sixteenth festival of the society, with the addresses of Dr. R. S. Naón, Ambassador from Argentina, Gov. M. G. Brumbaugh and Richmond P. Hobson, M.C. from Alabama. The editor has also prepared an elaborate summary of contemporary historical work in Pennsylvania, and sketches of members deceased in 1914. Many of the illustrations are reproductions from early prints of scenes in Pennsylvania.

A COLLECTION OF OVER SIX HUNDRED NAMES DESCENDANTS OF BALTHASER AND SUSANNA PHILLIPINA LOESCH, PALATINES FROM GERNSHEIM NEAR WORMS, GERMANY. By William W. Lesh. Washington, D. C., 1914. 8vo, pp. 47. Illustrated.

The Loesch family although first settled in the state of New York, came early to Berks county, Pennsylvania, and from thence descendants have found homes in other sections of the Commonwealth, in North Carolina and some of the western states. The modern spellings of the name are noted. The matter gathered by the compiler is a valuable addition to Pennsylvania genealogy.

THE MAJORS AND THEIR MARRIAGES. By James Branch Cabell. Richmond, Va. 8vo, pp. 188.

This recent contribution to Virginia genealogy has been compiled with great care and will be appreciated in the form given. In addition to the Major data, there are collateral accounts of the allied families of Aston, Ballard, Christian, Darcy, Hartwell, Hubbard, Macon, Marable, Mason, Patterson, Piersey, Seawell, Stephens and Waddill.

PROCEEDINGS AND COLLECTIONS OF THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR 1915. (*Coxe Publication Fund.*) Edited by Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden, M.A. Wilkes-Barre, Pa., 1915. Vol. XIV. 8vo, pp. 287. Illustrated.

In addition to the reports of the society for the year 1915, obituaries and list of officers, the volume contains the following papers: "Buried River Channels of the North Eastern States," by James Furman Kemp, E.M., Se.D.; "Reminiscences of Hon. Charles Miner, 1780-1865," by Charles Francis Richardson, Ph.D., Litt.D.; "Development of Interest in Historical Societies," by Thomas L. Montgomery, Litt.D.; "The Alfred F. Berlin Collection of Indian Antifacts, in the Society's Collection," by Christopher Wren, Curator; "The Parish Register of St. Stephen's P. E. Church, Wilkes-Barre, Register of Marriages, 1822-1866."

The most noticeable of historical importance is the charming reminiscences of Charles Miner, model journalist, author, state legislator, congressman and statesman, prepared from autobiographical notes and correspondence, covering a period of sixty-five years. A Federalist in politics, he was editor and proprietor of several newspapers, the *Village Record* still being published; and as a member of the Assembly was influential in important legislation. In 1824 he was elected a member of Congress, James Buchanan being his colleague, and served two terms, declining a renomination. Many political measures were debated, not the least important the efforts being made towards the final extinction of slavery, in which he took a prominent part. His letters to his wife, describing social life at the Capital, and his entertainments at the White House, and by Webster, Clay, and others, are humorous and entertaining reading today. He it was who coined the phrase even current to this day—"to have an axe to grind." Mr. Miner was also an early promoter of the anthracite coal trade, and of canals as a part of internal improvements. His *History of Wyoming*, published in 1845, was compiled with the greatest care from original material, and its trustworthiness makes it the standard history even today. In com-



mencing a sketch of his life in 1844, he writes: "Checked it certainly has been, as whose is not; vicissitudes common to all I have experienced, and yet in no remarkable degree. Joy and sorrow, prosperity and adversity have mingled in my cup, but not in excessive proportion. On the whole, my voyage down the stream of life has been comparatively smooth, and happier than falls to the common lot . . . the retrospect is, in the main, cheerful and satisfactory."

**WILLIAM BRANCH GILES: A STUDY IN THE POLITICS OF VIRGINIA AND THE NATION FROM 1790 TO 1830.** By Dice Robins Anderson, B.A., M.A., Ph.D. Geo. Banta Publishing Co., Menasha, Wisconsin, 1914. Svo, pp. 272. Illustrated. Price, \$1.50.

We are indebted to Prof. Anderson, of Roanoke College, for this excellent work on the political life of that remarkable Virginian, William Branch Giles, whose labors in the formation of the Democratic-Republican Party; his long services in the General Assembly of Virginia and both Houses of Congress, and his leadership in each of them; his dramatic career as Governor; his pungent pamphlets and newspaper literature; his forensic abilities; the variety of his animosities and the conspicuousness of his many enemies, interested the author and induced him to collect and prepare the material for his study. Giles was a friend of Jefferson and an enemy of Hamilton; he became a foe of Gallatin and Monroe; finally espoused the cause of Jackson and developed into the bitterest of the enemies of John Quincy Adams. Like all men he went through cycles of political opinions. He fought against the National Bank, protective tariff, the American Navy, and the usurpations of power of the General Government. He came, however, to unite domestic laws based on a broad construction of the Constitution and deplored lack of energy on the part of the Federal Government, and even co-operated in Federalist attacks on Republican administrations. He ended his career with the same ardor for State Rights and as a prophet of secession.

**A THOUSAND YEARS OF RUSSIAN HISTORY.** By Sonia E. Howe. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Co. Svo, pp. 432. Illustrated. Price, \$2.50 net.

The title of this work indicates the wide limits of time and facts which had to be brought within the pages of this book, but Mrs. Howe, who is a Russian by birth and the wife of an English clergyman, has succeeded and in an entertaining manner given us a review of Russian history, dealing with civil and national life, as well as with its political annals and rulers. Russia has grown from a small beginning to its present dominions by immigration, colonization and conquest; but its development has not been one of continuous growth; one interruption, the Mongol invasion, has taken centuries to recover. The nation is not a homogeneous whole, nor are her people all on the same level of culture. Unless these facts are grasped and the causes underlying the complexity of Russian history come to be understood, there can be no exact comprehension or balanced judgment of her problems and difficulties and the part she has to play among the nations. It is hoped that the information offered will help to remove the ignorance and prejudice which have long enveloped the Russian Empire and its peoples, to destroy the proportions of good and evil in its history. The illustrations, which are numerous in color and gravure process, have been carefully selected from the archæological treasures of Russian libraries, and her territorial growth by a series of maps.





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“A TOUR THROUGH PART OF ENGLAND, BY  
MARY SHACKLETON, IN THE YEAR 1784.”

(Manuscript Division Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

[Mary Shackleton, daughter of Richard and Elizabeth Shackleton, was born in December of 1758, and received a thorough education. Her grandfather, Abraham Shackleton, was Headmaster of the school at Ballitore, County Kildare, Ireland, and one of his pupils was Edmund Burke. Between Richard Shackleton and Burke a lifelong friendship was formed while attending the school, and the former made yearly visits to his schoolmate and friend. Some account of one visit, made in 1784, by father and daughter, is given in the diary which follows. In 1791, she married William Leadbeater, a former pupil of her father. She from time to time wrote poems and her prose writings were continued to the year 1824, but her best work was not printed until 1862, when it was brought out under the title of “The Leadbeater Papers.” It tells of the inhabitants and events of Ballitore from 1766 to 1823, and few books give a better idea of the character and feelings of Irish cottagers, of the premonitory signs of the rebellion of 1798, and of the horrors of the outbreak itself. The second volume includes upwards of sixty-four unpublished letters of Burke, and correspondence with Mrs. Richard French, George Crabbe and others. Mrs. Leadbeater died at Ballitore, 27 June 1826, and was buried in the Quaker burial-ground there.]

*17th of 6th month 1784.*—Rose a little after three, & in company with my father, James & John Lecky, in about an hour set out on horseback for the Boat, about sixteen miles hence. We got thither in about three





hours & I was rejoiced to see Samuel Neale at the Canal-side.

Our neighbour St. Lawrance was there also, two quondam pupils of my father, who were very kind & civil, & many more, in all about 30 or 40 on board—four clergymen of the Church of England, one, I suppose, of the Romish, a Methodist preacher, & Samuel Neale, “the last in order, but the first in place.” Arrived in Dublin about 1 o’clock.

20th.—The American women friends P. Brayton & R. Wright, W<sup>m</sup> Matthews, & several of my country folk sailed for Liverpool. Father, James Lecky & I wait for John Pemberton.

22d.—Went to see the House of Industry, for the reception of Beggars, in Channel-row; there were about 1700 Men, Women & Children; it consists of several buildings—they had done work when we came, however, the commodiousness of the Kitchen, dining place &c. gave us pleasure. There were cells for lunaticks, a distressing sight—one was a poor female, quite melancholy, another a clever looking man, one Colwell, from the North, who they said had £300 p ann: They seem well taken care of.

23d.—John Pemberton does not come. Father, J. Lecky & I got into a boat, in which Joseph Pike, Joseph Sandwith & John Lecky, accompanied us to the Liverpool packet, called the Duke of Leinster, w<sup>ch</sup> we overtook, with something to do. We three got on board about 3 o’clock—our friends left us. When I got on board the various objects which had so long passed in my view, were fled—& my sphere of action confined to a small limit, everything seemed strange & new, & I sat on the deck in stupid amazement, till going into the cabin to exchange my riding dress for a bed-gown, I grew sick, & after staying a while on deck, the sickness continuing, tho’ not violent, I went down & got to bed, which was in a little state-room, where there were three



more beds, several in the cabin, they were in two rooms, one above another in the sides of the ship, & neatly furnished with little curtains. There were two more female cabin passengers, but they kept their beds all the time. Counsellor Pomeroy, an agreeable gentleman, was there, & one Steele, a strange compound, for who that overheard him advising the Cabin-boy with such humanity as I did, could imagine him guilty of wantonly profaning the Sacred Name, & entertaining the principles of a Deist? The Captain, Brown, was very kind & civil. However I had little comfort, tho' pretty much free from sickness, such a langour overpowered me—was once hungry—but lay in bed & slept most of the time, except sitting for an hour or two on deck the morning of the

*24th.*—Saw the Isle of Anglesea. There were many Irish passengers in the steerage hold, coming over to the hay harvest, they were singing, fiddling & dancing, & as merry as possible.

*25th.*—Left the ship about 7 in the morning, were stowed in a boat for more than 2 hours with several of the hold (steerage) passengers, who were mighty witty in their way. The first step I made on English ground took me over my shoe in mud. A man belonging to the stage-coach met us, was very civil & conducted us to W<sup>m</sup> Rathbone's, whose wife & son kindly received us. He had set out that morning with his daughter Betsy, W<sup>m</sup> Matthews & his two country women for London. Penelope Rathbone, W<sup>m</sup>'s sister, came to us; she had accompanied Mabel Wigham to Dublin; her looks bespoke what I found her, kind & courteous in a great degree. She accompanied us in calls to several friends. We saw a great deal of the town, which is a place of great trade, the ships come far up the river. W<sup>m</sup> Rathbone's house is large, very neat & elegant, the staircase mahogany. They had a little grand-daughter here, very like my niece Betsy Chandlee. About 3



o'clock P. M. Father, James Lecky & I set off in the stage-coach for London. Joseph Hadwen was our fellow traveller, a pleasing, innocent young man, an only child. My father was fearful I could not bear travelling two nights, & was rather unwilling to take the stage, but I chose to be as little inconvenience to the company as I could help—was willing to try what I could do, & knew, being favoured with health & spirits I could bear a good deal—I was so delighted while travelling that I was little sensible of fatigue, but when we stopped I felt it severely. Now the beauties of England began to appear; the cottages with their casement-windows & neat little gardens, the palings, which serve instead of ditches (of which I saw none along the road) to defend the hedges, the verdure of the fields, & bloom of the orchards all delighted me, yet still I could not run down my native Country. The cottages here are many of them built of wood & the frame work appearing in various shapes, have, I think, a fantastick appearance, to which I think the simplicity of a neat, whitened Irish Cottage much preferable. I have not yet seen one to Equal Henry Fletcher's at the foot of the bridge of Ballitore. The houses in general are built of brick & covered with red tiles & have not so lively a look among the green as our white walls & slates, but taste & improvement attend the journey thro' England, the smallest dwellings display it, & the humiliating prospect of wretchedness, wh<sup>ch</sup> the Irish Cabins too generally afford, mars not the beautiful Scene. We had several outside passengers, two friends part of the way. We quarreled with an outside passenger At first setting out, for having his legs hanging over the window, he gave us a sample of an English Boor. Drank tea at Warrington, which is situated on the Mersey, & fine prospects about it. Took in a woman from Northwich to Middlewich, where I lay on the bed while they supped, & found myself somewhat refreshed, tho' with-





out sleep. Leaving this at midnight we got two drunken men into the coach, who were very talkative, but we had not them long.

*26th.*—Changed horses at 4 in the morning at Talk o' the hill, a neat country inn. At Stone, where we breakfasted, is an elegant inn. A fine bowling green belongs to it. We dined at Lichfield, it was an interesting spot—George Fox & Major André made it so to us. We walked round the huge Cathedral & beside a piece of water & doors unlocked w<sup>ch</sup> opened into gardens. But the weariness I felt abated the pleasure. About Coleshill, a small town is a beautiful Country. Here we took in a young gentleman who talked at first much in praise of a sporting Country, afterwards seemed much pleased with our repeating verses. We drank tea at Meriden, the Inn is very fine, & the garden w<sup>ch</sup> belongs to it is adorned with pairlions &c. Here I got some repose w<sup>ch</sup> refreshed me much. It was almost dark when we reached Coventry, a large old town. I took a pretty long walk to see Peeping Tom, here we lost our young gentleman. This night passed between disturbed sleep & disagreeable apprehensions.

*27th.*—I was in a poor dishevelled plight when we alighted at Stony Stratford; where I rejoiced to meet, though but for a few minutes, with the American frd<sup>l</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Rathbone & his daughter, who shew'd to me, an entire stranger, the kind Attention of a sister.

With what a vast idea did the first view of London strike my mind, the beauty of the Country & elegance of the suburbs!—but when we got into the City, I could not perceive wherein, except in cleanliness, it excelled Dublin. We put up at the Swan in Lad-lane, which seemed more like a hurrying town than an Inn, the yard seemed full of Coaches going & Coming. I was glad to get a room to myself, & Enjoy once more the Comfort of washing & clean clothes; after which we got tea & saw Jo Richardson, who lodges here. Then





a coach conveyed us to John Elliot's Bartholemew Close. The house is large, handsome & perfectly Commodious. The Master & Mistress very kind, their daughter Bella a free agreeable girl about 14, their son younger & very shy. Here was dear Robert Valentine, Sam<sup>l</sup> Neale, Joseph Inman, John Gough, John Pointer & Ja<sup>s</sup> Lecky, Father & I lodged here. I went to Tho<sup>s</sup> Corbyn's, saw there Esther Tuke, Cou: Sally Grubb & Mary Proud, saw cou: M. Birkbeck, yet, grateful as the eight of these dear friends was, Nature wanted something beside—she sought repose. I went to bed before supper, & when stripped & laid down, felt with threefold pleasure the Comfort which was with held so long. I hope I was thankful for it, & sunk into a profound sleep, from which I rose restored to strength & appetite.

28th.—Bella Elliot had been my bed-fellow. I went with Mary Elliot & her daughter in a Coach to Gracechurch Street Meeting, there was a great crowd, many stood, Catherine Phillips, Eliz<sup>th</sup> Gibson & John Storer all Appeared in testimony or supplication. The meeting broke up, but surprized me with the different manner of ending from ours—for whereas we sit still till the men are out, & keep silence, here all got up at once, went hither & thither & made such a talking that it struck me as very odd. However I got now under Johnny Pim's care who introduced me to his sister Hannah, of whose fine face I had some recollection. We worked our way thro' a great crowd, got to John Chorley's, from thence to Wilson Birkbeck's, who is married to Hannah Plumstead, here Father, Cou: Morris Birkbeck & I dined. Cou: Morris was very kind; there were here Mary Birkbeck daughter to W<sup>m</sup> Dilworth, Fr<sup>d</sup> Foster of Tottenham, her daughter & a Nancy Fairbank, W<sup>m</sup> Foster, John Birkbeck who was in Ireland &c., all quite free & agreeable. Father & cou: Morris took me to Rich<sup>d</sup> Chester's to Hannah Pim



who was to come with me to the British Museum, for wch Mary Davis's brothers had procured tickets. Hannah & I staid a good while with Patience Chester, a very pleasing, friendly woman, & here we enjoyed the pleasure of meeting, just landed from America, Mehitabel Jenkins, Rebecca Jones, Geo. Dillwyn & his wife & Sam' Emlen, & of seeing the interview between them & their countrymen. W<sup>m</sup> Matthews, Nicholas Waln & Geo. Dillwyn's Brother William, Sam' Emlen, his son (a young lad) & Thomas Ross lodged at John Elliot's, Sam' is a little man, his sight bad, but very bright otherwise. Tho<sup>s</sup> is an Irishman who went about 50 years ago to America, is now 75; by a fall on ship-board he hurt his leg much, & injured his health, which he was favoured with on sea till then. The British Museum was not a more beautiful sight than what we left. We went to Cheapside, to Fr'd Springall's—went with Prissy Geomey, a fine young woman, who had exchanged the vanities of life for an exemplary appearance; in David Barclay's coach to his house in Red Lion Square, taking with us Robert Davis (who was in Ireland) & his brother. Here I saw Hannah Pim's little ward Agatha Gurney, a fine lively little girl, her brother Hudson came with us to the Museum (where we met two other young men of our Company) & displayed a very open, engaging disposition & a lively inquisitive genius in the two hours we spent there. Here we were led thro' suites of rooms filled with books & adorned with paintings of eminent persons. On some of the Ceilings were fine paintings, particularly one representing the fall of Phaeton. In other rooms were Collections of Insects, birds, serpents, curiosities from Ota heite & wonderful cut paper. Our guide showed us letters from Henry VII, Edward VI, & Eliz<sup>b<sup>th</sup></sup> written by their own hands. One of the first copies of the Bible, the original Magna Charta & a Manuscript from the Alexandrine Library. But there



were such a number of other Company, that it prevented us from being so much entertained as we otherwise would, beside I had not quite got quit of my fatigues. Red Lion & Bloomsbury Squares are near each other, the buildings are good, & the Duke of Bedford's house adorns the latter—but they are small. I got home to supper. My father went to Tottenham.

29th.—John Pim came for me to dine at John Chorley's, he took me to the Guild-hall, where I saw Chatham's & Beakford's Monuments—fine pieces of sculpture,—then to the Exchange, he dined with my father & me at John Chorley's. Mehitabel Jenkins, Rebecca Jones, Tho<sup>s</sup> Colly & his wife, Geo: Gybson & his—John Routh & Martha Routh & Hannah Wigham dined there also—at three they went to meeting.

Johnny Pim took me to the Tower—a vast building—a City in itself—they first shewed us the wild beasts, 3 Lionesses & one Lion which fully answered my idea of the King of beasts, two or three Leopards, so fierce that not the iron grates could preserve me from fear of them, two young wolves, two Eagles, some Racoons & monkeys, who seem an insult on human nature, which they approach so near. The Spanish Armoury was the next scene, & while I gazed on the various instruments of cruelty, our guide drew up a curtain, & turning I beheld a figure of Queen Elizabeth, with her horse & page, a near imitation of life dressed in a Coat of mail & royal robes, & appearing to look at the trophies of her victory. Next was the line of Kings on horseback, in armour, & several pieces of antiquity in the military way, all very well kept. Then we were led among pieces of Cannon & then to a long room where such a multitude of small arms were piled in different shapes, & all fit for use, that it was a dreadful & a wonderful sight. The Jewel office was next—a dark dismal place—we sat on a bench on the other side of a grate, & by the light of Candles were shewn the Crowns,



Sceptres, Balls &c belonging to the Kings of England, some of which, as an high honour, we were permitted to touch, & really fine gew-gaws they were. The sight of a number of curious pieces of shell-work Closed the Scene & after walking awhile on the rampart & beholding the great ditch below, the river & the shipping, my kind, obliging Conductor left me at John Chorley's. With him and his wife it is no wonder the hours pass unobserved. There is in Alice Chorley something so extremely taking—whether we Consider her person, which tho' not handsome, is pleasing & graceful, or her manners, which are affability itself, that at first sight one loves her. I supped with my father at Joseph Bevan's, saw Anne Bird, dear Chrissy Hustler was there, & was very friendly to me, also Cou: Robert & Sally Grubb, Claude Gay, by birth a frenchman, & several other friends.

*30th.*—I went with Mary Elliot to their own meeting. Robert Valentine appeared there, full of love—Sam<sup>l</sup> Emlen also—Anne Bird & Lydia Hawksworth, Anne Fry (sister to dear Edith Lovell) & another woman friend—beautifully on the Centurion sending to our Lord, the mean opinion he entertained of himself, tho' a man in great authority &c. Johnny Pim brought Abby to dine with us, & my father, James Lecky & I went with them in a Coach to Devonshire house meeting. Nicholas Walm appeared there in testimony & supplication. John Gough & Martha Routh in testimony, Claude Gay in testimony, & I believe Cath: Phillips in supplication. We went to tea to Joseph Roe's who has two agreeable nieces. Johnny Pim informs me Joseph Roe's sisters live in the next house, which communicates with his, that they are together when each has Company, send to each other for what they want, & live in such harmony as is delightful to think of. There were a large Company here—Betsy & Hannah Evans, Mary Prior & her daughter,





Molly Birkbeck & Martha Routh & divers others were here. In an opportunity, which we pretty soon fell into, W<sup>m</sup> Matthews & Joseph Roe's wife had Counsel & Encouragement for the visited youth. My father dropt a few hints, warning not to despise the day of Small things; which were followed & Enlarged upon by W<sup>m</sup> Matthews & Rob' Walker. We supped at James Townsend's. They seem a sweet family. Lydia Hawksworth is sister to the Mistress of it. After supper Lydia H. broke forth in a powerful testimony, where in an affecting manner, she mentioned her late recovery as from the brink of the grave. I sat beside a sweet young woman, Debby Merryweather. The friend of the house, his son came home with us, he much resembles Jos. Edmundson. We came thro' Moorfields this evening—where are four squares finely planted & saw the fine pieces of sculpture, representing Rage & Melancholy at the gate of Bethlehem.

31st.—The gallery in Devonshire-house, this being Women's meeting, was filled with women, publick friends. I counted thirty, how beautiful a sight! Rebecca Jones, Mehetable Jenkins, Patience Brayton, Catharine Philips, Lydia Hawksworth & I think some others, all appeared in publick ministry. An Epistle from Wales & one from America were read, & papers from some other meetings, requesting a copy of the latter, which, tho' intended by the writers for the nations in general, had been hitherto Confined to the compass of London, a grievance which calls for & I suppose will meet with redress. The American epistle was sign'd only by the Clerk, of which Rebecca Jones explained the reason; the like concern having fall'n on them as did on friends at Dublin meeting, against a number of names. There were no answers to Queries—no Representatives. Esther Tuke says it is but the shadow of a women's meeting, but seems to hope that will not always be the case.



*4th of 6th mo.*—Account came of the death of Isaac Gray, who, with Thomas Cash, had lately landed in the North of Ireland. They were at Jervais Johnstons, Isaac complained of his stomach, took Chamomile tea, lay down & sent the family to meeting, except the mistress, who when she came into the room thought he slept, but it was the sleep of death—his afflicted Companion almost sunk under it. When the Account Came to London, some friends who went to inform a daughter of his who lived there, of the melancholy event, found her about writing to her father.

*5th.*—The adjournment of the women's Meeting—a day—a season in which I rejoiced to be present. The Concern that a greater part in the service of the Church was due to the women, seemed universally to spread, & a sense that this was the time to propose it to men friends. Accordingly twelve friends joined by the three Americans (Rebecca Wright was confined with illness) were pitched on to Carry the message, no excuses, no backwardness, but an awful weight, a noble devotedness was stamped on these worthies, who as it were gave themselves up for the Common cause & as they went out, how did the hearts of many go along with them! while Mary Prior stood up & in a few words seemed to Crave a blessing for them. The meeting was adjourned till 5, as I heard it was only a meeting of report & some friends made little of going to it, I was doubtful whether I should go or keep my engagement of meeting Chas: Angier, but my father turned the Scale for the meeting, wch had I missed great would have been my loss. Martha Routh informed the meeting (for Alice Rigge & she had gone to the men's meeting to deliver the minute which had been made in the women's respecting the Appointment) that they had undergone a Kind of Cross-examination, that Men friends seemed ready to reject the proposal till John Elliot desired it should be taken into further Consider-



ation, which was agreed to, & some friends thought in about an hour they should let women friends know their conclusion. That hour elapsed I was right glad to see W<sup>m</sup> Matthews, Rob<sup>t</sup> Valentine & Samuel Neale enter with W<sup>m</sup> Tuke, because I knew they were of our side. W<sup>m</sup> Tuke read the minutes from the men's meeting which constituted the Women's a Yearly Women's Meeting, gave liberty to receive Representatives answers to the Queries &c & an universal joy I believe was diffused over the Meeting. I believe it must be universal because I felt so much, however improper it might be, I could not keep out of my mind the joy of Menelaus tho' on a very different occasion,

Joy fills his soul, as when the vernal rain  
Lifts the green ear above the fruitful plain;  
The fields their vegetable life renew  
And laugh and glitter in the morning dew,  
Such joy the Spartan's shining face o'erspread  
And lifted his glad heart—

Samuel Neale rose & Expressed the satisfaction which he felt on this occasion & mentioned his being here 31 years ago when a like proposition was rejected; when a worthy (Saml. Fothergill) now removed from this life expressed himself thus, "I see it, but not now, I behold it, but afar off." I think he said he rejoiced to see this day. Thus concluded the Meeting, & may the sweet impression it left not be forgotten by me! after having been so often disappointed of getting to a yearly Meeting, I thought I was highly favoured to be at this truly memorable one.

7th.—Went to Westminster Abbey with Betsy West, two of her female friends & two young men. Our mutual friendship for Anna Taverner had introduced Betsy & me to each other, she is very pleasing & genteel in her person, yet more so in her manners, & I believe possesses great sweetness of disposition, with a cultivated understanding & a turn for natural philosophy



& best all a good heart. We went by water which gave us opportunity of admiring the City on either side of the Thames & the beautiful bridge of Blackfriars, as we passed under it. We landed at the foot of Westminster bridge & proceeded by Westminster hall & the house of Commons, far inferiour in appearance to ours, to the venerable, august pile, the Abbey. The first objects that struck us on entering were the monuments of the Poets. A guide then led us to see the other monuments, many of them of great antiquity & there were clumsy things mostly in a praying attitude, it was in the modern monuments that grace & elegance were displayed. There was a very fine one lately erected to the Memory of Lord Chatham, which I think they say cost £6000. But none, not even that of my favourite Gen<sup>l</sup> Wolfe, who, supported by his afflicted Soldiers, seemed to express in his Countenance the sentiments which we suppose he felt, none pleased me so much as one erected to the memory of Squire Nightingale & his wife, who are represented as in an Alcove under which Death has broken out of a strong place, the massy doors of which seem just broke Open, & the Skeleton aims his dart at the lady, while her husband, with every thing that we can imagine expressed in his Countenance, stretches his hand to ward off the blow & with the other supports his Lady, who sinks dying in his arms; the beauty of the sentiment & the wonderful expression, even in the limbs, made it an affecting, as well as interesting object. There were several waxen figures, one of Lord Chatham's, the closer we viewed it appeared more like life, & one would be almost ready to expect it to move & speak. In Henry 7<sup>th</sup> Chapel, the banners of the Knights of the Bath are hung, their Seats & their Squires' seats, the iron gates, the lofty ceiling, about which some birds were flying, the inlaid floor, the *tout ensemble* strongly recalled the times of Chivalry & ancient parade. We might have thought







ourselves pretty well satisfied with seeing, yet a desire to behold Major Andre's monument seized us, which remained unsatisfied, as it was blocked from us by boards. I wonder in what light his death could be placed, for tho' we love his character which was brave & amiable, yet sure the cause in which he fell, a spy, was inglorious. There had been last week a Jubilee in honour of Handel's memory, performed in the Abbey, in which upwards of 500 performers exhausted all the powers of musick 'tis said. I suppose it had a wonderful effect on the passions of the audience. We left "these chambers where the mighty rest," & I hurried to meet my father, to go with him to Samuel Hoare's, Newington—This family have not about them that ostentation which too often attends great fortune, but are remarkable for liberality, especially to the Poor—they have a good house and pretty garden. I could not but admire the Houses as we passed to & Entered Tottenham, and none more so than Sarah Pim's, a large, light bow window in the parlour commands a view of the road—we Enter a gate & the end of the house is to the road—however every thing has an air of neatness & more elegance than it pretends to—a pretty little garden lies behind. The dear mistress of the mansion sits with legs up & suffers great Confinement & often great pain, yet is so cheerful & so kind that her company is truly pleasing. Tottenham is a pretty village, about half a mile long, adorned with fine old trees—two Horsechestnut trees at the bottom of Abraham Gray's garden are very large & beautiful, & form a shady seat. Abby Pim is grown a fine girl, she was but about 3 years old when they had their Country residence in Ballitore, & I had not seen her since; how surprised was I, full of the idea of the little Child, to meet the accomplished young woman, accomplished but not Confident, adorned with amiable, unaffected sprightliness & solid sense. Her sister Betsy is one



of the first rate Characters I think I know; her modesty is equal to her worth, her virtue to her understanding, with such an example, with such examples before her Eyes how will Abby shine!

*10th 6th mo.*—Father & I went to visit his old friend & school companion Edmund Burke. The high idea which I entertained of this great man, made me go in a degree of awe. I could just remember his being at Ballitore & the window of the nursery from w<sup>ch</sup> Sally & I saw them alight from the carriage, his wife I thought something of, but should have thought little of him, had I not perceived under his plain coat a laced waistcoat—his postilion bedaubed with livery-lace, I should probably have taken for the master had I not seen the different Station of parlour & kitchen allotted them, What little idea I could have of his person had so mingled itself with veneration for his character, that I had figured him as of an austere Countenance & manner, how could I wrong him by such an idea! We were Cordially received by Richard Burke by Edmund's pleasing wife, & his son a young man of very agreeable person, fine accomplishments, & polite easy modest manners, Edmund, who had been bathing now entered—I feel a pleasure in saying I have seen him, I feel a pride in saying he saluted me with much kindness, & felt an affection spring in my heart for him while I looked on him. I had always loved him as the friend of my father, whom he received as a brother, but had I been a stranger I could not fail of being delighted with the striking grace & dignity of his person & the beauty of his Countenance which while it bore the stamp of superiour abilities, expressed that Candour affability & good nature which his manners hourly display. I met with a sketch of Lord Scarborough's person drawn by Lord Chesterfield which exactly describes Edmund Burke. "He had a very good person, rather above the middle size, a handsome



face, & when he was cheerful, the most engaging Countenance imaginable, when grave, the most respectable one. He had in the highest degree, the air, manners & address of a man of quality, politeness with ease, & dignity without pride." Crabbe, the author of the *Village* came in, with his new-married wife, & I had the honour of being introduced to him by Edmund Burke. I wished to see the King, & some of them would, I suppose, have brought me there, but as I had left my black hood behind, consequently could not be fully dressed, I must not go. Edmund Burke seemed to partake my disappointment & resolving I should have some other gratification, sent his Brother with me to see the Streets & Squares of Westminster. The coach stopped at S<sup>r</sup> Joshua Reynolds. We entered a gallery & a picture of Gen<sup>l</sup> Tarleton just alighted from his horse & fastening his boot, had a striking effect, there were a great number of portraits, young Richard Burke's amongst the rest, exceeding like him. There was a painting representing Sam<sup>l</sup> in this Circumstance, "Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth," the beauty of the Child & the awe of his mission were finely blended in the Countenance of Samuel. Another piece, the design, Cupid, having learned arithmetick, with casting up accounts had blunted his arrow, which his mother was shewing him, another Love laughing at him, while he stood with the Scroll in one hand & the other thrust against his eye, with so much shame, pettishness & vexation exprest in his Countenance as was truly diverting. There was a picture of a witch who has sold herself to the Devil & is let loose for ten Years from hell—she flourishes a Sword & puts to the rout a crowd of Goblins, who seem in the utmost Consternation. It is impossible to imagine almost, how much humour is displayed in a subject so truly non-sensical. Sir Joshua himself was there, a middle-sized, good looking man, rather deaf. He gave us a note w<sup>ch</sup> gained us



admittance to Somerset-House—the exhibition was over—the building alone was worth going to see, but of that I can say little, my attention being so engrossed by the paintings. The first room we went into had drawings & sculpture exhibited therein, of the latter were some pieces, the work of a woman of quality. We went up the fine Stone Staircase, receiving a caution to clean our feet, as the King & Queen were to be there next day. The light in the two rooms where the paintings were exhibited, was I believe, let in at the top, tho' I never thought how it was admitted, for the walls were lined with paintings—one in the outer room, of Iachimo in the chamber of Imogen, I greatly admired. Lear recollecting Cordelia—Capt. Cooke's murder, an old woman; those amid a multitude of others, I was gazing at, when the woman who attended us desired us to go into the other room. I did, it was monstrous large, & Moses receiving the law on Sinai was presented just at entering, almost beside myself with the view of so many beauties I cried out "This is too much"! & did not till then perceive some people in the room, at which I slunk back abashed, till my father & Rich<sup>d</sup> Burke were ready to return with me, & then behold one of those in the great room was West, a celebrated painter, who was once a member of our Society. As I had not my wits about me, I made another blunder in taking the catalogue to him & asking him to find out a picture for me, mistaking him for R. Burke. The Shipwreck of Capt. Englefield, where some persons in a boat were taking in another, had a deal of expression in it—a Brewer's yard, in which one of the dray horses was wonderfully natural—a picture of the Prince of Wales & another of Fox were pointed to me by R. Burke as striking likenesses, except that the painter had thrown too much of fierceness into the Prince's countenance, naturally sweet.

Amongst the miniature pictures, Lavinia, hearkening





to "the stories which her mother told, of what her faithless fortune flattered once," Eve "half in a bush of clustering roses hid" & Cephalus when he discovers Procris wounded by his arrow, & a school boy struck me as superior.

But why should I attempt to retain the idea of what perhaps I had better forget, & which overpowered my eyes, that I could not, though assisted by the Catalogue, leisure & see them all, much less, had I been qualified for it, observe all their beauties.

We went to see our Cousin Shackleton in Long-Acre, a genteel young man, who is an Upholsterer. From thence R. Burke ordered the Coachman to drive about the Squares, which are very handsome—some planted with shrubs like a Garden & surrounded with fine houses. We alighted and walked in a new street called Portland-row, which opens to the Country. The present taste seems to have the windows to the floor, guarded on the outside by iron rails in a bow. Thus were my eyes gratified by the objects without & my ears not less so by the Conversation within.

R. Burke possesses so lively a wit & so excellent a memory, so affectionate a heart, I believe, and such simplicity of manners, that he spoke of the incidents which had passed in his youth & repeated verses of my father's, made when he was at school, with as much apparent pleasure to himself as I really felt at hearing them.

There is nothing I admire more in these brothers than their easy manners, so unconscious of superiour abilities & such superiour abilities as might excuse some consciousness of them, but theirs receive the highest varnish from the Graces of humility.

I now saw London to advantage, & may now bear testimony to its "streets of Palaces & walks of state." The streams of clear water which run in so many places across the flags, tis said, is no waste of water, for they



run into the Thames from which they return purified. We walked in James's Park, which is planted with fine trees & adorned with a Canal. The Queen's palace is here & commands a pretty view, heightened by Westminster-abbey. James's Palace is "no great things" as to beauty or elegance without, it must be supposed there was much within, as it was Levee day. When we returned to Edm<sup>d</sup> Burke's that great man entered the room in his buff waistcoat—his servant helping on his blue coat, Fox's colours. I might say dress has improved his person, did not such a person improve dress. I looked at both & said to myself sorrowingly,

"Who born for the universe narrow'd his mind,  
"And to party gave up what was means for Mankind."

But what is party, before I presume to Condemn it? is not all the world divided into parties? our business is to choose the best. E. Burke took my father to walk in James's Square before Dinner, his wife & brother seemed fearful he would forget himself there, but they returned timely. Rich'd Burke sat at the head of the table & drollery itself was there,

"His voice was mirth & Every look a joke."

After he drank my health he calls out, "you stiff-necked girl, why do you not bow your head." After the cloth, with the (to me) perplexing water glasses, are removed, his servant sets a chair behind Edmund Burke & he reclines thereon with so classical an attitude as becomes one who seems to belong to the classical age. A Walker King dined with us, his brother was tutor to young Rich'd Burke, & afterwards to the Duke of Marlborough's son, & another brother was in the sea Service & abroad with Capt. Cooke, was in those islands when he was murdered, & had written the third Volume of the voyages. This extraordinary person was now at Beaconsfield (Ed. Burke's) for his health.



We left this soon after dinner & were desired to be there next morning pretty early to breakfast, to go with them to the Country.

11th.—Rose, John Gough, Joseph Inman, Ja's Lecky had gone for Liverpool the evening before, & dear Sam' Neale, who on parting, desired me not to be too much exalted by the notice of my friends. Left John Elliot's about 8 o'clock—found Edm<sup>d</sup> Burke in his morning gown, his wife had got a swelled-face. We did not breakfast very early, nor set out very soon after—it might be about 12 o'clock when we left London, in Burke's Coach & four—his wife & my father on one side & E. Burke himself, his wife's maid & lap dog at the other—he took pains as we drove along to point out any remarkable persons or houses which we might pass, & I had been just admiring a very veteran like man, when he told us that was General Burgoyne, My father read for us Burke's speech at Bristol, which was greatly improved by his presence & comments, to hear a speech of Burke's read & see himself at the same time! why it was like a dream. Passing over Hellington-Common he made me observe the improved spots which border it—that, he says, is the Case with most Commons in England. Near this, in a Gentleman's garden, is a cedar tree, the coach stopped, we alighted, & went in to see it to more advantage. It is said to be 120 years old, & the vast extent and size of its branches, each of which seems a tree, & the huge thickness of its trunk, prove that it's age must be great.

We stopped at Uxbridge, a pretty town, Edmund Burke walked with my father & me to see a friend Hull there—also to see a son of his, whom we found in his garden, a pretty one, very neat & sweetly Situated, the River Cone running at the bottom of it. Edm<sup>d</sup> Burke made me remark this river, which he reckoned was like the Griese, & told me is the river which Pope mentions in Windsor forest, he also pointed out to me



five acacia trees loaden with flowers & we descried a beautiful arbour or long covered way, with two entrances. The friend Hull asked me which I liked, England or Ireland, best. What could I say to evade the question? I said England exceeded Ireland. Edm<sup>d</sup> Burke turned short on me & reckoned he thought that was not the case, but England was more improved, & when we were again seated in the Coach, "How came you" says he gravely "to say England exceeded Ireland—Ireland," he said "is much better watered, & by the side of the rivers more beautiful, tho' in general more a flat or mountainous country than this"—remarks which since stood me in good stead on like occasions, sometimes giving them as Burke's, & truly at other times as my own. I could not but observe, & admire in this great & admirable man, such a disposition to inform as well as entertain the young persons about him, as make his company almost as profitable as pleasing. He was pleased to read some of my verses and they borrowed from his lips, graces which were never discovered in them before; really I began to think somewhat of them, forgetting that to his beautiful manner of reading they were indebted not only for my applause but for that which he was so kind very liberally to bestow on them, for I believe good reading may deceive even the reader as to the merit of the piece. By & bye we drive beside the Park of the Duchess Dowager of Portland—it was beautifully planted with fine trees & stocked with Deer. To see it to more advantage E. Burke almost wished I was on the Box but he placed me in a more honourable station—on his knee—to sit on Burke's knee was an honour which I was loath to accept, yet I did, & thereby enjoyed the beauties of the park. As I confess I am proud & not ashamed to confess I am proud of the marks of kindness which this extraordinary man bestowed on me, it is no wonder I indulge my vanity in recording them. The house





belonging to this park was built by Praise-God Barebones, E. B. told us, (who after the restoration became an architect) for Jefferies—&, says he “as he thought it his duty to cheat Jefferies, he built it very badly.” The village, or rather town of Beaconsfield, is clean-looking and rather pretty. It could not sure be only the force of my imagination which made me perceive pleasure in the Countenance of the people as they saluted the Coach passing by. Now we enter the park of Butler’s Court. Burke points to a park nearly opposite, as the seat of the Poet Waller, now inhabited by a person *descended* from him. Burke thought at first he had got the Poet’s house, ’twas pity but he had—but found it was a London merchant Gregory Waller who had built his; he was a drinking man it seems—for some one coming to him in a mistake instead of his namesake and neighbour says he, “I am not Waller the *Wit* but Waller the *Sot*.” There is a windmill in the park famed for the object of Zouch’s pun. Zouch I believe is steward to Burke or rather an assistant friend. Some one coming thither, not having observed the Windmill said to Zouch, “I think your Windmill is gone.” “I believe so” replied Zouch, “for it was *going* just now.”

There is a pretty sweep with a grass plot before the door divided from the lawn by an ha ha, & two low gates. The house is stately, it is joined to the wings by colonades, on one wing is painted the figures of Bacchus & Ceres, that wing Contains the bake house & Brew-house—on the other, which is the Stables, is the horse of Alexander represented, & on the pediment of the house a ship, alluding to Waller’s being a Merchant. Cap<sup>t</sup> Nagle received us at the door, he is, I believe, a relation—had been abroad in the sea service, served in the same ship with Prince W<sup>m</sup> Henry & so exceedingly resembled Mansergh in his voice, look & manner, that we were presently interested in his favour, espe-



cially when we heard he had leaped over-board & rescued his friend, who had accidentally fallen out of the ship, from the jaws of the Sharks. An action in which I believe Mansergh wants only Opportunity to imitate him. We alighted, entered & I was kindly welcomed & saluted by Edm<sup>d</sup> Burke & his wife—the hall is very spacious & set round with busts of marble or porphyry, with which some of the rooms are also adorned, the library & the passage to the back stairs are at one side, the great stair case, a door to the dining room & a passage to the kitchen (I believe) on the other side of the hall, the dining room, drawing room, & breakfast parlour form a fine suite of rooms, & run along the back front—the breakfast parlour is thickly hung with fine impressions of seals, glaz'd relievos in Ivory, prints &c the other two with fine paintings, amongst many others, Europa carried away on the Bull, Calisto discovered by Diana's nymphs, Aurora & the Pleiades and Pharaoh's daughter seeing Moses in the Ark. Edm<sup>d</sup> Burke saw my eye wandering on those, but he told me I might look at them at my leisure, & opened a sash door out of the drawing room into the Pleasure-grounds, he, my father & I went into a beautiful lawn, then turned into the walks of the wood, as far as the green house, which we entered, & he shewed us a flagon which a Bramin (who had come over board about the East india affairs & was two days at Butler's Court) used to dress his dinner; he would eat in no house which was not his own, so they had given him this. Tho' he had a servant, he prepared his own dinner, using I think neither animal food nor wine, eating off the ground, stripped from his waist up, & throwing away his dinner if any come within a certain distance of him. It seems, being in Company with Sir Joshua Reynolds, Edmund Burke & some other such men, he was so pleased with the expression of their Countenances, tho' he could not understand their Conversation,



that he desired his interpreter to inform them that in his Country there was a beast called the Rhinoceros, which sustained her young by her look, & to this he compared himself, being fed by their looks. Edm<sup>d</sup> Burke brought us to his farmyard, into the stable for his Coach horses, into his orchards, his gardens, among his Corn fields, meadows & pastures—nay he condescended to gather sticks & throw them into a pool of water to divert me with his dog swimming after them; everything is ennobled by his doing it; how different is that innate dignity of his manners, from the Affected stateliness which is assumed by those little minds who despise the graces of simplicity! He made us observe that the best method of cutting hedges was to bring them smaller to the top; he showed us how woody the country was not only by pointing to us the deep shades which now diversified & now bounded the beautiful prospect—but by showing, as we walked along, the young trees of various kinds springing up beneath our feet as weeds might in another country.

We returned at the summons of the dinner bell, tho' I was sensible of neither hunger nor fatigue, it was near 6 o'clock. After dinner our host took us to see his bakehouse, laundry &c. & continuing our walk, Capt. Nagle was sent for my Bonnet &c & I walked with my father & his friend; till E. Burke perceiving I had no clogs on, in high grass, would let me walk no farther, so we returned in to tea. They were in the drawing room, Capt. King, with the pallid look of ill health spread over his sensible Countenance sat in an elbow chair, Capt. Nagle made tea, & Jane Burke poorly with her face, reclined on the Sopha.—I sat myself beside her, but when her husband entered offered him that seat—he refused it, & threw himself down on the floor; I never saw anything more gracefully done. “Fortune” says my father “can lay thee no lower.” After tea Edm<sup>d</sup> Burke, my father & I walked thro' the pleasure



ground. I think he told us he has 11 acres under these & his park—his farm is 600 acres. The sun was setting, & shone on the bark of the trees—now we walked in the beautiful wood, now beside it, to enjoy the fine prospect, & now unexpectedly entered into a recess—in the midst of which was a very fine oak, whose spreading branches & the deep shade of laurels &c around formed a cool & dark shade; we sat under the oak & I could not but think of Burke's lines in a translation of part of the Georgics, as aptly describing this scene.

“What god will bear me from this burning heat  
“To Haemus' valley, to some cool retreat,  
“Where oaks & laurels guard the sacred ground,  
“And with their ample foliage shade me round.”

At the extremity of the wood was a tea house, built of roots of trees, moss &c a little Kitchen behind & an Ice-house under it. Lest I should be tired, E. Burke made me lean on his arm—Dear Sam! Neale! I had need to remember thy parting advice. How I do admire this man! How my heart glowed with pleasure whenever he entered the room, & how I gaped & stared & devoured his words, when he spoke, whether they sprang from the vein of genuine humour, or clothed his noble and liberal sentiments of men & things, in the easy flow of beautiful language, or made political subjects interesting & familiar even to *me*. I admired in silence, for my high opinion of him made me ashamed to speak before him at first—but that awe wore off by degrees, by the easy politeness of their manners towards me & I was much at my ease before I left this hospitable dwelling. “Good-breeding” says Edm<sup>d</sup> Burke, & his manners say it too, “while it encourages to approach, forbids approaching too near.” “The old fashioned formalities of politeness, tho' they are mostly laid aside, yet are there still little forms & ceremonials which belong to good breeding, which does not authorize a total laying aside of ceremony.” After





supper, hearing of some of the poor in the neighbourhood being afflicted with the ague, he called for Bark, Mustard, Ginger & Syrup, & asking my excuse as he sat next me, fell to making pills for them. Methought I never saw a more noble picture of humanity than Edm<sup>d</sup> Burke making pills for the poor—he desired Capt. Nagle (whom he wanted to know something about Physick, believing such knowledge necessary in his line) to assist him. The Capt. laboured at them with more care than dexterity & Edm<sup>d</sup> Burke said he had made *pounders* of all sizes. Then, & I think it was to me he addressed the story, he told of Lord Longford, who was a great Quack, meeting a funeral; he enquired whose it was (in Ireland). “Thady Farell, please your lordship”—“And who is Thady Farell?” “The man your lordship *cured* three days ago.”

About 11 we retired to our Chambers, mine was over the breakfast-parlour, my bed had fine silk curtains, the toilet laid out with dressing boxes, the room decorated with pieces of furniture which I did not understand & was afraid of doing mischief by endeavouring to explain—so I slipped into a bed as comfortable as elegant, congratulated myself at being under the roof of Edm<sup>d</sup> Burke & soon lost the sense of that honour in sleep, an honour which I considered not as Conferred on me by the rank in life, but by the virtues & accomplishments of my host, for had I been entertained by the King in his palace, I think I should not have esteemed myself so much honoured.

12th.—Found Capt. Nagle in the parlour, who set before me a book of prints, representing the natives, & their customs, of those islands which Capt. Cook had discovered—Capt. King came in & greatly heightened my entertainment by explaining to me these scenes, which he had been a witness to, & which he assured me were justly represented, & sometimes pointed out his own and Capt. Cook’s pictures amongst them. So kind



& so desirous to entertain me was (may I aspire to call him so) my friend Burke, that soon after breakfast he ordered his chaise to take my father & me to Windsor, desiring us to take Lord Inchiquin's seat in our way, the seat of the famous Duke of Buckingham, called Cliveden, "For" says he "you must see Cliveden's proud Alcove," tho' far from being a place fit to inspire one with love, it is more likely to freeze one to death." It is about 3 miles from Beaconsfield; & Burke's house is built on the same plan, only somewhat smaller. We saw in several of the Apartments tapestry representing the Duke of Marlborough's battles, family pictures &c.—Walked a little in the beautiful grounds, & gazed at the rich and various prospect, thro' which the Thames flowed, just beneath a distant, woody hill, on the top of which appeared the Castle of Windsor. The Alcove which Pope mentions is under the back front of the house & tho' the walls are adorned with some painting, yet it answers Burke's description. Eton & Windsor join each other. Eton College is a fine, old building,—the scholars playing about was as pleasing a sight to me as any I Came to behold. We called here for a brother in law of Capt. King's, but he was out—so we proceeded to Windsor, drove to the Castle and alighted there. We went into a building called the Royal Palace; I believe the Royal family do not live there, but in a newer building. We were led by a girl thro' a number of apartments—some at entering hung with arms—the rest adorned with pictures—were Shewn a Room called the Queen's bedchamber, in which was a bed beautifully embroidered with needlework on white Sattin—over the Chimney-piece a painting of the Queen & her children—the Queen's china closet, dressing room, & such a crowd of splendid objects confuses the idea of Each. In the Royal Chapel were paintings representing the victories of the Black Prince. I think here was the Candlelight piece which



seemed to receive its light from the Candle painted there, & Cephalus lamenting over the dead body of Procris—another plan was Dun Scotus, who our guide told us had made a vow never to eat or drink till he had translated the Bible & died when he had done—he seemed then to be near the end. In the Gallery for paintings we were particularly struck with two Misers, one attentively casting up accounts & the other looking on with every mark of avarice on his countenance. We went to S<sup>t</sup> George's Chapel—there the Knights of the Garter are installed, saw where the King & Queen sit—here are some old monuments, a mat rolled up under the head of one seems finely executed. We went into the round Tower, thro' some of the rooms, where we saw the story of Hero & Leander in tapestry & some ebony chairs (old make) which we were told cost 30 Guineas apiece. From one of the windows I saw a chaise with several attendants, one on a beautifully spotted horse, & asking what it was, was answered, "Some of the King's people." I suppose it was the King himself who went out & returned while we were there, but we had not the luck to see him. Edm<sup>d</sup> Burke told us if we staid till 6 or Seven in the evening, we should very probably see him on the terrace, but we were not disposed to forego the Company & Conversation at Beaconsfield for the base sight of a King. Therefore having from the top of the Tower surveyed a most extensive prospect, which takes in part of 12 counties, walked on the beautiful terrace, and admired the *tout ensemble*, where strength, grandeur and situation combine to render it an abode worthy of a King we again stepped into the chaise & turned our faces towards that spot where we expected to meet with gratification superior to all that the Pomp of royalty could afford. Returning thro' Windsor, we saw a little post-chaise made of wicker-work drawn, I think, by two little ponies, & the Eton scholars running to look at it as the Ballitore



boys would do. It was about five I believe when we returned—After dinner Edm<sup>d</sup> Burke read some more of my verses; & was so kind as to point out where corrections were necessary, which flattered me more than all he had said in their favour.

Richard Burke Jun<sup>r</sup> came this afternoon and with him Rich<sup>d</sup> Champion, late of Bristol, & once of our Society, which he has quitted, but being a man of sense, his manners seem free from that disagreeable something which too generally attends those who have done so. Here was now a circle of people of the first rate as to natural & acquired abilities, & what Entertainment can be so pleasing or so rational as the conversation of sensible men! Capt. Nagle & I were only qualified to listen & admire. Lord Inchiquin paid an evening visit—seems a conversible, sensible man (middle aged) probably would appear more so in another place. Jane Burke presented me with an elegant letter-case, which I took care to be let often seen, always informing who was the giver.

My father wanted to get to meeting to Jordan's, about 3 miles hence—but being informed the meeting was not always held there Capt' Nagle set out for intelligence, but staid so long that many witty remarks were made on his absence. "He was gone on a new Expedition, in which it was hoped he was not wrecked"—"he was gone to discover a new land called Quakerania"—"he was now of the Sect called Seekers" &c. We were at supper when he returned & brought word there was no meeting at Jordan's next day—that there was a grave-yard there (here lay the bodies of William & Gulielma Penn, Thos. Ellwood &c)—the Burkes said it was like our grave yard at Ballitore, they meant like what ours *was*, but no respectable Meeting, but that he was informed that "at Uxbridge was a very genteel meeting of the best friends in that Country." Tho' still hankering after Jordan's, my father concluded to





take a Chaise to Uxbridge, & Edm<sup>d</sup> Burke who was going in his own Chaise to London, to call & take us up there.

There was Gooseberry fool at Supper, Edmund Burke gave us the etymology of the word, it comes he said from the french "fouler." He seems to have an universal knowledge & let him speak on what subject he will one would think that subject was his *forte*. In person Champion is very like my father.

13th.—After breakfast we took leave of this beautiful spot, & this amiable family, & secretly rejoiced that I had been there. We got timely to Uxbridge but were much disappointed at hearing that the meeting was held that day at Longford, 5 miles from thence. Another chaise was got, we drove thither & were but about  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour late. One Tho<sup>s</sup> Finch spoke a few words towards the conclusion. We met several acquaintances here, Hannah Evans for one. This seems a village. The younger friend Hull engaged us to dinner with him, we returned to Uxbridge accepted his invitation & found him and his wife very agreeable, he in particular has something very pleasing & cheerful about him. By and by a message came from the Inn that Edmund Burke was there; tho' it had begun to rain, I was so anxious not to keep him waiting that I hurried my father to go, our obliging host came with us—before we got there it began to thunder, & increased while we sat in a little room in the Inn with E. Burke, so much, that dreading the effects which I have heard of thunder in England, I was unusually frightened, till E. Burke made me sit beside him, & then really I was better.

When the rain abated we set out, but a little mortified, having learned from fr'd Hull that there was a constant meeting at Jordan's, which, had we attended, we should have seen the place, had Edmund Burke's Company all the way, & he found by a letter he received



since we left Beaconsfield, that he need not have left home till after dinner.

There were very heavy showers, but the thunder ceased. Burke began to speak of the day he first came to Ballitore School; he staid on horseback after his father had alighted and gone in, it was such a day as this & every thing smelled fragrant after the rain. His elder brother and he fretted, my father was sent to walk with them, they very sour & grum & he took no pains to please them. I mentioned Tom Eyre's disapprobation of any alteration in Ballitore & his imagining it so much smaller (by the way Rich<sup>d</sup> Burke has promised to do what he can to get Tom's leave of absence lengthened). Edmund Burke seemed quite pleased at such natural emotions; he could describe the antient face of Ballitore wonderfully & mention objects which I had never heard of before. How was I delighted to see that great man indulge those sensations which we have felt, but could not describe, while talking of "dear old times!" How respectfully did he mention my grandfather & speak with such pleasure of his having him at his house & how did he wish for my mother there! They all reckon me like my Grandfather. At length our journey, which seemed to me short, was over, but Edmund Burke made us alight, come into his town house with him & stay till he dined. Coming graciously towards me, he congratulated me on the storm being over "but" added he, "you know thunder always spares the bays." After he had handed me into the Coach to go home, he parted with my father in the hall, not coming, according to his customary politeness to see him into the Coach, but in such a manner as neither my father nor all the world (save Burke himself, if he assured me to the Contrary) can convince me he was not affected at parting from him—it was as Shakespear describes, save that I cannot be positive as to the resemblance of the first line



“And even then, his eye being big with tears  
Turning his face he put his hand behind him  
And with affection wondrous sensible,  
He wrung Bassanio’s hand, & so they parted.”

For my part, only for shame, I could have cried, because I never more expect to see him, because I know he is advancing in years & because I perceive he has a part of enemies against him. I was lifted up almost beyond Measure & I could never be tired of talking of him, & this was encouraged in me by many, who liked to hear about his private character, his person & & whether they were his friends or foes good naturedly smiled at the warmth of my attachment & politely forbore to abuse him before me.\*

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\* [The rest of the Journal continues her journey in England, and of the cottages along their route she writes: “Whenever we get a peep at the inside and see the cleanliness, the clock and the warming pan there, how forcibly does the contrast of an Irish cabin strike us.”]



## THE SHAKESPEARE TRADITION IN PHILADELPHIA.

BY JOSEPH JACKSON.

(Read before the Contemporary Club, March 13, 1916.)

About twenty-five years ago Walt Whitman told his Boswell, Horace Traubel, that Shakespeare would be laid on the upper shelf, but I have a suspicion that the "Good Gray Poet" unintentionally deceived his literary executor, for there is no evidence that the dramatist is *passé*, though he may have become more classic.

The fact is, the city fathers tried to lay the bard on the shelf the first time he showed his head, and they did succeed in driving him out of town. Fortunately, Philadelphia in numerous ways has made amends for its hasty conduct in 1749. In driving away the company of actors who strove to enlighten the Quaker City, the Council very nearly prevented this city from enjoying the distinction of being the first on this continent to witness a Shakespearean play.

The theatrical histories give the credit to New York, but the evidence, or rather the inference, is that it was in Philadelphia, and not in New York, that Richard III received its initial presentation in America.

We know from the journals of the Common Council, that in the early winter of 1749, William Allen, the Recorder of the City—he of the splendid turn-out—four black horses and an imported English coachman—acquainted the Council that certain persons had taken it upon themselves to act plays, and as he was informed, to have made a practice thereof.

He feared that this practice would be attended with mischievous effects, whereupon the Council requested





the magistrates to take the most effectual measures to suppress the disorder.

The company did not advertise in Philadelphia, so we do not know with certainty what were the plays they acted, but, like many others who have attempted to introduce something novel and were attacked for their pains, these players went to New York. There they advertised, and from these notices we learn that one of their plays was *Richard III*.

Their list of plays was not a long one and we may be pardoned for inferring that *Richard* had been performed by them in Philadelphia.

Primitive Philadelphians seem to have been too seriously occupied with the hard work that attends pioneering, such as building, selling choice lots under water, and clearing the forest, to heed the call, if indeed they heard the siren voices of the muses.

Shakespeare was not one of the best sellers in those days. He does not appear to have been either bought or read.

When Franklin and his friends of *The Junto*, founded the Philadelphia Library, they neglected to provide anything of Shakespeare's. The first catalogue, issued in 1741, shows the library had Steele's *Dramatic Works*, a *History of Japan*, a description of *Greenland*, to say nothing of a set of the works of Francis Bacon, whom some well-meaning people believe really wrote the masterly plays and ingenious poems signed with Shakespeare's name, in addition to his own rather voluminous writings, but Shakespeare's name is absent from it. The Library Company must have realized their shame, for when the second catalogue appeared in 1746, it mentioned a six-volume edition of Shakespeare, printed in 1745, which had been added to the library.

Whatever doubt may be thrown upon the first presentation of *Richard III*, there can be none to deprive



us of the distinction of having had Hamlet and Macbeth played here for the first time in the New World. These were probably not any too well acted, for Hallam, the younger, was seen in the title roles, and he was a very young man of limited experience. At that time he never had witnessed any acting but in the company managed by his father and later by his step-father, David Douglass. His mother, then Mrs. Douglass, was the leading lady, and she demanded her parts so imperiously that she insisted upon playing Lady Macbeth to her son's Macbeth, and subsequently Juliet to his Romeo. The unpleasantness of such casts evidently did not cause her any embarrassment. They were her parts and it was in her husband's company, so like managers' wives from the time women first played on the stage, Mrs. Douglass demanded her rights to her parts—and she got them.

It might be of historical interest to mention that Hamlet was first performed in America in 1759, at the old Southwark Theatre, where, in the same season Macbeth was first witnessed in this country.

It is not unlikely that Hallam, although he had had no European experience on the stage, had been coached in the traditions of the parts. He was not a great actor, but he was the first one of importance to begin his career on the stage in this country.

In those days Philadelphia, whose southern boundary, fortunately was Cedar, or South street, would tolerate no playhouses, and one was erected outside the city limits. So the drama went along at a jog trot for two generations. After the Revolution, the old-fashioned ideas of the church-loving Philadelphians, underwent a change. The Assembly, in response to a sensible appeal made the theatre free.

This was in 1789. Immediately Philadelphia became a city of fashion. Pleasure no longer was forbidden; the theatre now could be erected within the sacred pre-



cinets of the city itself; and the drama began a new epoch in this country.

Wignell, who had been an associate of Hallam, was given assistance of the foremost citizens of Philadelphia, and began the erection of a splendid new theatre, the first real playhouse of generous dimensions and facilities to be erected in this part of the world.

He collected an admirable company in England, and when these arrived Shakespeare for the first time in America came into his own.

From time to time Wignell induced other good performers to cross the Atlantic. He brought out Fennell, the best Othello on the English stage and the first good Hamlet seen in this city.

But, the brightest of the lights brought over was Mrs. Merry.

She was the Ellen Terry of her day, and Philadelphia, like London, fell victim to her charm. She was undersized, however, but she had grace, and played her parts with an effective womanly tenderness. She was an impressive Ophelia, but was unsuited to Desdemona. She might be said to have excelled in the lighter Shakespearean characters, and was particularly admirable in Hermione. She was happy in those parts that demanded a smile, and her voice was beautifully feminine.

She once saw Mrs. Siddons act Lady Macbeth, and then resolved that nothing would induce her to attempt the character because she despaired of successful competition with the great Sarah.

Cooper was another good tragedian, who in the early years of the Nineteenth century, gave Philadelphians a glimpse of Shakespearean characters. But he was not a genius. He might be called the Lawrence Barrett of his age, and that means he was a genuinely good actor of the first rank, but lacked the spark that flames efficiency into genius. Cooper, however, had a talent for



management. He knew the value of a name, and he went to England, when times were bad in the theatres here, and brought George Frederick Cooke to this country.

There were ungenerous persons who declared that Cooper had kidnapped the Tragedian, after plying him with his favorite liquor. However, laying aside the morality of this act, he did an important service to the American stage. For Cooke was a revelation and an inspiration. He was the first really great actor who had been seen in this country, and his eccentricities, which seem to have been unknown to no one, added to the immense popular interest he excited.

In Cooke the traditions of Shakespearean acting, were handed from Garrick to another generation. He had seen Little Davy play *Lear*, *Hamlet* and *Benedict*. He had witnessed the performance of Barry as *Lear* and *Jacques*. He had been amazed with Macklin's *Shylock* and *Iago*; had seen Reddish as *Edgar*, *Henry* and *Macduff*; and knew the limitations of Henderson as *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, *Shylock* and *Falstaff*. These were among the studies that Cooke had made, and on which he naturally formed his style.

As these actors had received hints from older players, one might say with truth that, in a measure, Cooke was in possession of traditions that dated from the days of the Globe Theatre.

So Philadelphia, in witnessing his performances, saw Shakespeare acted with something of the same stage business, something of the same arrangement that had been taught to the original players by the dramatist himself.

There were no press agents in 1811, but the city had been made aware of the arrival of Cooke.

Such intense interest in his performances was displayed that when the tickets were placed on sale, the Old Chestnut Street Theatre was actually mobbed.





For the first time in the history of amusements here, premiums were willingly paid for a place in any part of the house. Porters, draymen, and boys, fought their way in the crowd. Coats were torn, eyes were blackened and noses bled in the wild rush of their owners to obtain places.

One widely known physician, a certain Dr. R., is said to have thrown Scotch snuff into the faces of the crowd, taking advantage of the confusion he caused to get nearer the ticket office. He succeeded the first time he tried this experiment, but the next time he was caught by the mob and dealt with roughly.

The demand for choice seats was so great that the best places were sold by auction, the first time in this country that this was done.

Curiosity to see Cooke, however, did not limit itself to witnessing his acting, but included a desire to see the man himself. So dense was the crowd gathered around the stage entrance to the theatre that when Cooke arrived with his friend and manager, Dunlap, he had to make himself known in order to get into the house.

In the crowd that was burning with desire to see Cooke act, was a small boy and it is fortunate for art that he was able to achieve his ambition. He knew the son of the scene-painter Reinagle, and the two lads went up into the flies, from which high perch they watched the great George Frederick play his greatest part, Richard III. The ambitious boy watched the actor on and off the stage; he had an introduction to him, and as a result of his studies he drew a portrait of the player in the part of the last of the Plantagenets.

Bradford & Inskoop, the publishers of the "Mirror of Taste," a fine example of the literary magazine of the period in this country, in whose office the boy worked as an apprentice, saw the drawing, had Edwin engrave it, and issued it with their periodical.



Interest in the wonderful young artist was shown by men of prominence to whom his employers exhibited his work, and together they made up a purse to send him to England to study. That is how Charles R. Leslie received his start. He lived in England through the greater part of his life, and in that time he painted several pictures that illustrate Shakespeare, with a beauty of drawing, and a charm of composition that probably has not been surpassed.

Cooke's Richard was said by those who saw it to have been a wonderful performance. "You felt everything he did," remarks Durang. "The face fixed your attention at once. The words that followed rivetted your attention and absorbed all objects else. You did not see *Cooke*; you only saw the character."

Some of us are proud of the things that Philadelphia was first in. The list is a rather long one, but it is enough for us here to say that the first American edition of Shakespeare is to be found in it.

In 1795 and 1796 Bioren & Madan issued the plays and poems in eight volumes small octavo. This work which was a very creditable performance, was edited, according to repute, by Joseph Hopkinson, who has been chiefly remembered because he wrote "Hail Columbia." It is interesting to note that this edition is not only the first of the plays to be issued in America, but likewise is the first edition of the poems. Further, it contains the first glossary, and the first estimate of the poet, in the form of introduction, to achieve print in this country. For this edition the first portrait of Shakespeare was executed by Robert Field.

Sidney Lee tells us that there have been traced 140 copies of the first folio, but the first American edition is far more rare than that, because there probably are not a dozen good copies in existence, and not 25 sets in any condition. Yet this edition was printed only 120 years ago.



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P L A Y S A N D P O E M S

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W I L L I A M S H A K S P E A R E .

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First American Edition.

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P H I L A D E L P H I A :

P R I N T E D A N D S O L D B Y B I O R E N & M A D A N .

M D C C X C V .

I may be pardoned for quoting a few words from the preface.

“An attentive perusal of this author,” remarks the American editor, “must indeed afford the utmost pleasure and justify the utmost praise.



We have neither inclination, nor time to insert the ponderous dissertations on his merit, that some preceding editors have discharged upon the world.

"In place of notes, a glossary of obsolete words will be given in the first volume of the work, and will be found sufficient for every substantial purpose of elucidation. An American reader is seldom disposed to wander through the wilderness of verbal criticism."

He excuses the addition of the poems in this manner:

"That no part of this author may be lost, we have added to the present edition his poems. Though not destitute of merit, they are confessedly inferior to his dramas."

One of the greatest American tragedians, Edwin Forrest, was the gift of Philadelphia to the stage. He did what no other actor before his time had done, he sought to create an American drama. But we have to do now only with Shakespearean tradition, and that leads to the thought that while Forrest probably was the most tremendous Lear that ever walked the boards, he was, as Fanny Kemble described him, "A mountain of a Man," and consequently was a sorry sight as Hamlet, or as Romeo. Even as Shylock his powerful physique did not agree with the traditions of the part.

"He was tall and muscular," wrote one who saw him, "such calves as his I have seldom seen. It was with admirable instinct that Dr. Bird wrote for this large person the play of 'The Gladiator.' He was born for single combat.

"His mastodonian muscularity was a disadvantage in characters of predominating intellect, like Hamlet, with which our actor never meddled without reminding us of a bull in a china shop."

This reference to Hamlet reminds us of the long line of lady Hamlets that have been seen on our stage. Charlotte Cushman, who was of the number, was more of an innovater when she donned the sword and cloak of Romeo and played the part like a man.

This trial was made at the Walnut Street Theatre in 1843, when she was the nominal manager. Vandenhoff, who played Mercutio to her, and who lent her the hat and sword she wore on that occasion, and who said he might take credit for giving her a few fencing hints,





tells us that she killed Tybalt like a man, which he added, was the only good point in this hybrid performance.

"She looks neither man or woman," he remarked "or both, and her passion was equally epicene in form. I never yet heard any human being that had seen her Romeo who did not speak of it with a painful expression of countenance, more in sorrow than in anger." I may be permitted to mention here that this year is the centennial of her birth.

There have been other spectacles seen on our stage, quite as disquieting as Miss Cushman's Romeo. I have alluded to the performance of Hallam in the part to his mother's Juliet, but Charles Kemble played the part to his daughter Fanny's Juliet. You do not find much in commendation of Miss Kemble's Juliet, but her father's Romeo was a classic. Yet it was distasteful to find these parental relations set aside for the purposes of the stage.

No reference to Shakespearean tradition in Philadelphia would be complete without mention of the elder Booth, who was more eccentric than Cooke, and in his way an equally powerful actor. Like Cooke, he passed along many Shakespearean traditions of the stage to his successors, and principally to his better-recalled son, Edwin Booth.

He put intensity and enthusiasm into his thespian passions; he felt the part he was playing so seriously that it has been said, that the player who acted Richmond when he was the Richard had to be an expert fencer to prevent himself from being the victim instead of the conqueror of Bosworth Field.

But I never have been able to trace to its source the tradition, that once Booth fought his Richmond from the stage of the Walnut Street Theatre out into Ninth Street, before he realized that the contest was only a mimic one.



Philadelphia has made some notable contributions to the literature on Shakespeare, in addition to publishing his works. In 1834 Dr. James Rush wrote a most remarkable play which you may find in the University Library. This was entitled, "Hamlet, a Dramatic Prelude," and the novelty of the play lies in the fact that its action takes place before the elder Hamlet's death, and consequently before Shakespeare's tragedy begins. It is a curiosity, and, of course, never was presented.

The first Concordance to the Poems of Shakespeare was the work of a Philadelphia lady, Mrs. H. H. Furness, and the first Shakespeare Society in America was organized here, in a lawyer's office in the Mercantile Building, Fifth and Sansom Streets, in 1851. In its work you may find the influence that finally led the late Dr. Horace Howard Furness to edit the new Varorium edition of the dramatist's works, of which we justly are proud, for it has carried the name of Philadelphia to all parts of the world where there are Shakespearean scholars, and they are to be found wherever English is spoken or read.



AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL LETTERS OF PETER S.  
DUPONCEAU.

(Manuscript Department, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

[Peter S. Duponceau was born June 3, 1760, on the Isle of Rhe, France, where his father had a military command. In 1775 he repaired to Paris, where he became a teacher and translator, and made himself master of the English and Italian languages. Here he made the acquaintance of Baron von Steuben and was induced by that distinguished general in 1777 to accompany him as private secretary and aide-de-camp to America, where Congress commissioned both. In 1781 he became a citizen of Pennsylvania, and the year following was appointed secretary to Mr. Livingston, of the Department of Foreign Affairs. After the close of the Revolution he read law and was admitted to practice June 24, 1785. Mr. Duponceau was connected with many learned societies and his philosophical and historical writings are well considered; he served as president of the American Philosophical Society, and also of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. He died in Philadelphia April 1, 1844.]

Philadelphia 23<sup>d</sup> May 1836.

My Dear Sir

I find I am growing diffuse, but I cannot help it; recollections crowd upon me, and they are the recollections of youthful days.

We left Boston on the 14<sup>th</sup> of January 1778, on our way to York Town, where then sat the Congress of the United States. Our party consisted of Baron Steuben, and his servant Carl, (a young lad whom he had brought from Germany,) M<sup>r</sup> De Francez, (an agent of Beaumarchais,) and myself. We travelled on horseback. I must not forget the Baron's dog Azor, the only pedestrian among us. He was a beautiful Italian greyhound, who had an excellent ear for music. Bad singing set him howling, and barking; while he listened with apparent pleasure to a good song. He was particularly averse to the gamut which Captain Landais, (the Commander of the vessel in which we came over



from France,) executed every day, by way of musical exercise, in horrid taste. The dog compelled him at last, to put a stop to his practising.

Notwithstanding the recent capture of Gen' Burgoyne, the situation of the United States at that time was extremely critical. The enemy was in possession of Rhode Island, New York, and Philadelphia, with well organized and disciplined troops, far superior in numbers to our own. Our army, (if army it might be called,) were encamped at Valley Forge, in the depth of a severe winter, without provisions, without clothes, without regular discipline; destitute in short of everything, but courage & patriotism. And what was worse than all, disaffection was spreading through the land. In this dismal state of things, the Baron was advised to keep as far from the coast as possible, lest he should be surprized by parties of the enemy, or by the Tories, who made frequent incursions into the country, between New York and Philadelphia. We, therefore, shaped our course westwardly; and crossing the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, we employed three weeks in a journey, which, at present, would hardly require as many days.

In the course of that journey, we met with few adventures. I shall relate one or two, to show the spirit, and the manners of the times.

We had been cautioned against putting up at a certain tavern, in Worcester County, Massachusetts, not far from the frontier of Connecticut. We were told that the landlord was a bitter Tory, and that he would refuse to receive us, or at least treat us very ill. We determined to avoid that place if it were possible. Unfortunately, when we were at some distance from it, we were surprized by a violent snow storm; it was in the evening, and we were compelled to take shelter in the very house we wished to avoid. We had not been





misinformed. The landlord at once said, "that he could not accommodate us." He had no beds, no bread, no meat, no drink, no milk, no eggs; all that he could offer us was the bare walls. In vain we remonstrated, and prayed; he remained inflexible; at last Steuben grew impatient, and flew into a violent passion. After exhausting all his store of German oaths, he called in that language to his servant to bring his pistols; which he did. Then the Baron, presenting the deadly weapons at the affrighted landlord, repeated the questions, that he had in vain asked before. "Have you any bread, meat, drink, beds &c?" The answers were such now as we desired; we were accommodated with good beds, and a good supper; and our horses were properly taken care of. In the morning, after breakfast, we politely took leave of our host; who, though a Tory, did not refuse the Continental money, in which we liberally paid him.

Another anecdote, which I now recollect, is strongly characteristic of the patriarchal manners of those times. As we passed through the State of Connecticut, we put up one night at a house, where, for some reason that I do not remember, we were all obliged to sleep on the floor, in the same room with the family; some on feather beds, and some on blankets; men, women, and children had all to *bundle* together, as it was called. The bedding was spread all around the room; and every one took his place, and went very composedly to sleep. The utmost decency was observed, though no fuss was made about it. There was so much innocence, and simplicity, in the manner in which these arrangements were prepared and made, that the idea of indelicacy did not even occur to us; and if, in the morning, we indulged in a smile at manners to which we were so little accustomed, nothing was said or thought to the prejudice of the morality of the good people, who had entertained us in the best manner that they were able.



I doubt whether our manners are now more pure at present, than they were at the time when it was the fashion to *salute* the young ladies; or when *families bundled* together with strangers in the same room. The customs of nations are not always a safe criterion by which to judge of their morality.

This reminds me of an anecdote, which I think will not be here inappropriate. One evening, at an inn in Virginia, a Frenchman, and a Virginian, were discussing about the manners of their respective countries. The American, exclaimed violently against the horrid custom of the French, of kissing one another, at meeting, and parting. The Frenchman made no answer, but as it was late, he took his candle, & went up to bed. He was soon followed by the Virginian, who after undressing, came to take his place in the same bed with his companion. "Stop, Sir," said the Frenchman, "that wont do; I shall kiss you as much as you please, but by Jupiter! I'll not sleep with you."

I have done with my anecdotes. We arrived at York Town on the 5<sup>th</sup> of February, where I shall rest for the present.

Sincerely yours.

Philadelphia 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1836.

My Dear Sir

This day, I complete my seventy-sixth year. At the rate I am going on, I have but little time to finish what I have begun, but I shall, by and by, quicken my pace. The times I am speaking of, are too interesting to go over them cursorily. Leaving the future to provide for itself, I shall in my own way proceed with my narrative.

On my arrival at York Town, I learned that Gen<sup>l</sup> Ducoudray, whom I had known at Paris, had been drowned in attempting to cross the river Schuylkill. I learned also, that Gen<sup>l</sup> Conway, whom I had known at the Isle of Ré, where he was Major of the Regiment



of Clare, had gone to Albany, to meet Gen' Lafayette, on an intended expedition against Canada. This was the friend of my infancy; with him I first lisped my imperfect English accents. I heard since, to my sorrow, that he was deeply engaged in a conspiracy to deprive Washington of his command. The plot was fortunately discovered, and successfully counteracted; in consequence of which, he never since that time, (at least to my knowledge,) made his appearance at headquarters. He afterwards returned to France, without my having had an opportunity of seeing him.

If I was disappointed in not meeting my former acquaintances, it was my good fortune to make new ones; which in the course of my life, proved most valuable to me. Among those, I am proud to name Henry Laurens, (then President of Congress,) who was to me as a father, by the excellent advice he gave to me, as well verbally, as by letters, after we separated. And the venerable Bishop White, now the only surviving witness of my proficiency in the English language, at the time of my arrival. I cannot forbear naming also, Mr. Thomas McKean, since Governor of Pennsylvania; Mr. Richard Peters, our late lamented District Judge, then a member of the Board of War; and Mr. James Lovell, a delegate from Massachusetts; a man of great erudition, and profound learning. To the patronage of these three gentlemen, I am indebted for my advancement in life at a subsequent period, and the obligations I owe to them, shall never be erased from my memory.

The Congress of the United States were not at that time, the illustrious body, whose eloquence, and wisdom, whose stern virtues, and unflinching patriotism had astonished the world. Their number was reduced to about one half of what it was, when Independence was declared; all but a few of the men of superior minds, had disappeared from it. Their measures were feeble, and vacillating; and their party feuds, seemed to fore-



bode some impending calamity. The enemy were in possession of our Capital city; the army, we had to oppose to them, were hungry, naked, and destitute of everything. No foreign government had yet acknowledged our Independence; everything around us was dark and gloomy; the only ray of light, which appeared amidst this darkness, was the capture of Burgoyne; which cheered the spirit of those who otherwise might have despaired of the Commonwealth. But that brilliant victory, had like to have produced most fatal consequences. Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates became the hero of the day: Saratoga was then, what New Orleans has been since, the watchword of the discontented. A party was formed even in Congress, to raise the conqueror of Burgoyne to the Supreme command of our armies. But the great figure of Washington, stood calm, and serene, at his Camp at Valley Forge; and struck the conspirators with awe. With the exception of a few factious chiefs, he was idolized by the army, and by the nation at large. The plot was discovered, and the plan frustrated, without a struggle. Without any effort, or management on his part, and by the mere force of his character, Washington stood firm, and undaunted in the midst of his enemies; and I might almost say, "looked them into silence."

Such was the state of things when I arrived at York Town. Parties were then at their height, but as Congress sat with closed doors, the country at large was not agitated, as it would otherwise have been. There were not wanting out of doors, disaffected persons, who railed at *King Cong*, and the *bunch of Kings*, (such was the slang of the day among the Tories;) but the great mass of the people were still in favor of the Revolution; and the press did not dare to utter a sentiment inimical to it.

I did not make these reflections at the time; I was then too young to reflect; but I heard and saw a great





deal; and my memory, coming in aid of my more mature judgment, has enabled me to draw a picture, which, I believe, is not far distant from the truth.

The fame of Baron Steuben had preceded him to York Town. He was welcomed, and courted by all; and I well remember that Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates in particular, paid him the most assiduous court, and even invited him to make his house his home; which he prudently declined. Congress appointed a Committee to confer with him on the subject of his pretensions; and were not a little surprized, when he told them, "that all his ambition was to serve as a volunteer in their army." All the favor he asked, was, "that his two attendants Depon-tiere and myself, should have the rank of Captain." which was immediately granted. On the 18<sup>th</sup> of February, I was appointed Captain by brevet, in the Army of the United States; and the next day, we departed from York Town, for the Camp, at Valley Forge.

I am very Sincerely

Yours &c.

Philadelphia 13<sup>th</sup> June 1836.

My Dear Sir

On our journey to Valley Forge, we passed through Lancaster, then, considered the largest inland town in the United States. Having arrived there early in the afternoon, the Baron was waited upon by Colonel Gibson and other gentlemen, who invited him, and his family, to a Subscription Ball, to take place that evening. The Baron accepted, and we accordingly went. There we saw assembled, all the fashion and beauty of Lancaster, and its vicinity. The Baron was delighted to converse with the German girls in his native tongue. There was a handsome supper, and the company did not separate until two o'clock the next morning.

From Lancaster, we proceeded directly to Valley-



Forge, where we arrived on the 23<sup>d</sup> of February. On the next day, I had the honor of being presented to Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington, and to dine with him that day, and the next. He received the Baron with great cordiality, and to me he shewed much condescending attention. I cannot describe the impression, that the first sight of that great man made upon me. I could not keep my eyes from that imposing countenance; grave, yet not severe; affable, without familiarity. Its predominant expression was calm dignity, through which you could trace the strong feelings of the patriot, and discern the father, as well as the commander of his soldiers. I have never seen a picture, that represents him to me, as I saw him at Valley-Forge, and during the campaigns in which I had the honour to follow him. Perhaps that expression was beyond the skill of the painter; but while I live it will remain impressed on my memory. I had frequent opportunities of seeing him, as it was my duty to accompany the Baron when he dined with him, which was sometimes twice or thrice in the same week. We visited him also in the evening, when M<sup>rs</sup> Washington was at Head-quarters. We were in a manner domesticated in the family.

General Washington had three aids; Tench Tilghman, John Laurens, and Alexander Hamilton. Robert Hanson Harrison was his Secretary. I soon formed a friendship with Laurens, and Hamilton, as well as with Major Monroe, then Aid de Camp to Lord Stirling, and since President of the United States. With Harrison and Tilghman, I had but a common acquaintance. Laurens was master of several languages. I have a letter from him in Latin, Greek, English, French, and Spanish. With Monroe I corresponded almost daily, although our quarters were little distant from each other. After his elevation to the Presidency, he wrote me a long letter, expressive of his remembrance of our former friendship. Had I been ambitious of places,



here was a fine opportunity offered me to obtain that end; but I preferred my independence, and suffered that opportunity to pass unimproved.

The situation of our Army, during the dismal winter that we spent at Valley-Forge, has been so often described, and by none in more vivid colours, than by Washington himself, in his letters written at that time, and which may be seen in Mr. Spark's collection, that I shall forbear to expatiate upon the subject. Suffice it to say that we were in want of provisions, of clothes, of fodder for our horses, in short of everything. I remember seeing the soldiers, popping their heads out of their miserable huts, and calling out in an under tone, "No bread, no soldier." Their condition was truly pitiful; and their courage and perseverance is beyond all praise. We, who lived in good quarters, did not feel the misery of the times, so much as the common soldiers, and the subaltern officers; yet we had more than once to share our rations with the sentry at our door. We put the best face we could upon the matter. Once, with the Baron's permission, his aids invited a number of young officers, to dine at our quarters; on condition that none should be admitted, that had on a whole pair of breeches. This, was of course, understood as *pars pro toto*; but torn clothes were an indispensable requisite for admission; and in this, the guests were very sure not to fail. The dinner took place; the guests clubbed their rations, and we feasted sumptuously on tough beef-steaks, and potatoes, with hickory nuts for our dessert. In lieu of wine, we had some kind of spirits, with which we made *Salamanders*; that is to say, after filling our glasses, we set the liquor on fire, and drank it up, flame and all. Such a set of ragged, and at the same time merry fellows, were never brought together. The Baron loved to speak of that dinner, and of his *Sans-Culottes*, as he called us. Thus, this denomination was first invented in America,



and applied to the brave officers, and soldiers of our revolutionary army; at a time when it could not be foreseen; that the name which honored the followers of Washington, would afterwards be assumed by the satellites of a Marat, and a Robespierre.

In the midst of all our distress, there were some bright sides to the picture, which Valley-Forge exhibited at that time. Mrs. Washington had the courage to follow her husband in that dismal abode; other ladies also graced the scene. Among them, was the lady of General Greene, a handsome, elegant, and accomplished woman. Her dwelling was the resort of the foreign officers, because she understood, and spoke the French language, and was well versed in French literature. There were also Lady Stirling, the wife of Major General Lord Stirling; her daughter, Lady Kitty Alexander, who afterwards married M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Duer of New York; and her companion Miss Nancy Brown, then a distinguished belle. There was Mrs. Biddle, the wife of Colonel Clement Biddle, who was at the head of the forage department, and some other ladies whose names I do not at present recollect. They often met at each other's quarters, and sometimes at General Washington's, where the evening was spent in conversation, over a dish of tea or coffee. There were no *levees* or formal *soirees*; no dancing, card-playing, or amusement of any kind, except singing. Every gentleman or lady who could sing, was called upon in turn for a song. As I had a tolerable voice, and some knowledge of music, I found myself of consequence in these *reunions*. I soon learned the favorite English songs, and contributed my share to the pleasures of the company.

Thus the time passed, until the beginning of May, when the news of the French Alliance burst suddenly upon us. Then the public distress was forgotten amidst the universal joy: I shall never forget that glorious





time. I was not yet an American: I was proud of being a Frenchman. Rejoicings took place throughout the army; toasts, songs, *feux de joie* and what not? I thought I should be devoured by the caresses which the American officers lavished upon me, as one of their new allies. Wherever a French officer appeared, he was met with congratulations, and with smiles. O! that was a delightful time! It bound me forever to the country of my adoption.

The six weeks that elapsed after the reception of this news, passed amidst the hopes and the dreams of future triumphs. The British evacuated Philadelphia on the 18<sup>th</sup> of June, and I entered it on the same day.

While we were at Valley-Forge, Baron Steuben was appointed a Major General, and Inspector General of the armies of the United States. To the post of his secretary, which I then held, he was pleased to add that of his aid-de-camp, which gave me, by courtesy, the rank of Major, which I preserved until I quitted the military service.

I remain Very Sincerely

Your friend and humble Servant.

Philadelphia 24<sup>th</sup> June 1836.

My Dear Sir:

I forgot to mention in my last letter, that it was at Valley-Forge, that I became acquainted with Gen' Lafayette, on his return from Albany; the intended expedition against Canada not having taken place. He showed from the first much partiality to me; which afterwards ripened into a friendship, that ceased but with his life.

I ought also to have mentioned, that before we left Valley-Forge, the Baron took another Aid-de-Camp into his family. It was Captain Benjamin Walker, who afterwards was aid to Gen' Washington. He was an Englishman by birth, and had been brought up for the



counting house. He had not received a brilliant, but a solid education; he was master of the French language; and was gifted by nature, with a clear head, and a sound judgment. He was brave, intelligent, honest, and true. I enjoyed his friendship to the time of his death. The Baron was very much attached to him, and left him heir to one half of his property. He died at Utica, some years afterwards, beloved and respected by all who knew him.

While I am on the subject of this gentleman, I must relate an anecdote which happened while he was in the family of Gen' Washington, and which is strongly descriptive of his honest heart. He had long been engaged to a Quaker young lady, who resided in the State of New York, and whom he afterwards married. He once asked the General to give him leave of absence for a few days, to go and see her. The General told him, that he could not at that time dispense with his services. Walker insisted, begged, entreated, but all in vain. "If I don't go," said he, "she will die." "Oh! no," said Washington, "women do not die for such trifles." "But, General, what shall I do?" "What you will do? why write to her to add another leaf to the *book of sufferings.*" This was related to me by Walker himself. Gen' Washington had a great deal of that dry humour, which he knew how to make use of on proper occasions. But I must return to my narrative.

On my way from Valley-Forge to Philadelphia, I met with two little adventures, which are of no other importance, than as they shew the feelings which prevailed at that time, among the different classes of society. It may not be out of place to relate them.

Baron Steuben and the rest of his family, had preceded me into the City; leaving a direction with me where to find them. As I was riding along, I was met by an old Quaker, who was travelling the opposite way, and, who, as he passed me, asked "whether I was going



into Philadelphia?" I answered him affirmatively. "Ah!" said he, "if Uncle Howe was still there, thee would not be going so fast." I made no reply, and proceeded on my way.

The Quakers were at that time, strongly opposed to our Revolution; as they are to everything that has to be effected by violence. They were as much opposed to fighting the French in 1756, as the English in 1778. That arose from the predominancy in their minds of religious principles, and they were not on that account the less attached to their country.

Very different was the greeting I received from a farmer's wife, at whose house I stopped a few miles farther (on?) to refresh myself, the weather being excessively warm. She no sooner discovered that I was a native of France, than she, and her family, broke out into the warmest expressions of kindness, and gratitude. "And, is it possible?" said she, "that you have come all this way to fight our battles?" Everything they had to give was offered to me; and no compensation was even thought of. "Too much could not be done," she said, "for our good friends, and allies." I left the house with the blessings, and the kind wishes of that excellent family.

The first observation I made on entering Philadelphia, was, that the City had been left by the British, and Hessians, in the most filthy condition. I joined Baron Steuben at the State House in Second St., the celebrated boarding house so much spoken of in Graydon's Memoirs. Such was the filth of the City, that it was impossible for us to drink a comfortable dish of tea that evening. As fast as our cups were filled, myriads of flies took possession of them; and served us, as the harpies did the poor Trojans in the Eneid. Some said they were Hessian flies, and various other jokes were cracked on the occasion; for the evacuation



of the City had put us all in good spirits, and we enjoyed ourselves very well, the filth notwithstanding.

The next day, a house was provided for us in New Street, where we staid but a few days; being anxious to join the army. That quarter of the City was then inhabited almost entirely by Germans; hardly any other language than the German was heard in the streets, or seen on the signs, in front of the shops; so that Baron Steuben fancied himself again in his native country. A great number of the inns, in town, and country, bore the sign of the King of Prussia, who was still very popular, particularly among the Germans. I remember that at Manheim, (a town in the interior of this State,) through which we passed, on our way from Boston to York Town; the Baron with a significant look, pointed out to me at the tavern where we dined, a paltry engraving, hung up on the wall; on which was represented a Prussian knocking down a Frenchman, in great style. Underneath was the following appropriate motto:

*“Franz mann zu Preuser vie eine Mucke.”*

*(“A Frenchman to a Prussian is no more than a mosquito.”)*

The good Baron appeared to enjoy that picture exceedingly, and so, no doubt, did the German landlord to whom it belonged.

We were not, however, captivated with the delights of Capua. We bade adieu to Philadelphia, and all its German attractions, and joined Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington's army in New Jersey, a few days before the battle of Monmouth, which owing to well known circumstances, turned out to us a fruitless victory. We followed the army to Paramus, and the White Plains. In the month of August I accompanied the Baron to Philadelphia, where he came to solicit the command of a division of the army, which could not be granted to him; but Con-





gress to soothe his feelings ordered him to repair to Rhode Island, to aid with his advice, Gen' Sullivan, who, in concert with the French fleet, under the command of Count d'Estaing, was besieging Newport, then in the possession of the enemy. We proceeded accordingly to the northward, but did not stay long there, having heard by the way, that owing to a misunderstanding between the allied chiefs, the siege of Rhode Island had been raised. After a short stay, therefore, we returned to the main army, where we remained until the winter; when we came again to Philadelphia, for reasons which will be explained in my next letter.

During that campaign, I wrote a great many letters to my correspondents in France. Some of them fell into the hands of the enemy, who published them with notes at New York, in Rivington's Royal Gazette. In one of those letters, I gave Gen' Washington the praise that he deserved, and that letter came under his notice. The Baron told me, that the General was very angry with me, for presuming to write on the affairs of this country; but I saw nothing in his conduct to me that denoted anger; he always shewed me the same affability, and the same kindness.

The Baron watched over me with a father's care. He well knew the dangers, to which an inexperienced young man was exposed in this land of liberty, and took pains to guard me against them. "If," said he once to me, (not long after our arrival in this country,) "if you write in the newspapers, or get married I will renounce you." This fatherly advice made a strong impression on my mind, and was a salutary check to me on more than one occasion.

I am very Sincerely,

Yours &c.



FANNY SALTAR'S REMINISCENCES OF  
COLONIAL DAYS IN PHILADELPHIA.

CONTRIBUTED BY MRS. E. B. HOSKINS.

My dear Maria.

You express yourself pleased with my reminiscences of dear "old Molly" and her anecdotes of by gone days, and you wish me to send you more of them. I have already stated she entered the family of my grandmother during her widowhood. After her marriage in 1751, Molly went with the bride to the house of the groom in Front street between Chestnut and Walnut, and soon became much attached to the four children of her new master, but the birth of the first-born of her mistress, Betsy (my dear mother) in 1752, was one of the happiest events of her life. I have often heard her describe with much animation, her walks up Chestnut street into the country and through the State House yard, then the cow pasture of my parents, to Walnut street, followed by all the joyous little inmates of the family.

Philadelphia was so small in those days, my grandfather used to say he not only knew every gentleman in town, but every gentleman's black servant and dog, and Molly often spoke of a circumstance that looked well for the morals of the young city. My grandfather, during the Summer evenings, was in the habit of sitting on the porch at the street door, with a large silver tankard of punch standing on the lower part of the porch and a friend or two smoking and enjoying the punch. One evening when the old gentleman had retired the tankard was forgotten, but the next morning, when Molly opened the window, there it stood in the old place. You, my dear girl, have probably partaken of



hot whisky punch from the same tankard at my cottage, where I have often prepared it for my friends after a cold sleigh ride. But all were not honest even in those "good old days," for one morning, on going to the stable, Alexis, or "Lex" as he was called, found one of the horses stolen; rewards were offered, but Dreadnaught could not be heard of and Daredevil long whinnied to call his mate in vain. Years after, as Lex was walking among the market wagons in Second street, a horse neighed by his side. The sound was familiar to him, he turned and joyfully beheld his old favorite Dreadnaught. Many were the caresses of affection that were exchanged between the horse and his old driver, to the great astonishment of the countrymen who were lookers on, but the present master was far from partaking of the general feeling, as Lex firmly declared that to be the animal stolen from his master. At length Lex proposed the horse should be turned loose, and if he did not go to his master's stable, he would own himself mistaken. The horse was set at liberty, Lex gave the command as formerly, "To the stable," and gayly did he canter to his well remembered home.

The great journey of our great domestic's life was her ride to Magnolia (7½ measured miles from Market and Front streets). The motion made her deadly sick and she was almost lifeless when lifted from the carriage to her bed. She never after could stand even for an instant on the step of any kind of carriage without becoming giddy and faint.

At the time of my grandfather's removal into the country, the family was very large, consisting of my grandparents, Polly, Dolly, James, Betsy, Rebecca, Thomas, Mary, Fanny and George, and for many years Mary Gordon, the daughter of a younger brother of my grandfather, who died in the West Indies before he had attained his twentieth year. Mrs. Drake, the govern-



ess, also resided in the family, making thirteen in the parlor, and there were a goodly number of domestics in the kitchen. Hired English and bought Africans, many of whom were dead and gone before my time, but of Daddy Caesar, I have a vivid recollection. He was a prince in his native country and as a mark of that distinction his forehead and cheeks were deeply slashed with lines. He was low of stature, bandy-legged, his skin very black, his wool tightly knotted, his nose flat, lips thick, mouth wide, but his teeth wide and even. In his dialect there was as much African as English, and when a child I liked to hear his talk as he sat in the old fashioned chimney corner; and no Italian music is now so sweet to my ears as were then his African songs. Whether his manners were princely or not I cannot determine, as he was the only member of royalty I have ever seen, but this I do know—that there was a gentleness, a tenderness, and I think I may say, a delicacy in his manner that made me greatly prefer him to Daddy Jack, Samuel, Manuel or any of the colored population of the kitchen. Yet Mammy Katy, a little hump-backed mulatto Cook was also a great favorite. I loved to sit in her lap as she ate her breakfast and get a sip of her strong coffee from her blue dragon cup and saucer. I liked the smoke too of her old pipe, until one evening, as I sat on her knee, she dropped asleep and her short pipe with its fiery contents fell into my bosom; from that time I have never liked tobacco in any form. But this accident did not cool my love for Mammy Katy, for when I was being weaned, nothing could console me the first night of mother's absence, until Molly carried me into her chamber, where the kind little woman and her son changed my cries of distress into merry laughter by exerting their skill in alternately blowing out a lighted candle and "blowing it in" again, and to crown all, Manny put a lighted candle into his mouth, the light shining curiously through his black cheeks.





By the time Molly became free, her father was dead, and she heir of a Walnut street house and whatever property he had to leave, she being his only child. She felt no inclination, however, to leave her old friends and continued in their service, a highly valued domestic. She had an Aunt Mary who lived in London some years after the Revolution, who sent her a handsome Bible with silver clasps and the initials of her name "M. H." on the back in gilt letters. Our Aunt Edwards says she remembered the day it was brought to Magnolia by a little boy who was afterwards our good Dr. James, his father living at that time at Chalkly Hall . . . .

Years rolled on, the children of the family became men and women. My mother married my father, who was a widower with one little girl, Peggy, and was at that time a lumber merchant, in Front Street. At the commencement of the War, my mother with her husband and little daughter Maria (your grandmother), came to Magnolia to reside with her mother, again a widow, my grandfather having died in 1777. My grandmother's health was then declining and in 1777 she died. After her death, my father became proprietor of the place and from that time it became their happy home, and Molly gladly remained with them. The little Peggy was brought from her Aunt Canby's where she had lived after her mother's death.

I must stop for the present but next week will continue my narrative if you wish it.

My dear Maria :

We have now arrived at another epoch in the life of our faithful Molly. She had become the domestic of one she had nursed in infancy, directed in childhood and whose parents she had seen united; but her manner was ever respectful, not only to my parents, but to all the younger branches of the family. At the time



of my grandmother's death only the three youngest children were living at home, beside my father's family. Henry Bainbridge had long been in Europe; Alexander had died in Lisbon; and the beautiful Rebecca whose portrait, with that of my dear mother is now hanging before me died soon after this picture was painted. Mary had married an English gentleman, Mr. Thomson, and lived for some time at Atsion and afterwards on a farm at Byberry. She became a widow and returned to Magnolia, where she died. Dolly married Laurence Saltar, my father's brother; they also lived at Atsion Ironworks and died without leaving children. Thomas Gordon (that handsome boy who stands in the great family picture with a paroquet) was a wild blade, full of life and fun. He had entered the British Navy when young, through the influence of his mother, and receiving prize-money, had spent it profusely when on shore in England with his fellow mid-shipmen. Some of these were sons of noblemen, who took him to their fathers' country-seats, where his tastes for luxury and expensive amusements were probably first formed, which in after life gave much uneasiness to his fond mother and friends. At the commencement of the Revolution he was on board the Roebuck Man-of-war, which sailed up the Delaware to Bordentown and burnt Kirkbride's house. Afterwards, when in the prison-ship off Rhode Island, he, on a dark night, with one of the prisoners, took the ship's long-boat and escaped to the shore, where he exchanged his gay uniform for a laborer's dress. Pushing his way at night and on foot and sometimes begging a meal's victuals, until ragged, dirty, and half starved, he reached Magnolia without being recognized by anyone who had once known the dashing young British officer. But health and spirits soon returned and he became the devoted admirer of our Cousin Peggy Bickley, then a very beautiful young girl. But at that time he was idle and extravagant in



his habits and the good judgment of the young girl made her decline those attentions, which perhaps, had his conduct been different, would have been the sunshine of her existence. At the close of the War he regained his property which had been confiscated, by proving that he had been placed in the British Navy by his mother, but that he had deserted rather than remain and be instrumental in making prisoners of his suffering countrymen. About the year 1788, he married Miss Margaret Huston and purchased a farm near Newtown, Pa.; but did not long enjoy the comforts of his new home, for on returning one evening from a ride, he was thrown from his horse during a thunder-storm and killed. He left one son, Dr. John Huston Gordon, formerly of the U. S. Navy, who married Miss H. Mc Crea; they are now residing on the place with their son, the young doctor and their daughter Elizabeth. There was an old gentleman who lived some years in the family, by the name of Clark. He was uncle to my grandmother and came over to this country in a vessel with Penn, to whom he was much attached. He was also an uncle of our Cousin Bickley's at whose house he died while on a visit. My grandmother's name before her marriage was Clark; she was born in Pennswich, Gloucestershire. Aunt Edwards, when in England, visited Pennswich, but owing to some circumstance, did not get to see Clark Hall, the old family dwelling, nor did she enter the church-yard where the family lie, although she saw, in passing, the beautiful evergreens so often described by her mother. The Clarks belonged to the Society of Friends, but the Gordons were Episcopalians and had a family pew in the south aisle of Christ Church, opposite the second window. It was chosen by my grandfather, when the church was enlarged, on account of its being over the grave of his mother who died in her eighteenth year, in giving him birth; she was a sister of our worthy Bishop Hobart's



grandmother. From the time of my Aunt McMurtries' marriage, her family occupied the pew, until within a few years. Her daughter, Mrs. B. Tilghman and her family now occupy one in the middle aisle. My grandparents lie in Christ Church burying-ground near the front gate, on the left hand side; their daughter, Nancy McMurtrie and family near them; also Dolly Saltar and her husband; Mary Thomson, her husband and James are on the left side.

James Gordon died in 1775, and was buried with the honors of war. He belonged to the Silk-stocking Company; their captain was Bradford; their uniform, brown and buff. The first time Washington reviewed his troops, June 20th., 1775, previous to his going to Boston, the family rode down from Magnolia to see the review on the Common, back of Pennsylvania Hospital. General Washington and General Lee, mounted on fine horses, were for some time so close to the carriage that my aunts said they could have shaken hands with them. Washington was handsome and attracted all eyes. In the evening Uncle James returned home very unwell; the day had been very warm and he, much heated and over-fatigued; a violent fever ensued, of which he died. My father was at that time in the company of Captain ——; his uniform was blue and buff. My Uncle James' portrait, my dear Maria, you have often seen at Magnolia Cottage, hanging in my chamber over the mantel. He is represented standing near the beach with a letter in his hand, the sea and a vessel in the distance. His dress is in the fashion of his day; his hair, curled at the ears and powdered; his coat, purple, lined with white silk, the cuffs wide with large gilt buttons and cambric wrist-ruffles. Often have I seen our dear old Molly's eyes fill with tears as she looked on this picture. He had resided for some time in the West Indies, where his health became improved,





but his absence caused much anxiety at home and Molly's greatest pleasure, at that time, seems to have been in preparing roast beef for him by putting it in a keg and pouring hot lard over it; in this state it was sent to him at San Domingo in cool weather. I have heard a very extraordinary circumstance related of an old woman who was in the habit of visiting my grandfather's family. During the great earthquake in the Island of Jamaica, in 1692, when the town of Port Royal sank into the ocean, this woman was swallowed with it, but cast up again to the surface, there she was taken from a fragment of roof by a vessel in which my great-grandfather sailed as captain, and was brought by him (Alexander Gordon) to Philadelphia, some years before the birth of my grandfather. This old woman became very fond of a good glass of wine and if my grandfather did not fill her glass to the brim she would say, "Plague it, the Devil take it, Tom, what is the top of the glass made for!" My Cousin L. Penington says the remains of Port Royal are still visible, lying deep beneath the clear waters of a tropical sea.

Our first American ancestor, Alexander Gordon, was born in Scotland and began the study of law in a commercial town with a gentleman to whom he was bound, as was the custom in those days. He was sent by his master, one day, to get a pot of ale; this raised the ire of the young Scotchman, who considered it too menial an office for one of his rank; he proceeded on his errand, but instead of returning, he went on board of a ship just going to sail and bound himself to the captain. His father was violent and severe in his temper and he dared not return to his home and acknowledge that he had left the place provided for him. He never saw his father again until he was lying dead, when the boy's predominant feeling was dread, lest he should open his eyes and see him.



My dear Maria:

The dark clouds of the Revolution at last passed away and the sweet sunshine of peace gladdened the heart of man and added a new charm to the face of nature. Sometimes, with the dearest companions of my heart, E. Lardner and her brothers, I sought the green meadow to gather strawberries, magnolias, sweet-williams and numberless other wild flowers which grew in great profusion round the old gum-tree, which supplied us with the mistletoe bough for our Christmas sports. Once brother George and myself prevailed on her to walk to Frankford to make a visit to our Aunt Edwards, who was the youngest daughter of my grandparents and had continued to reside at Magnolia until she married Dr. Enoch Edwards, who at that time lived on his paternal farm in Byberry. My aunt soon became a most efficient wife. She rose with the lark and "looked well after the ways of her household." The dairy and her homespun were each perfect of their kind. Those substantial buff and white striped curtains which you may remember to have seen hanging in the parlor at Magnolia Cottage, were made under her inspection and given to my mother, after my uncle sold his farm, and the windows of their new abode were hung with crimson damask. It is years since they were manufactured; they have been much used but they still look glossy and bright. You must not judge of what were my aunt's occupations by what you see now at Tacony. The state of society then was more like what it now is in our Western States. Land and provisions were plenty and the laborers married young. It was easy for the farmer to collect a dozen or twenty men for his harvest fields, but where were the women to come from, to provide for them? They had to stay with their children. Bought servants, either Dutch Redemptionists or Africans, were then all that were to be depended on; these were chiefly clad in homespun



and the mistress had much of their clothing to make with her own hands. I well remember the great banks of yarn and the big stockings that I have seen my mother knit. Sometimes it happened when one of the domestics became free, another could not immediately be procured to supply her place and the ladies then had to do their own work. On one of these occasions Colonel Burr happened to come to spend the night at our Uncle's. Early in the morning, Miss Edwards, a sister of the doctor, arose and taking a milk-pail and covering herself with an old cloak and sunbonnet, seated herself beside a cow in the barn-yard. The gay Colonel soon after entered and came up to her, walked round the cow, talked of her beauty and asked questions; but nothing could he get out of the damsel but monosyllables. As soon as he left her, she vanished into the house and when she appeared at the breakfast table, her face wreathed in smiles and her person in delicate attire, he little thought he was in company with the silent milkmaid. This lady afterwards married Mr. Mount.

During the war, the doctor had been engaged in active service; he had been aide-de-camp to General La Fayette, whose wound he had dressed at the Battle of Brandywine. Some years after his marriage, he perceived symptoms of a pulmonary affection which induced him and my aunt to go to Europe. It was while in England that they first saw Mary Clarkson. She was a young girl in ill health, and, I believe, an orphan. My uncle and aunt soon became very much interested in her and proposed to her guardian to take her with them while travelling through Europe. Having obtained his consent, she accompanied them through England, Scotland and Holland, and by the time they returned to England, her attachment had become so strong that, when she was invited to accompany them to America, she willingly left a young brother and



sister to become their companion for life. On their arrival in America, her sprightly manners and agreeable conversation made her a welcome visitor to my aunt's relatives and friends. I believe it is fifty years since they first met and I believe perfect harmony has ever existed between them. After my uncle's death she appears to have become still more dear to my aunt. Of Mr. James Robertson, her husband, I have heard our aunt express the most unbound respect and confidence. Mr. Robertson was a widower with three daughters; the youngest married Robert Cruise [Croes] son of the late Bishop of New Jersey. The two eldest and a daughter of the present Mrs. Robertson are living at home, cheering with their smiles the home of my aged aunt, now in her ninetieth year, and their infirm mother, to whom Margaretta is the most tender and devoted of daughters. I have no recollection of the first time I saw my kind uncle and aunt, after their return from England, but I perfectly recollect my wonder and joy when my aunt presented me with one of the most perfect wax dolls ever formed. The statue of Napoleon's infant son comes nearer to it than anything I have ever seen, but like a true mother, I think my own darling was the most beautiful; for my sweet baby had such sparkling black eyes and between her coral lips shone two rows of pearly teeth; her hair curled in bright ringlets and on one of her dimpled hands was a little red scratch. This of course was very interesting to me. My little nephew, Lynford Lardner was the doctor; he ordered a plaintain leaf tied round it and mixed up a dose of physic in an acorn cup for her; sometimes he would bleed her and straining a rag with currant or cherry juice, would wrap it round her arm. Her gums were often lanced and one day the doctor, the nurse (his sister) and myself had a violent dispute. He insisted that the child had a violent toothache and that the tooth must be drawn; the nurse and





myself endeavored to defend the baby; a regular fight ensued and the poor infant fell on the mantel hearth, fractured her skull and knocked out an eye. The doctor, having destroyed his patient and plunged all its relatives into the most violent grief (like some others of the profession) quietly took his departure. With many more valuable gifts my dear aunt has since presented me, for which I feel grateful, but none ever gave the wild delight I felt on receiving that beautiful doll. She has promised me the portrait of herself taken when an infant. The gift will be a lasting pleasure, one which will end only with life. My Aunt Edwards, the longest known and best beloved of all my aunts, is the only one that I have never had a likeness of. After my uncle's return, he purchased a place in Frankford of Mr. Drinker. The house was pleasantly situated at some distance from the street, but the beauty of the place consisted in the lovely view presented from the summer-house, of the pastures, streams, bridges, mills, the village, numberless roads winding through tall trees, luxuriant shade, and rising above all other objects, was seen Christ Church steeple, five miles distant. One day when Mr. Jefferson was on a visit to my uncle, they walked up to this summer-house. He looked round and said: "This is the spot on which the signers of the Declaration of Independence dined the day they signed the Declaration." Whatever my uncle possessed had an air of elegant neatness. His walks, grass, trees, shrubbery, were all in perfect order, as was his person; whether in his morning gown and slippers, lolling in his library or in his dress coat ascending his carriage; and all around him was elegantly neat. One of his favorite sayings was, "Cleanliness is next to Godliness." He was fond of children and I dearly loved him.



LETTERS OF ELIZA FARMAR TO  
HER NEPHEW.

(Letter Book Manuscript Division Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

My Dear Jack

Yours of the 2<sup>d</sup> Oct have the pleasure of receiving hope you have receiv<sup>d</sup> mine of 6<sup>th</sup> of the same mon wherein I wrote you we had rec<sup>d</sup> the you sent by Capt Cook and likewise the garden seeds by Capt Pickles for Which I thank you and wish with you that you could come and eat some of their produce and who knows but you may if my Scheem should Succeed your Unkle wrote you the 27 Dec by Capt Ayres who bro<sup>t</sup> the Tea his ship came within four Miles of this City on Sunday y<sup>e</sup> 26 where she was stopd not being sufferd to come any farther and was Obliged to return on Monday and the Capt was permitted to sta no longer then Tuesday Morning the Inhabitants sent a Supply of fresh provisions & a Pilot on board and the Ship weighed Anchor in two hours after and on Thursday the Pilot left them out at sea there was one Mr Barclay came Super Cargoe with the Tea and he is gone back with it and I beleive they were glad they came of so well for at Boston they threw it all into the River and it woud have gone near to have shared the same fate her but the Capt had more prudence then to endeavour to force a landing by which means he prevented a great deal of Mischeif & Confusion for they were all determined to oppose it the think now that the India Company will get the Act which imposes a duty of 3<sup>d</sup> apd repeald and then send more over if they should and you coud have Intrest enough with sir Geo. to get an



Apoinment with it I then should have the happyness of seeing you once again for if they take the duty of we shall gladly take the Tea if not they will have none of it but do as they have done all along that is Run it from the Dutch M<sup>r</sup> Carmaek was Mentioning to your Unkle there were four or five Merchants to whom itt was consigned now if you could get either of them amongst the Number it woud be worth their accept-ance but try for yourself first I have no other news to send but that we have had a very deep snow and the People are diverting themselves with rideing in Sleys and the Market people bring their things to Market on them & now I am speaking of Marketing I must set you a longing your Unkle last Wednesday bou' a hinde Quarter of Veal 17<sup>½</sup><sup>lb</sup> a Do of Mutton 11<sup>lb</sup> 2 brace of Partridges 3<sup>lb</sup> of butter and the whole cost 7<sup>s</sup> sterlin this is the place for those who love their Bellys for here you may feast at an easy expence I rec<sup>d</sup> a letter by Capt Ayers from M<sup>r</sup> Stephani of the 15<sup>th</sup> of Sept wherin he says he and friend Pike are well praying best respects to them tell M<sup>r</sup> Stephani I take it very kind he thinks of me I assure him I often think of him and wish he was a little younger that he mig[ht] be able to come and assist me in laying out our Garden as we have room enough for him to exercise Tallent at Gardening where he might walk out and look at the bloom and not see a few peaches set and the in a little time all blighted our Trees were so loaded with fruit last summer that some of them broke down with the weight I am sorry poor Tulip is so Ill pray remember me to M<sup>rs</sup> White am glad she Continues well am glad her Daughter is so well Married and hope she will make a prudent wife My love to Cousens Holroyds with Compliments to M<sup>rs</sup> & M<sup>r</sup> Boetefeur & all Friends in general &c &c

Yours &c., E. F.



Kensington Sept 19<sup>th</sup> 1774

My Dear Jack

. . . . The Congress are now Setting here & have been a fortnight but nothing Transpires all is kept a profound Secret there was a report the other day of the Town of Boston being Bombarded by the Men of War lying of the Town and that Several houses wher knocked down and some of the Inhabitants kiled which Ocatitond a general consternatiton along the Continent and in some parts of the Country they Armd and March to the Number of 15000 & more were getting ready but there came an account that it was only a Squash occation by the Setting of the new court of Judacature when none of the Gentlemen that named for Jurors woud stand and obliged the Judges to resigne their places in short the Provinces are determined one and all to stand by each other what the Conquences will be we dont know to be sure they may send Men of War and destroy the Towns on the sea shore but its Impossible to take the Country and the damage they do in destroying the Towns will fall on the English in the end. . . . Mr Farmar Joins me in wishing you Health & Success in all your Undertakings and believe me to be

Dear Jack &c., E. F.

Kensington Nov 1<sup>st</sup> 1774

My Dear Jack

. . . . I have nothing new to write since my last in Sept only our Congress are broke up and are come to a great Spirited Resolves which you will see for they are sent over by Capt Van Horn togeather with a Petition to his Majestic own hand to be delivered by all the Colonie Agents they are very indifferent wither he receives it or no for it is to be published and they have bound themselves to abide by those resolves and





if Hessitated to repel force with force all Importation ceases after the first of Dec<sup>r</sup> next so I am afraid you cannot send the few things your Unkle has wrote for but if there should be an alteration dont doubt of your sending I have nothing farther to add only we are all in good health hope your and your Mother are also pray remember me kindly to all friend in general and believe me to be dear Jack

Your &c., E. F.

*P.S.*

poor Watkins came over in a very bad time as this Non Importation is agreed on business will be at a Stand & I think he acts prudently in returning as he must have been intirely on expences.

Kensington Feb 17 1775

My Dearest Jackey

. . . . Your Wine is all unsold for there was no demand for it when it came and the Winter coming on he woud not unpack it least the cold weather might hurt it so we have not tasted it your Unkle has bespoke some when he opens it but if he can sell it all as it is he will I believe he will do all in his power to dispose of it to the best advantage but that sort is not so much drank here as Madeira for my part I never drank so little wine since I knew what it was as I have done since I have been here the Ladys drink very little here and I must be in the fashion tho at first it seemed odd but custome is prevailing as for News the Non Importation is Strictly adheard to and after this month No Tea is to be bought sold or drank and there are Committies chosen for every Town to see that the Resolves of the Congress are stricktly observed and those that dont are look<sup>d</sup> on as Enimies to America all ships that came in after the first of Dec<sup>r</sup> the goods were deliverd to the Committies to be sold by Auction agreeable to



the order of the Congress and all Ships with goods after the 1<sup>st</sup> of this month are not Sufferd to unload several have been obliged to go to the West Indies I wish we were once quietly settled for they seem to be very firm and are waiting to know what the King and Parliment will do till then things will be partly at a stand. we have now almost had a Wintering at our Country habitation which tho the weather has been very cold yet it has been Pleasant and we have had our healths very well only I have had an Illnated Tooth has plagued me but I have been revenged on it for I have got it out and burnd it . . . . I believe yo<sup>l</sup> think my letter very long so will conclude with love to your Mother & self with Compliments to all friends in generall M<sup>r</sup> Farmar and Sally Joins me in wishing you health & happiness and beleive me to be

E. F.

April 28: 1775

Dear Jackey

. . . . As for News we are alarmed with the wise proceedings of your Parliment & Ministry and we have had several expreses from New York of a scrimage Near Boston in which Lord Peirey & General Haldiman are killed but suppose you will hear of particulars before this reaches you but the Provinces are all Arming themselves and the men are almost all for inlisting as fast as they<sup>l</sup> take them so am afraid we shell have Troublesome times. I heartly wish the Authors of all this Mischief may be brought to Justice I have not time to write more. . . . Your Unkle Sally and Self are all in good health and join in wishing you the same desireing to be kindly remembered to all friends in general

I remain dear Jack your &c..

E. F.



Kensington June 28<sup>th</sup> 1775

My Dear Jack

. . . . As for the things your Unkle wrote for we cannot expect now for they are very strict in examining all ships that come in so that nothing can come there is one come from Livepool with salt and Glass which must go back tho Salt is advanced to double the price Capt M<sup>c</sup>Coulough arived here about a Fortnight ago in whom came passenger Major Skean who is Governor of Treconderoga & Crown Point and three other officers with him as soon as the ship came to the Wharfe some of the Commitie went on board and his behaving rather to haughtily they sent to the Congress Who have been sitting above a Month when Some of them went on board and from the Manner of his behaviour took him prisoner and placed a gaurd of eight of our Philadelphia Soldiers over him the other three were sufferd to go on their Parole of Honour and in four or five days they permitted him on his Parole only limmited the distance he should go he was going to his Government but that was taken by the New Englandmen about a fortnight before he Arivied we have nothing going on now but preparations for war I have been a few days agoe at a Reviev and we had one the day after Major Skean came there is hardly a man that is not Old but is learning the exercise except the Quakers and there is two Companys of them all in a Pretty Uniform of Sky blue turn'd up with white there is Six or Seven different sorts of Uniforms beside a Company of light Horse and one Rangers and another of Indians those are all of Philadelphia besides all the Provinces arming and Training in the same Manner for they are all determind to die or be Free it is not the low Idle Fellows that fight only for pay but Men of great property are Common Soldiers who say they are fighting for themselves and Posterity there is accounts come that they are now fighting at



Boston and that the Army set Charles Town on fire in order to land the Troops under cover of the Smoak we have not got the particulars as the post from Boston is stopd and a great Manny of our Merchants have shut up their Stores and more must soon as all Trade will be stopd the 20<sup>th</sup> of July the People are getting in Manufactures of different sorts particularly Salt Peter and Gunpowder the Smiths are almost all turnd Gunsmiths and cannot work fast enough God knows how it will end but I fear it will be very bad on both sides and if your drivalish ministry and parliment dont make some concetions and Repeal the Acts England will lose America for as I said before they are determined to be free . . . .

E. F.

Dec 4<sup>th</sup> 1783.

My Dear Nephew,

. . . . You say you are glad we have got through those troublesome times I assure you they were very much so but ours nothing in comparison to many who have been stripd of all and turnd out of doors and their houses burnt before their faces and some thretend to be burnt in them but not withstanding Gouty fingers I give you some account of what we have shared amongst the manny the first of our troubles began a little before the Affair at Trent Town when it was said they were comeing to Philadelphia and that the Soldiers were to have three days plunder which put every body into such terror & confution that happy was they who could get Waggon[s] to carry of their familys and effects and manny left a great deal behind them glad to get of with their persons your Unkle would not leave our house but sent Sally and I up to Potsgrove 37 mil[es] to M<sup>rs</sup> Carmicks who had retired there above a year before it was on the 12<sup>th</sup> of Dec<sup>r</sup> and very cold with exceeding bad roads your Unkle paid 10£ for a Waggon and obliged to stay four days before we could





have it there was so many that Wanted we took our cloaths with Beds and Beding and as much as we could stow in the Waggon to have room to set in it with an old man on horse back to attend us in this plighte we set out and was three days on the road I luckily had some chickens drest which with some bread and a couple of bottles of wine we took with for was afraid as so Manny People on the road we might find a difficulty on getting accomidations and it was well I did for the second night we had a hard task to get lodging was obliged to beg hard to get room at an Inn to take one of the beds out of the Waggon and lye on the floor in the room where the Mistress of them lay in and was very bad there was she her husband & two Children all in one bed and another in the Cradle so you guess at our Lodging and if we had not brought Victuals with us we must have gone supperless to bed but we were well of to what some were for people were so terrified they neither knew where to go or what to do I'll only mention one Instance the next morning after our lying on the floor we set of as soon as it was light went about four Miles to breakfast there was two Waggonns loaded with household goods and a family of ten persons one a young lady and her child six weeks old & tho it snow<sup>d</sup> there was no covering to the Waggonns and they had no place to go to but got the Waggoner to take them to his house there were many more people distrest some with their carriags broke down a Merchant in Philadelphia his Wife Sister & three Daughters in a Waggon crossing a Creek the tounge of the Waggon came out and they sat in the water till it was mended we got safe to Potsgrove tho greatly fatigued & half dead with cold Stayd there Six weeks but the Trentown affair gave a short respite to philadelphia as they did not arive there till Septemb[er] and then M<sup>r</sup> Farmar woud not leave the house so I determined to stay and share the danger with him which our Sittuation made more disagreeable as



the Americans light horse frequently came done before our house and there the British and they would fire at each other we had all our fences pulled down so the Garden and orchard was quite open and to compleat all our Servant man had listed and we could get no Maid Servant that woud stay in the country so that in the depth of winter we were three months without any body but our three selves I was obliged to get up before day and dress by candle while M<sup>r</sup> Farmar as hostler got the Chaize ready to go to Market otherwise we could get no Victuals this was twice a week and was obliged to watch the road to get flower of poor folks who got thro the lines and got flower at the Mills and so made a penny that way tho they frequently had it taken from them by the Americans as endeavoured all they could to stop all provitions from coming to town but when the spring came on we were a little better off for the Ridgment of Queens Rangers were Posted on the River side opposite our house and the officers were daily comeing to us which in some measure prevented our being so much plundered as some of our neighbors was some of them left their houses which were all pulled down as would have been the case with ours if we had left it but now thanks all those troubles are over and we hope now to injoy the blessings of Peace here are a great Manny Strangers come to Settle here & almost all the houses are shops and stores all very full of goods & I believe a great deal sold for less then the first cost which I think is poor encouragement for more adventuerers yet they are constanly comeing in from all parts and now I beleive I may think yo' be tired with my long Epistle so must draw towards a conclution . . . . M<sup>r</sup> Farmar and Sally Join me in love to you and your Mother and beleive me to by my

Dear Jackey

Yours &c,

E. F.



PENNSYLVANIA MARRIAGE LICENSES,  
1762-1768.

(Continued from page 107.)

1762.

*July.*

- 3: John Poskell—Mary Blanchfield  
Fred<sup>k</sup>. Renn—Cathrine Miller
- 5: Richard Ham—Elizabeth Kenard
- 6: Tho<sup>s</sup>. Armstrong—Sarah McHenry
- 8: William Singleton—Ann Barrents  
Jn<sup>o</sup>. Doyle—Hannah Wister
- 9: Jn<sup>o</sup> Widdifield—Elizabeth Hyman
- 10: Samuel Jessip—Elizabeth Neeld  
Peter Barn-Doller—Margaret Wilkinson  
Joseph Edwards—Margaret Read  
Francis Skiverton—Mary Love-Grove
- 12: Conrad Hays—Charlotte Mousin  
John Smallwood—Rebecca Frump
- 14: James Leony—Elizabeth McCay
- 15: James Stuart—Grace Bartly  
Francis Harper—Deborah Castle  
Charles Spackman—Elizabeth Gordon
- 19: John Godlove—Rachel Rouford  
Robert Anderson—Ann Jones
- 21: Henry Wetley—Mary Daugan
- 23: Robert Halkerston—Eliz<sup>th</sup>. Hunt  
George Elliott—Charity Addedle
- 26: George David—Mary Morgan  
John Slater—Elizabeth Norridge  
Anthony Wright—Hannah Albright
- 28: Benjamin Rosbothom—Elizabeth Manning  
John Gasper Stadler—Maria Eliz<sup>th</sup> Scarisbrook  
Henry Miller—Sarah Roberts
- 29: John West—Phebe Hutchinson  
Alexander Mills—Ann Cenon  
Paul Castoley—Phebe Longacre
- 30: Frederick Warren—Mary Morgan
- 31: William Rodin—Ann Boardin



*August.*

- 2: Peter Capout—Dority Coupin  
 3: Daniel Golden—Catherine Kilback  
 Arthur Broades—Catherine Rinard  
 Michael Wain—Elizabeth Hall  
 5: William Murphey—Mary Aston  
 James Sullavon—Ann Tanner  
 7: Edward Guttier—Mary Hartley  
 9: John Taylor—Isabella Barnhill  
 10: William Vesey—Plesant Nichols  
 12: Benjamin Ramshear—Eliz<sup>th</sup>. Champshear  
 13: John James—Medelina Kishlen  
 Thomas Plumsted—Mary Coats  
 Nathaniel Hotton—Margaret Nuttle  
 16: John Hemphill—Margaret Boggs  
 17: Richard Miller—Jane Galley  
 John Andrews—Mary Encey  
 John Sauler—Doritey Martley  
 20: John Watson—Rebecca Snodgrace  
 21: Francis Downs—Sarah Grimes  
 Daniel Minanti—Mary Juvel  
 Michael Nief—Ann Matthew  
 John Brooks—Hannah Craven  
 23: Richard Smith—Elizabeth Fister  
 24: James Lenard—Mary Smith  
 25: Jacob Gardner—Ragina Fraily  
 Robert Stackhouse—Susannah Hillings  
 Jonathan Nortin—Sarah Dod  
 26: Emos Wecton—Cathrine Lissa  
 William Dunlap—Elinor McCaughen  
 Henry Linia—Mary Hopkins  
 31: Thomas Gibson—Elizabeth Williams  
 Thomas Norris—Hannah Gilbert  
 Blair McClenachan—Ann Derragh  
 Elijah Weed—Ann Sreeve  
 Joseph Watkins—Ellencor Pratt  
 Charles Barber—Mary Albright

*September.*

- 1: Amberus Bearding—Sarah Waters  
 James Craddock—Hester Price  
 3: Derrick Cornelius Fendeberry—Han<sup>b</sup> Ledtson





- 4: George Kellar—Doritey Painter  
William Gibson—Ruth Johnson
- 6: Gabriel Dolbow—Mary Adams  
Jn°. Thomas—Sarah Humphreys  
Jn°. Keyll—Margaret McFurtricks  
Samuel Sterrat—Mary Keappock
- 8: Benj<sup>m</sup>. Hamilton—Sarah Morrison  
Jn°. Dunn—Ann Hopewell  
Jonathan Erver—Elizabeth Barton
- 10: Robert Smith—Sarah Stewart  
James Bullis—Catherine Ellis  
William Grimes—Elizabeth Marin
- 14: Joseph Crispan—Elizabeth Owen  
Jacob Ummensetter—Elizabeth Beyer
- 20: John Rowney—Elizabeth Murray  
George Miers—Lydia Hust  
Christopher Anderson—Elizabeth Sears  
John Smith—Catherine Everly  
George Smith—Sophia Doulbear  
Paul Caster—Elizabeth Gasehlick  
Joseph Keith—Elizabeth Roberts  
William Wood—Margaret Boyce
- 21: John Delap—Catherine Scott  
Patrick Maleom—Catherine McCall
- 22: William Bunn—Eliz<sup>th</sup>. Alexander
- 25: Daniel White—Hannah Barber  
James James—Elizabeth Eaton
- 30: John Davison—Rachael Liggitt

*October.*

- 6: Thomas Jones—Mary Brunfield
- 8: John Clark—Elizabeth Butterworth
- 9: Samuel Graham—Hannah Vestine  
James Price—Sarah Hudleston
- 12: Jacob Wimmer—Mary Van Dike
- 13: John Erver—Sarah Gladny
- 14: Daniel Rees—Sarah Connely
- 16: Samuel Leedam—Hannah Staughts
- 19: James Lucas—Prudence Howell
- 23: Thomas Penny—Elizabeth Davis  
Daniel Rambo—Susannah Harvey  
Joseph Shute—Sarah Nicholas  
David Evans—Anna Brooks  
Thomas Ward—Mary Campbell



- 25: Reynold Kyn—Christiana Stille  
Laughlin Curry—Margaret Barber  
Thomas Benson—Hannah Helspy  
28: Edward Burman—Mary Craven  
Henry Gill—Mary Bryan  
29: James Dawson—Mary Hamilton  
Fergus Purden—Abigal Little

*November.*

- 2: William Coats—Susannah Zoupler  
3: William Stogdell—Elizabeth Randell  
Isaac Fish—Grace Young  
4: Jn°. Galloway—Mary Harrison  
Thomas Wharton—Susannah Lloyd  
Joseph Yeates—Mary Pennock  
6: Robert Priest—Hannah Marshall  
James Black—Rachel Adams  
8: Adam Walker—Susannah Newhouse  
Jonathan Philips—Rachel Knight  
Jn°. Bryan—Catherina Burker  
10: Thomas Dudley—Martha Evens  
James Eldridge—Hannah Evens  
11: Hugh Tom—Jane Brown  
13: Isaac Lobb—Esther Hibbert  
Anthony Bolton—Martha Roberts  
Benjamin Wallis—Marg<sup>t</sup> Stemers  
Jn°. Fox—Judah Lanniell  
William Lukens—Rachael Kenderdine  
15: Jn°. Reading—Margaret Johnson  
Philip Roth—Mary Stick  
16: Robert Odling—Marian Morris  
17: Robert Sandelson—Hester Kolleck  
18: Jacob Proby—Ann Steward  
Jn°. Eastlack—Sarah Hampton  
Isaac Morton—Ann Bavoks  
19: Benjamin Spring—Letthea Chancellor  
23: Jn°. Haverd—Mary Lacey  
24: W<sup>m</sup>. Skinner—Rachael Ritchie  
Jeremiah Dungan—Mary Witton  
25: Jn°. Simpson—Hannah Roberts  
Whitehead Jones—Ann Johns  
Levy Budd—Eliz. Shields  
26: Jn°. Watts—Rachael Watts



- 27: Jn°. Starr—Rebecca Cassey  
 Jacob Shoemaker—Catherine Lee  
 29: Sam. Weatherly—Sarah Bruman  
 Neal McNeal—Eliabeth Stewart  
 Thomas McHarg—Margaret Anderson

*December.*

- 1: Jn°. Garretson—Hannah Smith  
 4: Jacob Metz—Rachel Henricks  
 6: Jonathan Clift—Christiana Helviston  
 7: William Mahanoy—Mary Coyl  
 Peter Yoder—Eve Levan  
 Mich<sup>l</sup>. Hess—Dorothy Spooone  
 8: Thomas Roberts—Mary Fox  
 10: Peter Spence—Sarah Dixon  
 John Mickesner—Ann Hutchison  
 Sam<sup>l</sup>. Martin—Esther Morgan  
 13: Joseph Williams—Elizabeth Labour  
 James Morton—Mary Wells  
 Philip Trucken Miller—Catherine Reese  
 14: Giles Ramsey—Mary Rice  
 Jn°. Purdon—Mary Hutchison  
 James Cooper—Ann Hunt  
 15: Patrick Flynn—Rachel Donovan  
 18: Andrew Caldwell—Jane Mitchell  
 Benjamin Bastine—Elizabeth Steuart  
 Feslix Hart—Elizabeth Hosson  
 21: James Pearson—Rebecca Maxwell  
 22: Jn°. Acred—Hannah Ireland  
 23: Benjamin Shoemaker—Mary Felton  
 Joseph Ritchie—Mary Handy  
 24: Boaz Walton—Rebecca Leech  
 John Hufty—Mary Butcher  
 25: Benjamin Chamberlin—Sarah Collins  
 27: Elias Shepherd—Susannah Magee  
 Jn°. Devan—Ann Oliver  
 Peter Mann—Mary Zimmerman  
 28: David Thompson—Mary Hutchison  
 George Parsons—Mary Womsley  
 Peter Clyne—Ann Dennins  
 29: Samuel Bunting—Esther Syng  
 Benjamin Cetman—Susannah Leech  
 31: Peter Turner Jun<sup>r</sup>.—Rebecca Bird  
 Mark Bird—Mary Ross



1763.

*January.*

- 1: Thomas Lawrence—Hannah Williamson  
Jn°. Little—Elizabeth English
- 3: Joseph Myer—Catherina Haigner  
George Pander—Mary Steel
- 4: Jacob Vankirk—Jane Hall
- 5: Jonathan Hulings—Mary Emson  
James McDaniel—Ann McNamaray  
Patrick Russel—Elizabeth Martin
- 6: Henry Ports—Catherina Cramrine
- 7: Jacob Burket—Barbara Fisher  
Robert Brady—Mary Frump
- 8: Andrew Lyoans—Martha Culing  
George Whitebread—Sarah Lees
- 10: Peter Keider—Gedradt Boöchan  
James Mease—Isabella Hoops  
Andrew Steuart—Margaret Bryant
- 12: Jacob Deiter—Jane Buffington
- 13: Robert Doughty—Elizabeth Garrigues  
William Allibone—Sarah Ganthony
- 14: James Cochran—Alice Kearns
- 15: Daniel Craig—Margaret Brumfield  
Jn°. Dow—Ann McCall  
Robert Jordan—Christiana McCammon  
Joshua Mitchel—Sarah Randle
- 18: Samuel Backman—Rachel Owen  
Peter Dehaven—Elizabeth Knight  
James Love—Hannah Russel  
Philip Thomas—Mary Templer
- 22: Thomas Grant—Mary Campbell  
Dans Brown—Mary Donaldson
- 24: Will. Lawrence—Barbara Robinson
- 26: Edward Collins—Marg<sup>t</sup> Shovelin  
Thurston Brown—Elizabeth Dowzey  
Edward Holwell—Eleanor Mason
- 27: Joseph Butler—Rebecca Main  
Henry Bastone—Mary Hazleton
- 28: David Howell—Mary Douglass
- 29: Adam Seisholt—Elizabeth Fagan  
Joseph Dobbins—Mary Forster  
Mich. Stattleman—Sarah Wynn





- 31: Charles West—Mary Lee  
William Murdock—Jane Brooks

*February.*

- 1: William Shaw—Ann Crawford  
Robert Johnson—Jane Graham  
William Church—Elizabeth Moore  
Thomas Carpenter—Esther Squirrel  
3: Jn<sup>o</sup>. Dawson—Elizabeth Cuff  
4: James Reynolds—Susannah Whitefield  
7: William Crisp—Mary Parr  
8: Daniel Ashton—Elizabeth Ritchie  
9: Anthony Noble—Margaret Warnick  
11: Thomas Robins—Ann Morgan  
12: Anthony Betting—Martha Poe  
14: Leonard Johnson—Mary Dennison  
15: James Carter—Rebecca Lincoln  
19: Isaac Lewis—Mary McColly  
Cha<sup>s</sup>. Lyon—Ann Vaughan  
Anthony Wright—Hannah Hobbs  
21: William Connards—Hannah Smith  
22: Adam Stager—Hannah Madera  
23: Thomas Clark—Rebecca Clary  
24: Dougaldus Ged—Margery Thomas  
25: Henry Williams—Mary Tolbatt  
26: Paul Pennington—Sarah Poole  
Abraham Charlesworth—Rebecca Braden

*March.*

- 1: Richard Mitchell—Rachel Peerce  
Solemon Willson—Sarah Cofflin  
Jn<sup>o</sup>. Scott—Jane Purcell  
2: Miles Carpenter—Mary Steer  
Nicholas Matschar—Margaret Halveston  
3: John Woods—Hannah Churchman  
4: William Johnson—Margaret Powel  
8: James Claypoole—Lucracia Garwood  
Robert Stogden—Mary Willard  
11: Richard Lewis—Margaret Thomas  
12: Peter Staits—Elizabeth Dunning  
15: Moses Marshall—Eliza. Reinhart  
17: Isaac Snowden—Mary McCall  
Rob<sup>t</sup> Conn—Margaret Fletcher  
Joseph Lefever—Marg<sup>t</sup> Aehard



- 21: Mich. Sigmund—Marg<sup>t</sup> Shnaphin  
 John Jones—Rebecca Finney
- 22: Moses McClean—Sarah Charlesworth
- 24: Anthony Moore—Mary Caswell
- 29: Samuel Roberts—Mary Eastburn  
 Christian Lauer—Elizabeth Garren  
 George Kennedy—Jane Cooper
- 30: Mich. Eichus—Alice Koplín  
 Casper Meffort—Mary Seiglen  
 John Baldwin—Masey Sotcher  
 William Stanbury—Sarah Morris

*April.*

- 1: John Richardson—Hannah Darry
- 2: John Dunlap—Mary Boyd
- 4: Jacob Glows—Maria Margretta Fruenders  
 William Hamble—Elizabeth Schriener
- 5: Bryan Kelly—Hannah Harper  
 Joseph Hollen—Lilley Noblit
- 6: Robert Elton—Margaret Hart
- 7: Robert Cooper—Mary Crawford  
 Robert Wilkinson—Elizabeth Clark
- 9: William Woodward—Elizabeth Dunklit  
 Thomas Maloney—Ann Church  
 James Low—Margaret Hamilton
- 11: George Geary—Sarah Evans  
 Nicholas Miller—Hannah Reese
- 12: Peter Smith—Susannah Whitstone
- 13: Edward Stretcher—Eliz Davis  
 John Jones—Rachel Hayes  
 John Scott—Mary Dennison  
 John Thomas—Mary Hansel  
 Jacob Casswell—Mary Davis  
 Thomas Hall—Mary Bullock  
 Andrew Boone—Martha Geerion
- 14: Isaac Janvier—Elizabeth Renshaw  
 Francis Faries—Elizabeth Falkner  
 Alex. McKeroy—Jean Leadley  
 Negro man named Rob<sup>t</sup> Venable—a Negro Woman  
 —Diana  
 Samuel Conarroe—Rebecca Conarroe
- 16: James Routh—Elizabeth Spear  
 Samuel Lacon—Mary Slinton  
 Mathew Moore—Ann Duff



- 18: Hugh Bowes—Elizabeth Abercromby  
James Carroll—Rebecca Baily
- 19: Samuel Gamble—Elizabeth Johnson  
Samuel Burchett—Ann Barnett
- 20: Daniel Peter Ballard—Barbara Haggerty
- 23: Tho<sup>o</sup>. Roberts—Jane Pyatt
- 26: Jacob Jones—Sarah Tomkins
- 27: William McCay—Rachel Stroud  
Thomas McMillen—Jane Master  
John Bell—Anna Tilden
- 28: Isaac Taylor—Mary Lowry  
John Moyer—Ann Duché  
William Welch—Ann Summers

*May.*

- 3: Joseph Rodman—Mary Allen
- 4: Nathan Dykes—Sarah Banks  
John Craig—Sarah Hale  
Jn<sup>o</sup>. Bone—Rebecca Lewis
- 6: Robert Bell—Elizabeth Fullerton
- 9: Ralph Marshall—Mary Wentremore  
Aron Levering—Ann Wrighter  
W<sup>m</sup>. Roberts—Elizabeth Ritchison
- 11: Sam. Pugh—Amy Evans
- 12: William Kidd—Hannah Rodgers
- 14: John Funk—Elizab. Lewis  
James Ennis—Jane Johnson
- 16: Henry Cordrey—Mary Wildman
- 17: Joseph McNamar—Margaret Simkin  
Jn<sup>o</sup>. Heath—Sarah Reed  
William Stelle—Mary Bensel  
Abel Stockhouse—Hannah Breese
- 18: Thomas Litle—Sarah Dennison
- 19: Jn<sup>o</sup>. Duffey—Anna Murfey
- 21: William Marshall—Margaret Bell
- 25: Thomas Sealock—Susannah Cooper  
Jn<sup>o</sup>. Porter—Mary Shannon

*June.*

- 1: William McKinlay—Mary Siplin  
Nicholas Verkheiser—Margretta Philepinna
- 2: Timothy Wallington—Mary Honey



- 3: David Mensor—Jean Gilmore  
John Field—Mary Field  
Thomas Briton—Sarah Harvey
- 4: Joseph Brooks—Anna Mashawn  
James Freeling—Jane Denald
- 6: Peter King—Mary Haines  
John Stevens—Sarah Stotihoff
- 8: Alex. Ross—Ann Daily
- 9: Thomas Willing—Ann McCall
- 11: Jn°. McClenaghan—Elizabeth Taylor
- 13: William Jackson—Margaret Leviston  
William McKey—Judea Brian
- 14: John Beakler—Christiana Romeck  
Jacob Levan—Susannah Ludwick  
Robert Theeker—Catherine Clark
- 16: Gerrard Vandegrift—Sarah Delaplan  
Jacob Aman—Mary Lee  
Jn°. Heyward—Catherine King
- 17: Enoch Williams—Hannah Grey
- 21: James Riddle—Jane Hall
- 22: James Marsh—Mary Cummins  
Gerrard Vanhorn—Abigal Taylor  
John McClure—Elizabeth Dean
- 25: John Baird—Elizabeth Diamond
- 27: Greger McGreger—Jane Morrow
- 29: Joshua Jones—Margaret McMaster
- 30: Michael Sorlix—Anna Maria Fithing

*July.*

- 1: Isaac Garrigues—Hester Taylor
- 4: Jeremiah Shea—Elizabeth Slator
- 5: George Godfrey Wilper—Anna Margretta Slash-  
man
- 7: Jn°. Fiss—Ann Amelia How  
James Gregory—Margaret Leneoin (free  
Negroes)
- 8: William McClay—Marg<sup>t</sup> McCrosky
- 9: Mathew Longwood—Ann Gear  
David Terry—Grace Davis
- 13: Benjamin Arcker—Experience Middleton
- 14: James McGrougar—Jane Patton  
George Hile—Sophia Omensetter
- 15: Henry Forster—Mary Montgomery





- 16: James Chapman—Jane Reynolds  
 James Brown—Roe Roe  
 18: Isaac Hart—Sarah Gibson  
 21: Jn°. Peirce—Rebecca Boore  
 25: Jn°. Link—Ann Boone  
 William Scott—Martha Springer  
 26: Nathan Moore—Elizabeth Traygo  
 27: John Bryan—Barbara Boone  
 George Nimmen—Jane Adams  
 W<sup>m</sup>. Brown—Lilies Hart  
 28: William Culin—Rebecca Justice  
 30: William McFarlin—Eliz. St. Clair

*August.*

- 2: Richard White—Margaret Vivers  
 George Roxby—Mary Brown  
 5: Jacob Repson—Cleopha Scize (Seize?)  
 8: William Barber—Mary Stoops  
 Daniel Wilkinson—Sarah Boned  
 9: Jesse Williamson—Sarah Briton  
 10: John McClelland—Margaret Kimble  
 Gydeon Vore—Mary Adams  
 11: James Wade—Rebecca Weaver  
 Joseph Huddle—Hannah Evans  
 John Aglee—Rosenna Weaver  
 Thomas Clifton—Martha Jones  
 12: George Wilson—Martha Craig  
 13: Ditnvers Grey—Christiana Boyt  
 17: William Estlack—Diana Shute  
 19: Thomas Huddlston—Elizabeth Stiger  
 20: John Mathews—Martha Hughes  
 Rob<sup>t</sup> Gill—Catherine Bottomly  
 Garrat Boone—Eleanor Moreton  
 23: George Kemley—Elizabeth Thimingen  
 25: Samuel Guilkey—Mary Bevan  
 John Grinef Howard—Bridget Juda  
 26: Henry Sterner—Catherina Kronle  
 30: William Stubbs—Deborah Johnson  
 31: William Parker—Hannah Call

*September.*

- 1: William Attlec—Esther Sayre  
 3: Enos Miles—Sarah Pugh  
 Dennis McGrat—Mary Annis  
 Alexander McClean—Jane Strawbridge



- 5: James Berry—Rachel Philips  
 Randal McKillup—Jane Miller  
 John Mathews—Ann Chambers
- 6: Rob' Turner—Mary McGlaughlin
- 7: Peter House—Mary Foulke
- 8: Samuel Leacock—Esther Fleeson  
 Peter Waters—Ann Fust
- 9: Christ' Wray—Eleanor Ross
- 10: John Henderson—Alice Watson  
 Benjamin Johnson—Elizabeth Young  
 Jacob Potts—Sarah Draper  
 Josiah Harper—Catherine Luter  
 Tho<sup>s</sup>. Lepis—Hannah Taylor
- 12: Robert Wilson—Margaret Osborn
- 13: Ebenezer Tomlinson—Ann Coggins
- 14: Christ' Whiley—Martha Tanner (Farmer?)  
 Jacob James—Christine Ryon  
 Joseph Strout—Mary Keen  
 Joseph Dimsey—Sarah Jones
- 15: John Dent—Jane Morrison  
 Isaac Buckley—Mary Knowls  
 Arthur Donaldson—Elizabeth Keighan  
 Isaac Thomas—Sarah Roberts
- 17: Joseph Jenkins—Ann Willard
- 19: Jacob Comfort—Margaret Gold  
 John Cain—Sarah McMullan  
 Isaac Ott—Sarah Jones
- 20: William Peasely—Dilly Pane
- 24: Alex' Agen—Agnes Morrison  
 Geo. Schroyer—Mary Stonemetz  
 Benjamin Palmer—Esther Bidgood  
 Mark Burnett—Elizabeth Bess  
 Andrew Sims—Sarah Chadwick
- 26: Samuel Pierce—Sarah Nicholson
- 28: Ralph Nicholson—Mary Smith
- 29: Isaac Knight—Rebecca Lawrence  
 Thomas McClean—Mary Harvey
- 30: Mel Reese—Violet Wilson

*October.*

- 1: James Williams—Mary Francis
- 3: James Mullen—Mary Haines
- 5: Balser Reser—Catherine Colloby



- 6: Oliver Williams—Rose McDaniel  
 8: Thomas Duddle—Catherine Forrest  
 10: Peter Feiss—Anna Maria Stockering  
 Matthew Collins—Sarah Bluewhite  
 John George—Martha Carle  
 12: Richard Johnson—Martha Bassonet  
 John Pogh—Elizabeth McMichael  
 Francis Ramsey—Jane O'Donald  
 13: Robert Bell—Mary Ann Bell  
 19: Jacob Williams—Sarah Whaley  
 21: Robert Ross—Eleanor McCrump  
 22: Thomas Jones—Hannah Williams  
 James Hudson—Ruth Powell  
 24: Peter Hunt—Ann Weiley  
 25: William Scull—Jane Lodge  
 26: John Boley—Sophia Shellecock  
 27: Joseph Cassell—Mary Evans  
 Anthony Vanderslice—Eliz. Pennebaker  
 Ruben Eastlack—Ann Flemmings  
 Ichabod Higgins—Geminna Nowla  
 29: Samuel Brusster—Rebecca Tabor  
 31: George Wright—Mary Edwards  
 Arthur Burrows—Mary Morgan

*November.*

- 2: Alexander Henderson—Martha Findley  
 3: Thomas Bishop—Elizabeth Wood  
 5: George Aston—Hannah Phipps  
 Menan Kennard—Elizabeth Comron  
 9: Henry Pugh—Mary Jones  
 Samuel Brookhouse—Mary Duncan  
 10: Thomas Hyser—Catherina Fredrica  
 12: George Moreton—Elizabeth Moreton  
 Nathaniel Mercer—Anna Bays  
 15: Charles Massey—Ann Prior  
 16: Jn°. Stella—Mary Boyd  
 23: Joseph Barton—Elizabeth Griffith  
 William Pritchard—Isabella Gray  
 John Thompson—Sarah Ritchison  
 24: Thomas Wilkinson—Mary Craft  
 James Purcell—Sarah Steuart  
 26: Thomas Robeson—Mary Falkner



- 28: Isaac Smith—Mary Pennington  
 Ralph Moore—Mary Dark  
 Frederick Grey—Sarah Peppert  
 29: Atwood Cowman—Sarah Claypoole  
 Finley Cameron—Jane Hamilton

*December.*

- 1: John Jacob Schweitzer—Maria Elizabeth Blazer  
 2: Clark Brown—Christine Hinkle  
 Edward Bingley—Mary Taylor  
 5: John Cole—Margaret Lock  
 Joseph Correy—Elizabeth Cooper  
 6: Charles Prior—Marjery Benson  
 8: Samuel Nelson—Ann Scott  
 9: David Stille—Ann Dobson  
 Thomas Flint—Ann Crone  
 12: Richard Crosby—Esther Phipps  
 Jacob Paul—Jane Sutton  
 James Donaldson—Hannah Jones  
 13: John Read—Jane Row  
 14: Jacob Kinnard—Mary Walter  
 15: Whitefield Smith—Esther Ross  
 17: William Allison—Grace Caldwell  
 Henry Butler—Sarah Thompson  
 19: George Kemble—Elizabeth Robinson  
 John Hartt—Eleanor Carrel  
 20: William Clark—Susanna Young  
 21: Jn°. Stinson—Rebecca Cox  
 Thomas Davis—Mary Gayman  
 22: Jacob Fritz—Sarah Jones  
 Alex' McGriger—Ann January  
 Nich<sup>s</sup> Nunns—Mary Mead  
 23: John Cummins—Marg<sup>t</sup> Johnston  
 24: William Beale Jun<sup>r</sup>—Edith Pennald  
 Joseph Wilson—Mary Cooper  
 27: Marcus Hullings—Willimina Skillings  
 28: Thomas White—Ann Read  
 Philip Boatman—Burges Bromingham  
 Thomas Fry—Elizabeth Greenwood  
 29: Conrad Zorn—Eliz. Zerwin  
 30: Jacob Miller—Mary Goodwin

(To be continued.)





LETTERS OF THOMAS PENN TO RICHARD  
HOCKLEY, 1746-1748.

(Manuscript Division, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

Dear Dick

I wrote you on the 18<sup>th</sup> of May by Houston and Mesnard, and sent you a few Lines by Cap' Hargrave, to condole with you on the death of my little Namesake, which gave mee a good deal of concern, as you had been so unfortunate before in loosing your other Child, at the same time your Brother and Sister were taken from you, which altogether was almost too much for you to bear; and tho I had not time to write except a few Lines to M<sup>r</sup> Peters, I was unwilling to omit shewing you my affectionate concern; just after I sent that Letter I received an Express from my Sister with an account that poor Tommy was dead, and took post immediately for the hot Well, whither I went without stopping but to change My Horse; my poor Sister was you may be sure under the greatest concern; and as She had been a sort of Nurse to my Brother for a long time, to her Son near a twelve month, and her daughter during the smal pox, those fatigues with the trouble she is under have a good deal affected her constitution and she is now in a bad State of health, however I hope in a few months wee shal be able to put her in pretty good order again. This Loss is a very great one to our Family, as Tommy was just what wee could have wished him, sober, ever industrious to do what he thought his duty, with the discretion of forty, sensible and well accomplished as to his Learning, being as good a Scholar his Master said as ever went thro his School, so that he might have been a good Friend to our Country, as well as his Family, had it pleased God



so to have ordered it; he was always calm and easy, better the morning he dyed than for several days before, was dressed but being a little fatigued with it, sat down upon the Bed, laid his head on the Pillow, went of without a Groan, or the least sign of pain, which he had generally been free from, and had no complaint but weakness and a cough. Thus you may see wee have both our Tryals but they are such as fall in common to the human species, and wee must be content.

Since I wrote you first I have received a Copy of your Letter of the 12<sup>th</sup> of december, one by Cap<sup>t</sup> Martin of the 24<sup>th</sup> of April, and a Copy of it with a Letter of the 4<sup>th</sup> of August by Cap<sup>t</sup> Budden, I fully expected to have seen your draft for the value of Shubarts Bond, and kept the money by mee on purpose for it, so that if you wanted it you should have drawn as you must imagine I would appropriate the money to pay the Bill for if you should want it a few months hence, I shall pay much more money for it than I should have done in april when your Letter is dated, and you might have got the money in Philadelphia for your draft, if you could have staid without remitting your Self; so that you have lain under some difficulty and the delay which you intended as a Compliment to mee will prove my loss, for I conclude M<sup>r</sup> Delaneys contract, and the drafts for the Subsistance of the Troops will much lower the Exchange; another time if I grant a request of yours put it immediately in execution because I always order things so as to comply, and now I do not know whether you intend to draw, so that I must keep the money by mee, which had it been laid out would have brought in something, and I could have bought anything some mouths ago ten p Cent cheaper than now, but that I did not regard as you wanted it, if you can easily and without any difficulty do without drawing let me know it, or draw on mee which is most convenient, but you should never keep any body in an



uncertain state, for I never keep any money by mee but for my Expences, and if you had drawn when I did not expect it it might not have been convenient; in all business you should follow the directions of People at a distance, if you can least you disappoint them. I imagin'd you had dealt in some other things than those Mess<sup>r</sup> Barclay Newberry and Samuel do, as there are many smaller goods that I imagine a larger profit is got upon. on the whole I should be concernd if you have suffered your Self to remain under difficulty, to avoid drawing on mee, and desire you will either draw or let mee know you will not as soon as you can; the Ships now go full of Goods and several Merchants with them. humanity & compassion are due to unfortunate people but not to designing Knaves.

As to Will Reed his Uncle Hyam will not do any thing for him, you will consider he has several children of his own, is only his great Uncle, tho he may have a pretty good Fortune is not esteemed very rich, and it cannot be expected he should pay two or three hundred pounds for him, but I will endeavour to perswade M<sup>r</sup> Hyam and Joseph Hyam who is now about to release him from Goal tho if he was my he should be there seven years if he lived. I cant bear such designing Villains.

I received a Box of Fruit from Springetsberry, but the were not so good as the others sent in the Fall; as they were ripened chiefly by the Summers Sun. I am sorry the people are so Licentious as to break into the Garden at Springetsberry, and believe when I come over I shal build a Wall between that and M<sup>r</sup> Hamiltons Land from M<sup>r</sup> Jones's, which will make it very inconvenient for them to visit us, and when the rest of the Ground is well paled round I shal hope to be secure. I ordered M<sup>r</sup> Lardner to Let only my own twelve Acres of Meadow, which was let before my departure to a Dutchman, the piece of Meadow belonging to us in M<sup>r</sup>



Turners Road is sufficient for Springetsberry and I think I gave no orders to let that.

I am quite weary of the Vineyard for which only Jacob is kept at £35 a year but your last Letter gives mee some hopes that it may produce some thing, if that does not succeed when I come over. I shal much lessen it.

I shal consent to their cutting down the Wood between the Vineyard and the Field, but not that on the west side of it yet, that may be thinned, and would have any that is fit split into rough pales and laid by. the privit hedge that grows between the two Gardens may be taken upp if it grows into the Walks.

I am sorry to hear your Mothers Affairs are no better, tho if £120. be all Shubart's debts amount to, besides my Mortgage and the Bond, there is some smal matter left, if Hudson was of Age when he gave the Bond, I suppose it may be recovered here out of his Fortune, or if M<sup>r</sup> Lawrence was sued as Administrator, if he had effects it might be got with you. I will endeavour to find out some person that knows his Mother and get her spoke to on this business. I thought there must have been several Book debts owing, as 'tis common with you to run upp scores at publick Houses. pray what are become of Shubarts other Children, are they a charge on your Mother; M<sup>rs</sup> Hockley's tenderness towards your Mother is very commendable. I heartily wish she may live to breed upp her Children, and have some ease and pleasure in her latter days. in my last Letter I blamed you for not letting mee know how M<sup>rs</sup> Hockley was, as in your Letter of the 26<sup>th</sup> of April you informed mee she was very ill

I am very pleased to hear Cap<sup>t</sup> Anderson is safe on his and his Owners account, as well as our own (for wee were Insured but £200.) and that he was obliged to alter his Voyage as the Adventure will be attended with a considerable proffit, and to Lisbon with some





loss, I think M<sup>r</sup> Masters acted very generously as to the allowance for freight, and more especially to take of the 10/ a pipe on the Wine which I cannot see the pretence for as 50/ is you say the common freight; when any of the eight pipes are sent, let them be charged to the Persons accompt as directed, at the common price the rest sell for, desire M<sup>r</sup> Lardner to ship one of them to M<sup>r</sup> Cross and draw on him for the value, he having desired a third should be sent for, and I dont know whether I shal write M<sup>r</sup> Lardner by this Conveyance. as to any others he must wait my Brothers orders, as to my Self I believe I shal not want any of them.

I am glad my black F<sup>m</sup>ily have so well got over the smal pox, I see they are very numerous, and that Hagar is recovered, am obliged to D<sup>r</sup> Græme for his care of them, and doubt not yours in anything that concerns mee; as to the Expences M<sup>r</sup> Lardner places them I suppose to account of charges, I would not have them want anything propper.

As to the Interest on Miss. Fells Bond you will remit that at your Leisure, I did not so much want the money as to know what was due, you have not sent mee the date of Shubarts Mortgage, all the interest I suppose is due upon that, which will make the debt run pretty high, and I am afraid as M<sup>r</sup> Lardner received that money at 52½ Exchange and foolishly kept it by him, til the exchange rose, the children will loose considerably by it, as it is not probable I imagine that it will be soon paid . . . I observe the account of papers in my writing Table, the note of Shewbarts you will remember, I do not mean that I want your Mother to pay it now, but whenever it shal be convenient some years hence, if it can be sooner. I suppose Sam Carpenters Note is of no Value.

I am sorry to hear so bad an account of my Furniture which I hoped would have lasted as long as my



self, the Chairs in the Parlour were Maghogany, and if they have not been burnt or destroyed Claypool might fit them upp again, and with new Seats they would be as good as ever; you speak of my old red Bed as if it was my great Grandmothers, when I look upon it a piece of Modern genteel furniture, it cost mee about sixty Guineas, and am sure if 'tis ready to fall to pieces it must have been much abused, since I came away, such furniture ought to last at least half a Century, wee have a bed at least three times as old at Hurley. however I intend to bring over one Chintz or very good Cotton Bed and Furniture and have the Red Bed made upp quite plain, which as I have a good set of Chairs and window Curtains will be very handsome. if the Damask was much faded I would have it dyed again, and made upp here, but if it is not it may be done there. the other things you mention I shall bring when I come but I cannot see my way clear yet, my Brother continues in a very weak way, has lost all his flesh, his stomach very weak and uncertain, some days he cannot relish anything, and now and then eats a hearty dinner and feels himself well, his medicines keep him from filling much with Water, but he cannot get strength, cannot bear the smel of Victuals so as to dine at Table, and is so weak that it is a fatigue to him to come down Stairs and get into his Chariot, and he wants help to go upp Stairs again, in this situation I cannot think of leaving him, and as to our Cause the Rebellion now happily extinguished, has put it of for a twelve month, and now it is put down for a hearing there are so many before it I cannot tell when it will be tryed; I assure you I long to see Pennsylvania and nothing but real duty and business can keep me from it.

I am sorry you have put mee to so great an Expençe for those two pictures which ought to be good, many Pictures of very famous Masters having been bought at Sales for half the price of one of these, and I think



it an Expence I cannot afford for such a gratification tho I am much pleased with good paintings, however I think it is better for mee to take them then throw them upon your hands, but desire you will not do any thing more of that kind, tho if he is a better painter than Sheybert they must be valuable. I would not have M<sup>r</sup> Lardner charge them to any account but if the Exchange is not scandalously low, draw one me for the value, unless M<sup>r</sup> Lardner has any Cash of mine in my little Book in his hands, if he has he may charge it there, and by the accompts you sent mee there are several Sums received since my coming away. with which he might pay it, but the Accompt I wanted was not so much the accompts of the several people, as the D<sup>r</sup> and C<sup>r</sup> cash account in the same Book . . . I am here at a great Expence, and as soon as I come over and fix upon a place, I propose to build a very handsome substantial House, so that I must not lay out money in trifles, but leave them 'til the more necessary designs are perfected, so that I shal think a little of this £70. expence and almost wish if any one long'd for them they would take them, but as you have fancied them I will keep them, and if he is not gone desire he may draw your picture for mee, the same size with that of Tommy Freames in my parlour, let it be in a Cap and a loose morning dress, it is a three quarter piece, this I insist upon. the prizes given abroad for paintings are not near so great as in England, and you may meet with them brought over to be sold, whole Collections together, at publick Sales, often at very low prizes. 30 Guineas is a great price for such a picture as M<sup>r</sup> Peters's of one of the most famous ancient painters.

I do not a little wonder M<sup>r</sup> Whitfield has met with so good a reception in Maryland, when they had him generally in great contempt, and that he should be in the esteem of the persons you mention, I suppose he now behaves with a little more moderation and temper than



he did before, when it may truly be said he was eaten up with Zeal, and too much elated with the Adoration of his Followers, enough to cause that effect on any Man; the Character you enclose mee is a very great one, I am glad to hear he is so much esteemed, no doubt he has good abilities and inclinations and may be a useful Man, I take it they are a little altered on both sides and when that is the Case people generally choose to agree, and become friendly to each other. I wonder at the Offer made him in Maryland and his refusal. does he make Sermons?

You may keep the Key of my Book case til wee meet or further order.

I would not have anything said by my Friends about the Ferry, and cannot conceive what you mean by saying, if it should be tryed Philadelphia would be a very improper place for my Family on many acc<sup>ts</sup> unless you mean an improper one for trying it, in which I agree, but that it would be an improper one to live in after a Tryal I do not understand.

I hope M<sup>r</sup> Lardner has eased himself of some of his money, as he writes mee the Exchange was falling. I have wrote M<sup>r</sup> Peters about the new intended Town, but have not received any draft of what William Parsons proposes, since wee bought the land of M<sup>r</sup> Lawrence, nor on what part of it they propose to lay it out, as soon as I see their proposals I will consider them and return an answer by the next Ship.

Nothing can be done with regard to Whartons pretensions, til they begin to sue for the Land, and M<sup>r</sup> Inglis has it now in possession. I have bought Marsh's Lots next mee at a great price.

I am glad to hear the Town thrives so fast, and wish they were but truly sensible of their own happiness, then would it be the greatest pleasure of my Life to live among them, and to do them every good office in my power, as I have taken it for my province to be most





nearly concerned with them, and can truly say there is no hazard which I would not undertake for their welfare which I would for my own, and they will see by and by, the little care I have taken of my Family concerns will be of great advantage to them in time to come, and add weight to their interest here which I am sure I have ever had in my view.

I have not seen my Family since I received your last Letter, when I go into the Country I shall acquaint them with your good wishes, which they will receive with great pleasure, and return them with as great sincerity. I desire you will give my kind Love to your Wife an Mother and with sincere wishes for your and their welfare I remain

Dear Dick

Your very sincere and affectionate Friend  
London Sept. 18. 1746. Tho. Penn.

Pray remember mee to Tomay I want to know how he goes on.

When you write to my Sister dont be long on her late loss. When I write Bishop Vickeris shall let him know what you say. You will not forget two or three Hams & by the next Ship I will send you a hamper or two of Beer. I am sorry to hear Jenkins's Chintz proved so bad and believe I must bring you another for a present. I had a Letter from Peter Greeme two days ago, he writes mee he has been visited by both Armys, and had a Son born last month.

Pray what is become of Cloe dont let her be disposed of, if your Wife does not want her I intend to have her my Self. send mee all the Rattle Snakes you can get. My Brother called to mind the other day the Beef Stakes wee used to have in Lombard Street, and wish'd he could have some done as your Mother used to have them done pray get mee a receipt from her. send me all the Rattle Snakes you can get. I cannot conceive how Sam' Fana's account came into my little



Books for 9 Years Rent on my Brothers Lot at £5.10. a Year this must belong to him. let mee have the Cash account in that Book by first that I may see what is in hand I do not remember any thing of this Article or that of John Saunders's for Land at the great swamp. let mee know what Cash on these accounts M<sup>r</sup> Lardner is in possession of.

Dear Dick

My last was by the Otter Sloop a Cobby of which is on the other side, since which time I have received your Letter of the 3<sup>d</sup> of february by the Beulah Cap<sup>t</sup> Child, and another of the 19<sup>th</sup> by way of Londonderry, in them were enclosed first and second Bills drawn by John Lawson on Alexander Black for £9.16.9 of which I cannot say anything more than that two days ago I sent the first for acceptance, they having come to mee just after I went to Bath, where I was with all our Family about two months, and I did not think it worth sending upp for acceptance. as I have mentioned going to the Bath I must tel you, my Brother has been for several years advised to drink Bath Waters for a sort of Cholick that has been troublesome to him; and I thought they would remove an indigestion that my Sister has been long subject to, as well as that the Company and diversions of the place would be an amusement to her, this induced mee to take her down, and I think they have both found great benefit from the Journey.

M<sup>r</sup> Vigor forwarded the Musquet Cartouck Box and a Cutlash mounted with Silver, but plain, by Cap<sup>t</sup> Mesnard, they are all good of the sort, the Musquet the same the Gentlemen Voluntiers had in London at the time of the Rebellion, the cost I cannot yet tel you but shal enclose it when I get it from M<sup>r</sup> Vigor. when you want any such thing to be bought, tho of ten times the



value, you need not give your Self the trouble to procure a Bill before hand, but you may order it to be paid after you know what it amounts to, you need not make any excuse for desiring such things from mee.

I am wel pleased our people are so wel trained, and only wish they were so by a propper Authority but I admire there are so very few dutch among them.

The Beulah was taken and retaken, my Box of oranges was I suppose taken by the French, however they left me a Box of Laws which I am much better pleased with. I think you could not expect the assembly should give any thing for your defence, they give to the Indians only to procure their Friendship.

I thank you for your congratulation on my escape from Bergen opzoom, I was much pleased with my visit to it, and probably had I not gone thither, should never have seen a Town in the same situation, the people little expected to see it taken when I was there, eight days before it was. the Fortifications are a work beyond anything I could conceive in use, the Garrison in high Spirits, and wel supplied with every necessary. the firing was very brisk, and Balls and Bombs flew thick as Rockets on a Lord Mayors night, but wee were in little danger, tho my curiosity led mee to some of the out works, where they fired Musquet shot whenever they saw any one taking a view of their Works. I congratulate you in my turn on the stop that is put to this bloody work, by the signing the Preliminarys with France, which is done on the Fort of delivering upp the places taken since the War by each party; the French have by it sacrificed a great Country, but their own was so drained of Men, money and Provisions that their people were starving, and their Trade, by our late successes at Sea, so reduced, as in another year they expected a total stop would be put to it. on our part the Dutch were within a month of being over run by the



French Army, both their Troops and the Austrians being far short of the Quotas agreed on, so that we had not a force sufficient to oppose them; the Austrians who should have been 60,000 it is said were not above 18.000 Men. had they sent their full number into the Field, we should have drove the french into their own Country, and made our own Terms with them. however peace I think is best for you, and indeed this is better for the Queen of Hungary than could have been expected the beginning of the War; and I think we may in a great measure thank the people of New England and S<sup>r</sup> Peter Warren for it.

I do not know in what manner our appointing M<sup>r</sup> Hamilton Governor may be talked of with you, but I think he has more understanding and honour, than most Governors sent from hence, and cannot but make himself agreable to all, but those whose envy will cause them to look with an evil Eye on one of themselves become their superiour. had we known M<sup>r</sup> Thomas would not have stayed perhaps a Governor might have been sent before. I am sorry you lost so much by the Lottery, and hope it will be the last money you will loose that way. I shal now conclud with my Sisters and my kind Love to you and best wishes for yours and M<sup>r</sup> Hockleys happiness in all respects—

Dear Dick

Your very sincere and affe<sup>o</sup> Friend

London June 16. 1748.

Tho. Penn

M<sup>r</sup> Hamilton will sail in two Months.

I desire you will send my two handled Cup by the first Ship, and procure for mee a Turkey Cock and Hen of the true wild breed, or two of each sort, and send them by some carefull Captain, let me know the expence. pray use your endeavours to procure them of the right sort as they are for a present to a very good Friend.





Silver Cutlash £3.3 Belt 10/6 . . . . .	£3. 13. 6
Musquet Bayonet Moulds W <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	3. 3. —
Cartouck Box shoulder strap & Sling . . . . .	— 10. 6
Case . . . . .	— 3. 6
	<hr/>
	£7. 10. 6

Dear Dick

The above is Coppy of my last since which time I have received your Letter of the 17<sup>th</sup> of June via Lisbon with a Coppy of one of the 11<sup>th</sup> of May that was sent by the Riche Cap<sup>t</sup> Burk, As to wheat I shal write you perhaps in a few days, but am welpleased you did not buy any on the hint M<sup>r</sup> Lardner gave you, as wee were somewhat mistaken in our advices, it is now said that commodity will be wanted all the year in France and Italy, but I observe it is 4/3<sup>d</sup> a Bushel with you, and if large orders go, will amount to a shilling higher soon, which with the freight will make it rise too high for any proffit.

I am sorry to hear that you lent that vile Fellow Will Reed such a sum of money, and thought £70. Sterling, which I conceived a very great Sum. was the whole, however it is all undoubtedly lost and I hope will prevent you from ever lending money to such people any more, else you cannot be safe or your family. I think you should not send any adventures to the West Indies for returns, but what remittances you make should be in the best Bills, tho you give two or three p Cent extraordinary for them, as it is a very great loss to you to be so long out of your money, & the above mentioned loss, with the £200 to Jamaica should be a caution to you to act as securely as possible. M<sup>r</sup> Lardner writes to mee, to know whether I expect to have Rebecca Steels money paid, by her desire, if She pays it and It will be of Service to you as you have been so much disappointed by M<sup>r</sup> Branson you may take it, and give your Bond for the Sterling money in my Name to M<sup>r</sup> Lard-



ner. I shal give her three years free of Interest from the 6<sup>th</sup> of January 1741. when I paid it to you for her —you would never have been paid by Reed, how could he live on £125 a year in Jamaica, when he could not for twice the money in Pennsylvania. Minot & Reed wrote mee they had remitted your money by a Man of War so that it is here at last, I am sorry that should have hindered you from getting Goods for so long a time.

I have wrote M<sup>r</sup> Peters with regard to the Town on Schuylkill, but cannot think it worth your while to let any five or ten Acre Lots near it; to let them forever would be I think wrong, as you cannot get any considerable Rent for them, and I think you had better sell them than do that, and indeed if you have so lost your Stock, as to be two year and a half without Goods, on a disappointment of £400, you will find it necessary to sell them, or you cannot go on with any business. I was in hope that with the money you had, and the £500, I lent you you could have kept upp a Store, and have lived on the proffits of it. I desire you will inform mee what you could let these Lots for, and on what Terms before you do sell or let them; besides the time to let them is after people are settled and want them, and you may then sell the Timber for something, which before they begin to build will be of little value, you might have lodged conditional orders for your Goods, if the money arrived, which would have saved you a year.

As to the Meadow I cannot remember the Situation but I think it is mentioned in the Warrant and was to be taken either nearest to the Town, or if W<sup>m</sup> Logans was ordered there, next to his, you should speak to M<sup>r</sup> Peters not M<sup>r</sup> Lardner, who from the Warrant can give orders about it, or at least represent it so to mee that I can immediately order it, but there was a Warrant signed, therefore I wonder you should talk of my ordering M<sup>r</sup> Lardner to let you have it. I am not at all



disobliged at your selling the Land about Manotawny, but I am sorry you should have been obliged to do it, for want of taking propper care of your substance; if you were to sell the whole, and imploy it to advantage in Trade, I should be welpleased, but to see your substance lessened, while others are encreasing theirs, cannot but afford mee disagreeable reflections, however I hope you will in future have better success.

I observe what you say about Virgil, M<sup>r</sup> Lardner should order him any necessarys he may want, if he is industrious and lives as much as he can from the place, as for Jacob I have ordered M<sup>r</sup> Lardner to turn him of.

I am wel pleased to hear some stop is put to the Flags of Truce, but did not think your Collector would have seized them.

I believe the Military preparations have been of service, but they will now no doubt discontinue their meetings, or at least as soon as peace is proclaimed.

The Ballance of the account of Sales of the Wine you should pay to M<sup>r</sup> Lardner to whom I have given orders what to do with it.

I have read the Messages and observe what you say as to that matter, but the change of Affairs making those disputes unnecessary, shal say nothing further than that I hope soon to hear the Minds of People are more quiet and better reconciled to each other.

In M<sup>r</sup> Hamilton's things is sent the blue and white Cotton which M<sup>r</sup> Barclay says is best for a Bed, and Window Curtains, which you will send to him for, it is wrote on, as put in by my order by M<sup>r</sup> Barclay, the paper is not sent, as I want first to know the size of the two Rooms you would hang, and the exact measure from the moulding about three feet high to the Cornice at the top or if no Cornice to the Ceiling, and from that moulding to the Skirting board at Bottom, that I may fit the pattern to it. enclosed is a Bill of Lading for two Cases, a Ream of paper, and a Claw, like that of a



Table, the large Case contains a Reflecting Telescope, to which the Stand belongs, and some Books, which I send the Library Company, the Books are four Volumns of Voyages lately published, Lord Anson Voyage with the Book of Maps; the Telescope my Brother bought with an intention to send to the Company, and which I now do in pursuance of that intention. the other Case contains my Busts, which if you do not like so well as a Picture, send it to my House and I will send you a picture. the Ream of paper you will send to M<sup>r</sup> Lardner.

I am very glad to hear you live with your Family in so friendly a Manner, but concerned to hear you have lost your little Boy. pray give my kind Love to your Wife my good wishes attend her, your Self and little Billy. I am

Dear Dick

Your very affectionate Friend

London August 31. 1748.

Tho Penn

My Brother is obliged to you for your Compliment and sends you his good wishes. I am glad to hear Billy is so healthy a Child.

As I once wrote you, is there no way of getting Iron from the Old Man?, tho if you could just provide for your Family and a trifle more, it may be better to let Matters stand as they are, or if he would lend you money, to increase your Stock in Trade, it might be of Use to you, and by talking of the advantages made of money in business one would think he might be induced to it. I am much concerned for your welfare which engages mee on this subject. M<sup>r</sup> Fells children are now of Age, and I should be glad to get in the money Lent Shewbart on the Mortgage, which I desire you will endeavour to get mee, your Mother should think of clearing the Interest, and then some person would take it by an Assignment. I write to M<sup>r</sup> Lardner on this subject. pray let me know what Stock of Horses or Cattle





are at Springetsbery and if any Sheep. Thomas is informed John Branson has daughters but will soon be more particularly informed. I send Deer by this ship. have you Shewbarts Note to mee for about £40 sterling? how does your Mother go on? if it is not convenient do not think of it.

P. S. Since I wrote the above M<sup>rs</sup> [torn] has given mee a Receipt for pickling Sturgeon as she used to do it in Russhia which I desire you will put in practice for Mee for six Caggs, and give mee an account of all the charge; if this should come to hand in time before the Winter sets in, you may probably do some the beginning of November, by a Ship that may be here this Winter, else in the Spring Season, but if you can both, as if it should prove good I may oblige some persons of distinction with it. you should get Lisbon or good Rhenish Wine for I think Madera will not do.



GENEALOGICAL GLEANINGS IN GREAT  
BRITAIN.

BY THOMAS ALLEN GLENN.

LLOYD-MAULDEN. Will of Grace Lloyd of St. Mary, Whitechapel, Middlesex, widow. Dated 10 May, 1698. Proved in P. C. C., 23 Dyer, 17 Feb., 1700-1. The testatrix desires to be buried "near my husband in Whitechapel Church." To granddaughter Elizabeth Buckerfield the money owed by Alexander Pollington and certain plate, linen &c. "with my marke G. & P. thereupon sett."

Bequest to testatrix's daughter Elizabeth, mother to the above Elizabeth Buckerfield. Testatrix's son Francis Maulden mentioned.

Testatrix's daughters Margaret Evans and Grace Mitchill.

Residue of estate "in England and Maryland or elsewhere beyond the seas" to my daughter Elizabeth Buckerfield and she sole executrix. Thomas Parker and Joseph Haycock overseers.

WYNNE-BUTTALL. Dr. Thomas Wynne, first speaker of the Provincial Assembly of Pennsylvania, married as his first wife, about 1655-7, Martha Buttall of Wrexham (See "Merion," 261 &c.). Searches in Wales undertaken by the late Mr. Palmer of Wrexham, and others on behalf of the late Mr. H. W. Lloyd failed to determine this lady's parentage, but Mr. Palmer turned up the will of her brother, Jonathan Buttall of Battersea, Surrey, dated 26 August, 1695, in which he mentions his sister Martha Wynne's children (she having died about 1670), and other relatives. A full abstract of this will is given in "Merion," pp. 262-3. The parentage of Jonathan Buttall, and Martha Wynne (his sister), is proved by the following document.



Will of Randle Buttall of Wrexham, "being ouldo and weak." Dated 15 June, 1680; proved at St. Asaph, 1684.

The testator bequeaths the house in which he dwells, gardens, &c., to his daughter Abigail. Remainder of his houses to Samuel Buttall, eldest son of Nathaniel Buttall, testator's eldest son.

To "my son Nathanael one shilling."

To "my son Samuel one shilling."

To "my son Johnathan one shilling."

To "my daughter Rebecca one shilling."

To "my son in law Thomas Winne one shilling."

To "my . . . . Charles one shilling."

See also will of Dr. Thomas Wynne in which he mentions money due from his brother-in-law, Samuel Buttall.

WILSON. "Captain Samuel Wilson's will." Will of Samuel Wilson (Captain) of Derryhow in the parish of Drumlane and County of Cavan, gent. To be buried in Church of Drumlane. Wife Rebeckah to have lease of Derryhow, and ready money, and money due testator in England.

To "daughter *Rebeckah Anderson now in America* if a widow £10 if she comes over to take care of her mother, she being in a capacity to do it while she lives' and what her mother leaves I doubt not she will get if she behaves as she should."

"Beside my daughter Anderson I would mind my grandson Samuel Stephens. . ."

"I therefore bequeathe to said Samuel Stephens and his sister Frances Baker and nephew Tom Wilson, one shilling each." Executrix, wife Rebeckah Wilson.

Witnesses:—Jos. Ingram, Francis Halliday, Richard Moore.

Will dated 21 September, 1745. Proved 16 August, 1746 (Kilmore Will).



A PARTIAL LIST OF PENNSYLVANIA TROOPS  
KILLED, WOUNDED, AND CAPTURED AT  
THE BATTLE OF GERMANTOWN, OCTOBER  
4, 1777.

CONTINENTAL LINE.

*First Regiment.*

Lieut. Peter Weiser, wounded and captured.  
Lieut. Abraham Skinner, captured.  
Lieut. William Patton, killed.  
Pr. Patrick Leonard.  
Pr. James Smith, shot in head, bayonet in knee.  
Pr. Wollery Whiteman.

*Second Regiment.*

Major William Williams, captured.  
Pr. Daniel McCay, wounded in head.

*Third Regiment.*

Pr. John McMullin.

*Fourth Regiment.*

Capt. Robert Sample, captured.  
Pr. Michael Lynch, wounded in both legs.

*Fifth Regiment.*

Pr. Henry Hoover, wounded in leg.

*Sixth Regiment.*

Lieut. William Campbell, wounded and captured.  
Lieut. James Glentworth, wounded in right arm.  
Ensign Joseph Cox, captured.  
Sergt. John Kerner, lost two fingers.  
Pr. Abraham Best, lost a leg.

*Seventh Regiment.*

Lieut. Samuel Bryson, wounded in leg.  
Corp. James McCann, wounded wrist and shoulder.  
Pr. John Walsh, ball through body at Chew house.





*Eighth Regiment.*

Lieut. Samuel Smith, killed.  
Pr. John Churchfield, wounded in leg.  
Pr. Neal Murray, captured and escaped.

*Ninth Regiment.*

Lieut. William Whitman, shot through body, captured and paroled.

*Tenth Regiment.*

Capt. Robert Sample, captured.  
Pr. Michael Lynch, wounded in both legs.

*Eleventh Regiment.*

Lieut. Thomas Lucas, killed.  
Pr. Christian Derr.  
Pr. Bingley Mark Worrell, lost right leg.

*Twelfth Regiment.*

Lieut. John Carothers, killed.  
Pr. John Gallant, lost right arm.  
Pr. Robert Polston.

*Thirteenth Regiment.*

Lieut. William Moore, wounded.  
Sergt. Daniel McCoy, wounded in head.  
Pr. William Watson, wounded, right knee.  
Pr. Peter Guyer, bayonet wound in groin, ball in thigh.  
Drummer John Guyer (11 years old, son of Peter),  
shot in heel.

*Hartley's Regiment.*

Pr. Jacob Houts, wounded in knee.

*Patton's Regiment.*

Lieut. William Patton, killed.  
Pr. Thomas Cox, wounded in thigh.

*German Regiment.*

Pr. John Richereek.  
Pr. John Rybaker, wounded, hand and shoulder.  
Pr. John Snyder, wounded in head.  
Pr. Henry Waggoner, wounded in leg.



*Hazen's "Congress Own."*

Sergt. Edward Bradley, wounded in arm.

*Proctor's Artillery.*

Corp. Nicholas Copple, lost eyesight.

*Staff.*

John White, Volunteer A. D. C. to Gen. Sullivan,  
wounded and died Oct. 10, 1777.

PENNSYLVANIA MILITIA.

*Jehu Eyre's Battalion Philadelphia Artillery.*

Gunner James Dunn, wounded.

Gunner Joseph Smith, wounded and captured.

*Sixth Battalion, Col. Henry Knox.*

Pr. Nicholas Toy, captured.

*Col. Frederick Antes's Battalion.*

Pr. George Delker, killed.

*Battalions not identified.*

Sergt. Thomas Scotland, wounded.

Pr. James Barr, wounded.

Pr. Thomas Clark, wounded.

Pr. Samuel Lewis, wounded.

Pr. William Russell, wounded.

Pr. Daniel Dougherty, wounded near Chew house.

Pr. William Gundy, wounded in neck.



EXCERPTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA FOR THE YEAR 1915.

*Treasurer's Report.*

*Assets.*

Cash on deposit .....	\$10,223.90
Investments .....	274,613.47
Real Estate .....	161,586.63
Due by various Funds .....	4,868.98
Advance to Curator .....	600.00
Advance to Librarian .....	100.00
	<hr/>
	\$451,992.98
	<hr/>

*Liabilities.*

Due to various Funds .....	\$451,992.98
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*General Fund.*

Founded upon the following donations and legacies:

Legacy of Paul Beck .....	\$100.00
Athenian Institute Donation .....	350.00
Legacy of Peter S. Duponceau .....	200.00
Legacy of Thomas Sergeant .....	100.00
Legacy of George Chambers .....	100.00
Legacy of Jesse George .....	1,000.00
Legacy of Mrs. Eliza Gilpin .....	5,100.00

*Investments.*

6 shares Girard Trust Co. cost .....	\$1,068.75
4000 bonds Lehigh Valley Coal cost .....	4,119.11
Part Mortgage 1201 Poplar Street .....	1,100.00
1000 bonds P. C. C. & St. L. Ry. cost .....	1,038.56
1000 bonds Penna. R. R. Gen. Mortgage .....	1,017.50
	<hr/>
	\$8,343.92

*Real Estate.*

Building and Lot at Thirteenth and Locust Streets, carried at original cost of the Patterson property ..	\$154,457.43
	<hr/>
	\$162,801.35
Cash over-invested .....	400.04
	<hr/>
	\$162,401.31



*Endowment Fund.*

Founded upon the following donations and legacies:

Donation, John William Wallace .....	\$500.00
Donation, George de B. Keim .....	500.00
Donation, Charles Hare Hutchinson .....	100.00
Legacy of Mrs. Susan Barton .....	500.00
Donation of John F. Smith .....	2,000.00
Legacy of William Bradford .....	200.00
Legacy of Rebecca Darby Smith .....	1,201.49
Legacy of William Man .....	5,000.00
Legacy of William C. Jeanes .....	10,000.00
Legacy of Mary Dickinson Fox .....	1,000.00
Legacy of George Plumer Smith .....	25,000.00
Legacy of Ellen Wain .....	2,041.00
Legacy of Esther F. Wistar .....	5,000.00
Legacy of Francis R. Bryan .....	5,513.26
Legacy of Joseph E. Gillingham .....	1,000.00
Donation, William Brooke Rawle .....	1,400.00
Donation, Miss Mary W. Paul .....	1,000.00

*Investments.*

4000 bonds No. Penna. R. R. 3 3/10%	\$4,000.00
1000 bonds No. Penna. R. R. \$500 each, par .....	1,000.00
6000 bonds P. W. & B. trust, par.....	6,000.00
7000 Lehigh Valley R. R., par .....	7,000.00
4000 bonds Phila. & Erie R. R., par ..	4,000.00
17,000 4 1/4% Pittsburgh School Loan ...	17,951.01
23,000 3% Phila. City Loan .....	23,000.00
Mortgage 1915 Camac Street ....	2,000.00
Part Mortgage 1201 Poplar Street .....	1,000.00
2000 bonds Lehigh Valley Coal Co. cost	2,059.55
9000 bonds Penna. Co. Collat. Trust ..	8,844.00
10,000 bonds Penna. Co. 4% cost .....	9,493.89
5000 N. Y. City 4 1/4% stock cost .....	5,323.75
1000 bonds Choctaw Gen. 5% .....	1,032.50
1000 bonds B. & O. 3 1/2% cost .....	911.71
1000 bonds Penna. R. R. Gen. Mortgage	1,017.50
	<hr/>
	\$94,633.91
Cash .....	3,533.18
	<hr/>
	\$98,167.09





*Smedley Fund.*

Founded on legacy of Samuel L. Smedley. \$6000.

Real Estate, House and Lot 3408 Spring Garden Street, carried at cost under foreclosure: .....	\$7,129.20
Cash over-invested .....	1,129.20
	<hr/>

*Publication Fund.* \$6,000.00

Founded on legacies of James Hamilton and Miss Annie Willing Jackson, and subscriptions to life membership:

*Investments.*

44 shares stock Penna R. R. cost ....	\$2,318.77
4000 bonds No. Penna. R. R. 3 3/10% ..	4,000.00
1000 bonds No. Penna. R. R. \$500 each..	1,000.00
2000 bonds P. W. & B. R. R. 4% .....	2,000.00
5000 bonds Lehigh Valley R. R. (1 Annuity) .....	4,942.50
1000 bonds Phila. & Erie R. R. ....	1,000.00
2000 bonds Philadelphia 3% .....	2,000.00
6000 bonds Lehigh Valley Coal cost ....	6,178.68
Part Mortgage 4018 Spring Garden Street .....	500.00
Part Mortgage 1201 Poplar Street .....	400.00
4000 bonds P. C. C. & St. L. Ry. cost ...	4,154.22
2000 bonds Reading J. C. Collat. cost ..	1,945.32
5000 bonds Phila. City 4% Loan .....	5,347.78
5000 bonds Penna. Co. 4% Series E. cost .....	4,890.42
1000 bonds B. & O. 3 1/2% cost .....	911.71
	<hr/>
	\$41,589.40
Cash .....	576.00
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	\$42,165.40

*C. Percy de la Roche Fund.*

Founded on bequest of C. Percy de la Roche. \$400.

Cash .....	\$400.00
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*Howard Williams Lloyd Fund.*

Founded on the legacy of Howard Williams Lloyd. \$5000.



*Investments.*

3000 Phila. City 3% Loan .....	\$3,000.00
2000 bonds B. & O. 3½% cost .....	1,823.41
	<hr/>
	\$4,823.41
Cash .....	176.59
	<hr/>
	\$5,000.00

*Ferdinand J. Dreer Fund.*

Founded on the legacy of Ferdinand J. Dreer.  
\$15,000.

*Investments.*

15,000 Trust Certificates R. E. Title Co..	\$15,000.00
1000 Lehigh Valley Coal Co. 5% bond.	1,096.54
1000 bonds B. & O. 3½% cost .....	911.71
1000 bonds Penna. R. R. Gen. Mortgage	1,017.50
	<hr/>
	\$18,025.75
Cash .....	599.25
	<hr/>
	\$18,625.00

*Library Fund.*

Founded on the following donations and legacies:

Donation of George W. Smith .....	\$1,000.00
Legacy of Jesse George .....	4,000.00
Donation of John William Wallace ....	1,000.00
Donation of John Jordan, Jr. ....	500.00
Legacy of William Man .....	8,000.00
Legacy of Horatio Gates Jones .....	4,505.06

*Investments.*

2000 bonds No. Penna. R. R. Co. 3 3/10%	\$2,000.00
1000 bonds No. Penna. R. R. \$500 each	1,000.00
5000 bonds P. W. & B. Trust .....	5,000.00
2000 bonds Lehigh Valley R. R. 4% ..	2,000.00
3000 bonds P. & R. Ry. Co. 4% .....	3,000.00
2000 bonds Lehigh Valley Coal Co. cost	2,059.55
900 Phila. City 3% Loan .....	900.00
20 shares stock Ridge Ave. Pass. R. R.	4,505.00
	<hr/>
	\$20,464.55
Cash .....	40.45
	<hr/>
	\$20,505.00

*Binding Fund.*

Founded on the following donations and legacies:

Donation of Dr. Thomas B. Wilson .....	\$700.00
Donation of John Jordan, Jr. ....	1,000.00
Donation of Penn. Manuscript Fund ....	1,000.00
Legacy of William Man .....	2,000.00
Mrs. John F. Combs .....	1,000.00



*Investments.*

1000 bonds No. Penna. R. R. 3 3/10% ..	\$1,000.00
6 shares stock Penna. R. R. cost ....	300.00
Part Mortgage 4018 Spring Garden Street .....	2,000.00
2000 bonds P. C. C. & St. L. Ry. cost ..	2,077.11
	<hr/>
	\$5,377.11
Cash .....	1,852.57
	<hr/>
	\$7,229.68

*Stillé Fund.*

Founded on the bequest of Charles J. Stillé.  
\$10,000.00.

*Investments.*

Mortgage 5100 Larchwood Avenue .....	\$5,000.00
Mortgage 5110 Larchwood Avenue .....	4,000.00
1000 Choctaw Gen. 5% bonds .....	1,027.50
	<hr/>
	\$10,027.50
Cash over-invested .....	27.50
	<hr/>
	\$10,000.00

*Walker Memorial Fund.*

Founded on donation of Mrs. R. J. C. Walker Pen-  
field. \$50,000.00.

*Investments.*

15,000 bonds No. Central R. R. ....	\$15,000.00
5000 bonds P. & E. R. R. 6% .....	5,000.00
5000 bonds Delaware Co. 5% (\$500 each) .....	5,000.00
15,000 bonds Ft. Wayne & W. 5% ....	15,000.00
10,000 bonds Norfolk & P. 5% .....	10,000.00
	<hr/>
	\$50,000.00

*William H. Jordan Fund.*

Founded on bequest of William H. Jordan. \$1,000.00.  
Cash .....

\$1,000.00

*Lamberton Fund.*

Founded on bequest of Charles L. Lamberton.  
\$2,375.00.

*Investments.*

2000 Lehigh Valley Coal 5% bond cost ..	\$2,193.05
Cash .....	181.95
	<hr/>
	\$2,375.00



*Lanier Fund.*

Founded on bequest of William Lanier. \$1,937.00.

*Investments.*

2000 Lehigh Valley Coal 5% bond cost ..	2,193.05
Cash over-invested .....	256.05
	<hr/>
	\$1,937.00

*Thomas Balch Fund.*

Founded on donation of Thomas Willing Balch.  
\$1,000.00.

*Investments.*

1000 Reg. 4½% bond Lehigh Valley R. R.	\$1,000.00
100 certfs. Philadelphia City 4% Loan .	104.32
	<hr/>
	\$1,104.32
Cash .....	8.88
	<hr/>
	\$1,113.20

*Elise Willing Balch Fund.*

Founded upon the donation of Mrs. Thomas Balch  
and her sons. \$5,000.00.

*Investments.*

3000 bonds Reading Co. & P. & R. Coal & Iron Co. ....	\$3,000.00
2000 bonds Lehigh Valley R. R. Co. ....	2,000.00
	<hr/>
	\$5,000.00

*Elizabeth Swift Shippen Fund.*

Founded on bequest under Will of Elizabeth Swift  
Shippen. \$5,000.00.

*Investments.*

5000 bonds Penna. R. R. Gen. Mortgage	\$5,087.50
Cash over-invested .....	87.50
	<hr/>
	\$5,000.00

FRANCIS H. WILLIAMS,  
*Treasurer.*





*Librarian's Report.*

The accessions to the Library and Collections by gift and purchase have been as follows:—

1261 Books,  
5220 Pamphlets,  
39,195 Manuscripts,  
299 Maps and Charts,  
1299 Miscellaneous.

To the *Dreer Collection* have been added 267 manuscripts.

Through the *Lanier Bequest* for the purchase of North Carolina publications and manuscripts, have been added 1 book, 3 pamphlets, 1 manuscript.

To the *Gilpin Library* have been added 1 book, 3 broadsides.

From *The Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania* have been received the following manuscript records:—

Dotterer Papers, 7 volumes.

Records of Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church, Reading, Penna., Volumes 1 and 2.

Common Pleas Court Papers, Burlington County, New Jersey, 1 volume.

Philadelphia Monthly Meeting Minutes, Volume 1, 1682-1707, 1 volume.

Philadelphia Monthly Meeting; Marriages, 1672-1871; Births and Deaths, 1820-1870, 1 volume.

Haddonfield, New Jersey, Monthly Meeting Records, 1681-1828, 1 volume.

In the *Manuscript Division* 51 volumes were arranged and bound; 17,333 manuscripts were repaired, mounted, etc.; 113 large diplomas, certificates, maps, etc., were repaired and mounted; 90 books were repaired or prepared for binding.

Accessions deserving of special mention are the following:—



8 books, 45 pamphlets, 220 manuscripts, presented by Henry E. Busch.

214 manuscripts, correspondence of James M. Swank, 1 manuscript map and 2 photographs, presented by Mrs. James M. Swank.

7 charts, 1815-1847, used by Capt. John W. Mickle, Captain of the "Ruth and Mary," sailing from Philadelphia, presented by Mrs. Rebecca Mickle Hemphill.

The Jay Cooke Papers, consisting of 26 books, 120 pamphlets, 37,850 manuscripts, 20 maps, 94 miscellaneous broadsides, photographs, etc., presented by the Heirs of Jay Cooke.

Diary of Gen. Augustus Pleasanton, presented by Mrs. John T. Dohan.

5 pamphlets, 74 deeds, 1 map, presented by J. Lee Patton.

4 Bibles, containing Family Records, 1 Receipt Book of Levi Nice, 61 manuscripts, Muster and Pay Rolls of Capt. John Nice's Company, and other letters and documents, presented by Mrs. Mary Adelaide Jacoby and Miss Anne N. Cooper.

70 manuscripts, letters and minutes of the Committee on Public Meetings of the Union League, 1864, presented by Howland Speakman.

Oil portrait of Gen. Hector Tyndale and sword presented to General Tyndale by members of Company H, 28th Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, for his bravery at Ashby's Gap, June 4, 1862, presented by Dr. Walton I. Mitchell.

1 volume of original documents relating to the History of the Pennsylvania Hospital, presented by Dr. William A. Armstrong.

Pencil sketch of William Kulp and oil painting of the birthplace of William Kulp, Germantown, by Edward L. Henry, presented by Edward L. Henry.

Marble bust of "Young Augustus," with pedestal, bequest of Miss Josephine Lewis.



17 books, 3 pamphlets, purchased by the Elise Willing Balch Fund.

49 books, 77 pamphlets, 3 maps, presented by Edward T. Stuart.

15 books, 4 pamphlets, 1 manuscript, 27 maps, presented by John J. I. Houston.

17 books, 48 pamphlets, presented by Mrs. Frederic Schoff.

3 books, 108 pamphlets, 80 miscellaneous invitations, etc., presented by Hon. John B. McPherson.

1 book, 312 manuscripts, 206 maps, 10 miscellaneous, presented by Miss Letitia A. Humphreys, to be added to the Humphreys Papers.

Oil portraits of Mrs. Harry Ingersoll and Mrs. George Roberts Smith, by Thomas Sully, from the Estate of Miss Sally Roberts Smith.

Bible, containing the Steel Family Records, presented by Mrs. Canby Steel Tyson.

Bible, containing Booth Family Records, presented by Mrs. G. F. Smitheman, Jr.

4 books, 1 pamphlet, 3 marriage certificates, 1 manuscript chart, presented by William Evans Wood.

44 manuscripts, Graeme-Ferguson letters and documents, presented by Simon Gratz.

Manuscript Atlas of Delaware County and the Great Welsh Tract, containing 27 manuscript drafts showing early grants and tracts, presented by Benjamin H. Smith.

Oil portrait of John Jordan, Jr., purchased by the Society.

18 volumes of "The Sun," Philadelphia, 1845-57, presented by Lewis McMakin.

Original pencil sketch of the painting "Zeisberger Preaching to the Indians," by Christian Schuessele, purchased by the Library Fund.

27 books, 86 pamphlets, 1 manuscript, 7 maps, 50 miscellaneous, presented by Charles J. Cohen.



247 books, 266 pamphlets, 39 manuscripts and one bound volume of manuscripts, 4 maps, 30 miscellaneous broadsides, etc., from the Estate of Oliver Hough.

Valuable donations to the Library and Collections have also been made by the following members and friends of the Society:—

Louis Ashbrook,	Gregory B. Keen,
Edwin Swift Balch,	Dr. Henry Leffmann,
Thomas Willing Balch,	William W. Longstreth,
Hon. Norris S. Barratt,	Lewis Historical Pub-
Mrs. William P. Buffum,	lishing Company,
Hon. James M. Beck,	Dr. Charles K. Mills,
Miss Emily Bell,	Hon. J. Hampton Moore,
William Vincent Byars,	Miss E. E. Massey,
Hon. Hampton L. Carson,	Dr. J. Ewing Mears,
Mrs. Hampton L. Carson,	Col. John P. Nicholson,
Dr. S. Solis Cohen,	George M. Newhall,
Misses Cresson,	Hon. Samuel W. Penny-
C. Howard Colket,	packer,
Miss Josephine Carr,	James W. Pawson,
Miss M. E. Elliott,	Mrs. Henry V. Stilwell,
Albert J. Edmunds,	Dr. Edgar F. Smith,
R. Howard Eisenbrey,	Frank H. Stewart,
Miss J. A. Flanigen,	Walter George Smith,
Mantle Fielding,	William C. Stevenson, Jr.,
Walter C. Gold,	Mrs. Charles Morton Smith,
William Macpherson	Hon. Charlemagne Tower,
Hornor,	Mrs. George C. Thomas,
Mrs. Thomas R. Harper,	A. Merritt Taylor,
Hon. William U. Hensel,	Miss Mary M. Townsend,
John W. Jordan,	Dr. C. H. Vinton,
Dr. Ewing Jordan,	Miss J. C. Wylie,
Wilfred Jordan,	Miss Juliana Wood,
E. Russell Jones,	Grant Weidman.

JOHN W. JORDAN,  
*Librarian.*





## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## Notes.

## A VALUABLE REVOLUTIONARY WAR MAP.—

In the manuscript division of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania there is an original map, 19" x 15" entitled:

"A Map of the Highlands  
in the State of New York.

Done for His Excellency Genl. Washington  
by Robert Erskine, F. R. S. Geogr. to the Army.  
July, 1779."

In connection with Washington's plans for the attack on Stony Point, the following letter is found among the Wayne Papers.

New Windsor, July 3<sup>d</sup> 1779

Sir,

Pursuant to His Excellency's orders I beg leave to transmit you the enclosed Draught of the adjacent Country—at the same time His Excellency desired me to mention it as His particular request that no Copies whatever be permitted to be taken of it.—

I have the honor to be  
Sir

Your most obed<sup>t</sup> hum<sup>l</sup>e Servant  
Robt. Erskine

Hon<sup>ble</sup> Brig<sup>r</sup> Gen'l Wayne.

J. C. Wylie.

## Queries.

MEDICAL GRADUATES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA:—Biographical information is asked, or the source whence it can be had, of the following medical graduates of the University of Pennsylvania, for the Alumni Catalogue now preparing. Information may be sent to Ewing Jordan, M.D., 1510 Walnut St., Philadelphia. Penna.

## CLASS OF 1844.

Anderson, Edward	Ala.	Crane, Joseph S.	S. C.
Anderson, Mills T.	Miss.	Cullen, Thomas Frankford	Pa.
Archer, Junius L.	Va.	Curran, William	Pa.
Ashe, Richard Porter	N. C.	Davidson, Robert	Pa.
Bardin, Almon Z.	Pa.	Dejarnetti, George S.	N. C.
Bare, Adam S.	Pa.	Dilworth, Samuel, Jr.	Pa.
Barr, Peter	Va.	Eldridge, William T.	Va.
Basye, John T.	Va.	English, Leison Evander	N. J.
Bliss, William W.	Mass.	Fetherman, Abraham H.	Pa.
Boardman, Joseph C.	Conn.	Foley, James T.	Va.
Buckles, Edwin Gray	Va.	Poster, Peter S.	N. C.
Burton, John May	Va.	Garnett, John N.	Va.
Compton, Franklin M.	Tenn.	Gorman, Felix	Miss.
Cooke, Thomas J.	Va.	Graves, Robert	Va.
		Gray, Lewers Dixon	Pa.
		Green, John Burton	Va.



Green, Nathaniel Terry	Va.	Phinney, Joel B.	N. Y.
Green, Solomon	Va.	Phinney, Leander B.	N. Y.
Gregg, Edward F.	S. C.	Reid, James Alexander	Va.
Hale, John Parker	Va.	Reid, James R. M.	Ga.
Hale, Theodore B.	Pa.	Roberts, John H., Jr.	Ga.
Hambleton, Oliver E.	Va.	Rogers, Julian	Del.
Hansford, Edwin	Miss.	Royer, Lewis	Pa.
Happer, Andrew Patton	Pa.	Rucker, Angus A.	Va.
Hardey, Charles A.	La.	Savage, Owen Badger	N. C.
Harris, James W.	Ala.	Scales, Rawley A.	N. C.
Hatch, Thomas E.	N. H.	Scott, Samuel D.	Pa.
Hearne, Joseph T.	Ala.	Sharp, James H.	Tenn.
Henry, Bernard	Pa.	Shaw, Elias F.	N. C.
Holliday, Daniel C.	La.	Sherman, Washington	Pa.
Hopkins, James White	Va.	Skillman, Edward Lewis	La.
Howell, Junius H.	Tenn.	Smith, Granville	Va.
Hughes, William H.	N. C.	Stone, Henry Osgood	Mass.
Irwin, David D.	Miss.	Sykes, John B.	Ala.
Jobs, Eugene	N. J.	Taliaferro, Lewis T.	Va.
Knott, James E.	Tenn.	Taylor, John B.	Va.
Lawton, Thomas E.	S. C.	Taylor, Moses B.	N. C.
Lundy, Etheldred W.	Va.	Terrell, George F.	Va.
McClintock, Samuel R.	Pa.	Tiffin, Edward P.	Ohio
McIlhenny, William S.	Pa.	Watson, William W.	Ky.
McIntosh, William S.	Miss.	Wesson, Clement H.	Ohio
McLeod, Murdock	N. C.	Wickham, John	Va.
Mackie, William	Ky.	Wilcox, Edward S.	Pa.
Marshall, Alexander Keith	Ky.	Wilkinson, Thulbert	Ala.
Moffett, George Boone	Va.	Wilson, Benjamin	Va.
Mundy, James J.	Ala.	Wilson, William M.	Va.
Osbourn, Richard K.	Md.	Woodville, James Lewis, Jr.	Va.
Palmer, William Gray	Md.	Wylie, William	S. C.
Pettit, John A.	Ohio		

GEORGE DILWYN'S MAP OF THE VARIOUS PATHS OF LIFE.—George Dilwyn, of Burlington, New Jersey, was sojourning in London, toward the close of the eighteenth century, and he published there, at the Quaker house of Darton and Harvey, in 1794, a very curious religious game. It was entitled as above, and was a puzzle-map; that is, in pieces of uneven sizes, which had to be put together. At the top was a house called "Parental Care-Hall," out of the doorway of which proceeded paths running to the right and left. Those to the right ended at the bottom in a pale-blue "Peaceful Ocean"; those to the left ran through zig-zag ways to an indigo "Bottomless Pit." "Love-learning Pasture" was passed in youth, but dangerously near the wrong roads. Just across the boundary between good and evil was "Novel Flower-bed," connecting with "Love-learning Pasture," but on the hellward side of the line.

Can anyone locate a copy of this forgotten Sunday game?

Albert J. Edmunds.

### Book Notices.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA. Vol. VI, No. 2. March, 1916. Pp. 121.

*Contents:* The Construction of the Hindu Family and the facilities it would afford to genealogical research, by Samuel E. Stokes, Jr. Collins Bible Records. Abstracts of Wills, Washington County, Penna., by Mary Ellison Wood. Abstracts of New Jersey Commissions, by Mrs.



Harry Rogers and Mrs. A. H. Lane. Notes on the Caldwell Family of Kent Co., Delaware, by Mary C. Williams. Early Minutes of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting. Memoirs of Col. William Brooke Rawle and Oliver Hough, and 24th Annual report of the Society.

Errors in printed genealogical works come to the attention of every investigator, and to in some measure prevent the perpetuation of such errors, the committee opens the columns of the "Publications" to all members who will make corrections thereof, with authorities therefor, over their signatures. The increasing number of magazines devoted to the study of genealogy, together with the multiplying county and town histories as well as individual family histories, renders some such course imperative. The Society will give all possible aid to the furtherance of accuracy.

Since the organization of the Society in 1892, it has collected \$35,000.00, and has on its shelves 318 volumes of births, marriages and deaths; abstracts of wills; licences; certificates of removal; marriage bonds; Bible records; chart pedigrees; deeds, and Quaker Meeting Minutes. The value of the collection is recognized from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and every person engaged in genealogical research must seek its records for authentic data. Mr. C. Howard Colket, the Treasurer, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, is in immediate charge. The President of the Society is J. Granville Leach, 714 Walnut Street.

THE MASTERING OF MEXICO. By Kate Stephens. New York, 1916. The Macmillan Company. Svo, pp. 335. Illustrated. Price, \$1.50.

The stirring events of recent years in Mexico have served to draw the attention of the whole world to that distressed country and created an increased demand for information. The authoress has compiled a lively and readable story of the conquest of that country, based on the accounts of sixteenth century writers, how a few hundred Spanish soldiers under Cortez subdued thousands of warriors in their march from the sea-board to the Aztec capital city of Mexico. The book will interest all classes of readers.



THE  
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE  
OF  
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

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VOL. XL.

1916.

No. 3.

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JOURNAL OF REV. JOHN SHARPE.

(Manuscript Division of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

*A Journal of my Life—Exteriour.*

On May 15<sup>th</sup> 1680 I was born at the Church of Bourty in the Presbytery of the Garrioch in the Kingdom of Scotland. My ffather M<sup>r</sup> Alexander Sharpe Minister of said parish and Anne Douglass his wife my mother.

At nine years of age I was put under the Care of M<sup>r</sup> John Findlater M<sup>r</sup> of the Grammar School in New Aberdeen.

At 14. I was put under the Care of M<sup>r</sup> William Black professor of philosophy in Kings Colledge Old Aberdeen where I stay'd the usual term of four years and was made M<sup>r</sup> A. July 1698.

At 19 years I was sent to Edinburgh and by my Uncle M<sup>r</sup> Henry Douglas I was committed to M<sup>r</sup> George Cambell professor of Divinity where I spent the Summer.

At 20. I left my Fathers house May 18<sup>th</sup> 1700 and was accompanied by him to Aberdeen where I received his blessing at parting on that spot of ground where his Father blest him when he went to Ireland. So I came in Company with my dear ffriend M<sup>r</sup> George Seton Minister of New Mashar then sent agent by the Episcopal Clergy in the North to the parliament.





In June there was a great riot committed by a Rabble in the City from which I was delivered. D<sup>o</sup> G.

July 3<sup>d</sup> 1700: I set out from Edr to pancaitland the first night next day to Kelso where I stayed some days w<sup>t</sup> the Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Bernard McKenzie.

August I was at York with the Rev<sup>d</sup> Dr James Fall I then went to Cambridge where I stay'd two weeks & thence to London.

I saw the burial of His Royal Highness the duke of Gloucester.

Feb<sup>r</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> 1700/1 I was ordained deacon by the Right Reverend Father in God Henry Lord Bishop of London.

March 16<sup>th</sup> 1700/1 I was ordained priest.

May 18<sup>th</sup> I went from London to portsmouth.

July 3<sup>d</sup> I came on board her Maties Ship Southampton bound for Virg<sup>a</sup> and arrived there Sept<sup>r</sup> 8, 1701.

From thence in her Maties Ship Eagles advice to Maryland.<sup>1</sup>

*2<sup>d</sup> Part of this Journal began at point Love in Chesapeake bay in the province of Mary Land March 1—1703/4.*

*March 1.*—Dep<sup>t</sup> from Kent Island ab<sup>t</sup> 6 p. m. rowed to the herring gutt ab<sup>t</sup> 12 lay y<sup>e</sup> night at Cap<sup>t</sup> Hynson.

2.—Depted 6. m. fair wind arr on board y<sup>e</sup> John & Marg<sup>t</sup> in Tarlors Creek where I was civily entertained by Capt Bradley comd<sup>r</sup>. My boats crew were M<sup>r</sup> Sandford, M<sup>r</sup> Works, John Sutton & a hired Serv<sup>t</sup> arr. at M<sup>r</sup> Van de Heydens ab<sup>t</sup> 5 p. m. where we were kindly entertained.

3.—I went to M<sup>r</sup> Sewels & ret: next to w<sup>t</sup> him to M<sup>r</sup> V. H. where we staid together.

4.—I preached for M<sup>r</sup> Sewel at his Church of North Sassafra.

*May 18, 1704.*—depted from point Love 4 p. m. boats crew M<sup>r</sup> Works, Stephen Cook & Matthias poole 2 li

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<sup>1</sup>In the year 1717, Mr. Sharpe returned to London, but both the date of his death and place of burial are unknown.



sted hire of the boat & hands ab<sup>t</sup> is M<sup>r</sup> Bordley & Cap<sup>t</sup> Hynson came up w<sup>t</sup> us in the bay. I lay y<sup>t</sup> night on y<sup>e</sup> sands.

19.—Set sail at 2. m. at 3 ar. at M<sup>r</sup> Van de Heydens y<sup>r</sup> I got a horse to go to B<sup>r</sup> sewels.

20.—I borrowed M<sup>r</sup> Sewels horse & went to ye Land-  
ing.

21.—Set out & preached for M<sup>r</sup> Sewel & stayed y<sup>t</sup> night.

22.—I went to M<sup>r</sup> V. H. & after a little diversion in fishing w<sup>t</sup> m<sup>r</sup> Couls horse came to New Castle, lodged at Cap<sup>t</sup> Staples.

23.—I dined w<sup>t</sup> m<sup>r</sup> Couls. & conversed w<sup>t</sup> m<sup>r</sup> Wilson a min<sup>r</sup> at 3 p. m. I set out for philad<sup>a</sup> & arr. at Marcus hook y<sup>t</sup> night, lodged at Jer. Collers.

24.—I set out at nine & arr. at Chester stat<sup>d</sup>  $\frac{1}{2}$  ho w<sup>t</sup> m<sup>r</sup> Unhols arr at ph—ab<sup>t</sup> 2 p.m. & was at y<sup>e</sup> Christing of m<sup>r</sup> pakstons child, set out at 11 & arr

25.—assension day, at Burlington, deo Gratias 5 mal-read prayers & bapt 4 children one was Hunloke y<sup>e</sup> son of Hugh Huddy.

28.—I preached in y<sup>e</sup> morning & read prayers p. m.

*June 1.*—I disputed w<sup>t</sup> m<sup>r</sup> Killingworth an anabaptist preacher at Geo. Willis's.

2.—My goods arrived from Maryland. y<sup>t</sup> same day, I wrote to my father.

19.—I went to philad<sup>a</sup> w<sup>t</sup> the R<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Walter Kinnard lodged at M<sup>r</sup> Booths.

21.—I recommended him to y<sup>e</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> of Mary L<sup>d</sup> the Clergy & my Brn & parish of R<sup>t</sup> I.

22.—I returned to Burlington D. G. 23, 24, 26, ☉, I preached.

26.—I went over to Bristol w<sup>t</sup> some good people of Burlington.

*July 8.*—From Bur. at 10. John Barclay w<sup>t</sup> me.

9.—preached at Topinanous dined at Tho. Bowles & lay y<sup>t</sup> night at M<sup>r</sup> Reads.



11.—From Mr Reads to Mr Warrens & Amboy 12 miles.

16.—preached at Amboy.

19.—preached at Chesquealk at y<sup>e</sup> house of Francis Leets & baptized 9 children & at night back to Amboy.

22.—Set out from Amboy to Eliz town—Lodged at Coll Townleys.

23.—Trinity Sunday, preached twice, it was a very hot day, Heb. 1-1-2.

24.—From El to N. Y. in Comp<sup>a</sup> w<sup>t</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Chalwell & m<sup>r</sup> Davenport—lodged at y<sup>e</sup> printers.<sup>2</sup>

26.—To Jamaica to see Mr Urquhart inducted, bought a horse of Ja. Lewis 6£.

27.—Returned to York y<sup>s</sup> day y<sup>e</sup> city was in alarm by Sinclars ship being taken out of the hook by a french privateer.

30.—I preached at New York.

August 2.—From New York to the Yellow Hook stay'd all night went over 6 mal.

3.—To Statten Island where I preached at y<sup>e</sup> French Church & bapt a child for Mr Steward came to amboy at 12 at night.

6.—preached at Amboy & adminred the Saert to 14 Comcant.

7.—pled w<sup>t</sup> . . . near the fferry; 9.—preached at Chesqueack; 13.—preached at Midleton; 14.—Returned to amboy.

15.—Went to Elisabeth Town & had the Collecters boat by orders of Judge Mompessom arr at York 6. at night.

19.—Saturday ret to Elisabeth Town w<sup>t</sup> my boy deliverance.

20.—preached twice; 21.—Returned to amboy; 22.—Mr Talbot came; 25.—preached at the French Church on Statten Island.

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<sup>2</sup> Probably William Bradford, with whom he was well acquainted.



26.—Went to Burlington; 27.—preached twice baptized and Catechised; 28.—To philad<sup>a</sup>.

September 1.—dined at y<sup>e</sup> point Bur. w<sup>t</sup> my Ld. Cornbury. Coll Nicholson came from Virg<sup>a</sup>.

2.—at Coll Basses w<sup>t</sup> him; 3.—preached before my Lord & the assembly; 21.—To philad<sup>a</sup>; 22.—Returned; 24.—preached; 30.—To Thomas Tyndals. 2 p. m. arr. at 6.

October 1.—preached at Maiden head yn did the Inhabitants sign a letter to my Lord of London. I discoursed with some Sabbatarians; bapt three children.

2.—Met my Lord at Moores din'd at pages, sup<sup>t</sup> & Lay at Georges.

3.—To Amboy; dined at Miles Forsters—My Ld went up by water.

4.—Mr. Talbot & I rode to El. T. went aboard my Ld Sloop & run aground; 5.—we arr: at New York; 6.—A meeting of the Clergy; 7.—I went up to Jamaica 7 p. m.; 8.—Preached there twice.

19.—Commissioned Chaplain to the Queens Forces.

20.—From N. Y. to El. point; 21.—To Coll. Townleys.

22.—preached twice & went afterwards w<sup>t</sup> D<sup>r</sup> Johnston to amboy y<sup>t</sup> night.

23.—To Burlington w<sup>t</sup> Mad<sup>m</sup> Farmer arr. there ab<sup>t</sup> 8 at night & had an ague.

24.—M<sup>r</sup> Kinnard came up to see me from Maryland.

27.—To philad<sup>a</sup>; 28.—Returned; 29.—preached at Bur:

November 1.—Burlington Fair y<sup>t</sup> day arr. m<sup>r</sup> Kinnard from Amboy.

December 10.—preached at Chester or Uplands.

11.—arr at philad<sup>a</sup>.

12.—Borrowed a horse of Mr Trent & came to Bur.

14.—My Lord &c. Set out & were at Georges y<sup>e</sup> night M<sup>r</sup> Evans w<sup>t</sup> us but we.

15.—To Amboy my Ld Lodged at Cap<sup>t</sup> Billops.

16.—From Billops aboard sloop y<sup>t</sup> night it freezed





& snowed & abt 12 we run a ground & going in y<sup>e</sup> barge in stead of going up the sound to El. pt we went into Raway river where we stuck on a small Island & were like to freeze but got off & aboard, blessed be G. M<sup>r</sup> Thomas was w<sup>t</sup> us.

17.—we got to Eliz. point, it snowed much.

18.—From El. pt to Constables hook lay all night at Lambee y<sup>e</sup> weavers.

19.—To New York, deo Gratias!

25.—Christmass day I preached.

*Aprile 19, 1705.*—Went aboard the sloop Elizabeth Harpart, Jacobs m<sup>r</sup>, wind fair S. S. E.

20.—Rained all day we lay at anchor.

21.—Wind fair we sailed, till 8 at night, yn it was calm w<sup>t</sup> thunder & lightning we had Corpusant at the head of our mast 2 minutes.

22.—Sailed to Barnt Coymans y<sup>e</sup> millers yn went up in the barge & arr. at albany ab<sup>t</sup> 3. p. m. I lodged at Mad<sup>m</sup> Venhes.

23.—S<sup>t</sup> Georges day & Queen's coronan.

24.—I went w<sup>t</sup> Coll Schuyler to his ffarm.

25.—Coll Quarry and I went to Schenechtady, a new patent was granted.

26.—We returned, it rained, the patent read, 2 com. militia in arms.

29.—M<sup>r</sup> preached in the forenoon & I in the afternoon in the Dutch Church.

30.—We set sail for York.

*May 1.*—We came to Sopus Creek & his Excy attended w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> troop of Scotte, went to Kingstoun, we rid in waggons y<sup>t</sup> were two Compa of Militia.

2.—My Ld Lay at Coll Bekmans I lodged at M<sup>r</sup> Eburns—we set sail again.

4.—At 5 mal. we arrived at N. Y. Deo Gratias.

9.—In the same sloop ab<sup>t</sup> 10 to El. pt. thence aboard agn M<sup>r</sup> Emmot & Bukley to Amboy ab<sup>t</sup> 7 they plaid at dice—to amboy ab<sup>t</sup> 11. I lay at M<sup>r</sup> Forsters w<sup>t</sup> D<sup>r</sup> Johnston.



10.—At Amboy dined at Harrisons, came to Pines at 5 p. m. I lodged at pemp<sup>tn</sup> My Ld Lay at Royces.

14.—To onions's thence to George Rascarricks.

15.—Rained, we came to Burlington.

20.—I preached twice.

22.—My Lady went down to philad<sup>a</sup>.

23.—My Lord.

25.—Entertained very splendidly at Cap<sup>t</sup> Roches.

26.—We came up to Burlington D. G.

27.—Whit Sunday & Sacrament.

June 2.—My Lord Entertained at George Willis's by the Church Wardens.

3.—I preached.

4.—We set out Deo Dine from Bur. at 4 mal. I was up all night.

5.—From Georges ab<sup>t</sup> 5 mal. to Onions ffery. dined at Ryces Suped at Langfords. my horse shied.

6.—To Amboy it rained I stayed at M<sup>r</sup> Willox w<sup>t</sup> B<sup>r</sup> Talbot.

7.—To El. p<sup>t</sup>.

9.—From Sutors Island by warping & hard labour. To New York D. G.!

10.—M<sup>r</sup> Eburn preached; 15.—I was sick; 16.—I took a Vomit; 17.—M<sup>r</sup> Eburn preached.

18.—Were fitted out Jones a ship—a briganteen & two sloops & Coll peactree Mayor Comd<sup>r</sup> to go cruising after a ffrench privateer.

19.—they sailed I went as farr as y<sup>e</sup> Red Hook.

24.—I preached Jer. 5.9.

26.—My Lord went to Long Island w<sup>t</sup> some Sachems of y<sup>e</sup> French Indians & reviewed the Reg<sup>d</sup> of militia of Q<sup>s</sup> County on Hempstead plains & came to Jamaica y<sup>t</sup> night.

27.—We came to flatt lands q<sup>r</sup> my Ld viewed the Reg<sup>d</sup> of K<sup>s</sup> County; dined at flatbush & returned to York that night.

7.—I went from N. Y. to Amboy in M<sup>r</sup> Grahams boat, a Canoe to El. pt.



8.—I had a horse of Coll Townley & and. Hunton to amboy, preached.

9.—To M<sup>r</sup> Gordons. y<sup>n</sup> to M<sup>r</sup> Warrens all night, it rained hard.

10.—To D<sup>r</sup> Johnstons. M<sup>r</sup> Reids M<sup>r</sup> Bowles by Will Ronnals w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Reid to Menelapen.

11.—M<sup>r</sup> Reid w<sup>t</sup> me to pages. I came to Bur<sup>d</sup> y<sup>t</sup> night.

15.—preached at Burlington; 16.—I took physick.

17.—I Christned a Child for Jacob perkins.

18.—To philad<sup>a</sup> & by y<sup>e</sup> way conversed w<sup>t</sup> an Atheist.

20.—I went away abt 10 at night was on y<sup>e</sup> water till 4—y<sup>n</sup> arr at Chester & lay on a bed till 9.

21.—then to New Castle preached there.

22.—In the forenoon—M<sup>r</sup> Wilson I heard p. m.

23.—I hired a horse at 2s. 6d. p diem & at 8 p. m. arrived at M<sup>r</sup> Yowards at Bohemia Mannor abt 12 dined y<sup>r</sup> & to M<sup>r</sup> V. H. ab<sup>t</sup> 2 thence to Cap<sup>t</sup> Hyntons w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Ward. in  $\frac{1}{2}$  ho. returned.

26.—To M<sup>r</sup> Yowards y<sup>t</sup> night & M<sup>r</sup> Sewel w<sup>t</sup> me.

27.—Thence to New Castle ab<sup>t</sup> noon. 28.—To Chester. 29.—preached. 30.—To philadelphia.

*August 1.*—Wed. to Burlington.

5.—preached at Burlington.

6.—From Bur<sup>d</sup> at 8 mal. to amboy at S<sup>t</sup> w<sup>t</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Hamilton there I saw D<sup>r</sup> Innes & M<sup>r</sup> Read.

7.—From amboy to El. T. on Cap<sup>t</sup> Harrisons horse at 8 I parted from Coll Townley & M<sup>r</sup> Brook & arrived at York ab<sup>t</sup> 3 mal. Deo Gratias.

8.—M<sup>r</sup> Talbot went to Albany I rec'd letters from My fayr by M<sup>r</sup> Muirson then arrived w<sup>t</sup> an account of the death of my sister Marg<sup>t</sup>.

12.—M<sup>r</sup> Muirson preached in the afternoon.

*September 6.*—My Lord went a progress to long Island & I w<sup>t</sup> him for a night at I remain.

7.—Thro<sup>b</sup> Hempstead to Oysterbay we lay at Justice Whites, M<sup>r</sup> Thomas w<sup>t</sup> me.

8.—Thro. Huntington to Setaket.



9.—I preached.

10.—From Setaket to parkers.

11.—To Southampton to Dinner thence to East Hampton My L<sup>d</sup> lodged at M<sup>r</sup> Hautings, I lay at Mrs Scaligers.

12.—To Southampton my Ld lay at Cap<sup>t</sup> Stevens, I at M<sup>r</sup> Whitings.

13.—To Southhold my Ld lay at M<sup>r</sup> Younges, I at M<sup>r</sup> Griffiths.

15.—to Setaket lay at Coll Smyths.

16.—I preached.

17.—To M<sup>r</sup> Nichols to dinner.

18.—To Cap<sup>t</sup> Jones to dinner y<sup>n</sup> to Hempstead I lay at Cap<sup>t</sup> Smyths.

19.—To New York, blessed be God.

28.—I went w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> McKenzie & M<sup>r</sup> Brooks to El. p<sup>t</sup> 2 mal. we crossed over & got a boy to carry our baggage to Coll Grahams Sat. night we lay at By Vanks.

29.—I preached in the Court house.

30.—I inducted M<sup>r</sup> McKenzie to the parish of Statten Island, stay'd y<sup>t</sup> night at M<sup>r</sup> Stuarts.

*October 1.*—To Cap<sup>t</sup> Billops thence to Amboy.

3.—came back to Billops suped w<sup>t</sup> B<sup>r</sup> McKenzie, Brook Billop M<sup>r</sup> McKenzie & I came to y<sup>e</sup> ffrench minrs thence to y<sup>e</sup> widdow Stilwells q<sup>r</sup> we pted & M<sup>r</sup> Brooks & I came to York y<sup>t</sup> night.

13.—My Lord set out for amboy ab<sup>t</sup> 2. p. m. & arrived Sunday.

14.—ab<sup>t</sup> 8 mal. I read prayers; 21.—I preached.

23.—I rode to El. Town lay at Coll Townley's y<sup>t</sup> night.

24.—I came to York ab<sup>t</sup> 4. p. m.

26.—Erasmus Wilkins Hanged for Murther of a L<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Jamaica forces.

27.—I returned to amboy in Gravenraeds Sloop by y<sup>e</sup> narrows.

28.—M<sup>r</sup> Brooks preached & adminred the Sacrt<sup>t</sup>. I preached Math. 11.17.





29.—We set out M<sup>r</sup> Brooks M<sup>r</sup> Muirson, M<sup>r</sup> McKenzie & I for Burlington, I had a horse & a coat of my Lord, we came to Georges y<sup>t</sup> night.

30.—To Burlington.

31.—Convocation begun.

*November 1.*—M<sup>r</sup> Nichols preached.

2.—M<sup>r</sup> McKenzie.

3.—Convocan dissolved. M<sup>r</sup> Myles arrived.

4.—M<sup>r</sup> Crawford preached.

5.—I went to philad<sup>a</sup> lay at M<sup>r</sup> Ashtons.

6.—I came back at sunset & to Bur abt 10 at night  
Young fisher married.

7.—I set out to Hopewell & preached at Tho. Tyndals.

8.—I met M<sup>r</sup> Talbot at pages & Cap<sup>t</sup> Hamilton, it rained, went to amboy y<sup>t</sup> night.

9.—went over to Cap<sup>t</sup> Billops &

10.—Left amboy came to Capt Riddals pinnace to the p<sup>t</sup> there we dined & set out, it was foggy & when we were in the bay it blew hard we ed not get a head, it rained & blew a severe storm for two hours we knew not where we were, at last we put back & blessed be God escaped narrowly Robins Reefs & got to Coll Gramams.

11.—M<sup>r</sup> Talbot preached I set the psalm & M<sup>r</sup> Moon read prayers in the Court House of Statten Isld, we set out ab<sup>t</sup> 4 p. m. & arrived at N. Y., D. G.

17.—I went to Jamaica & 18.—I preached twice. 25.—M<sup>r</sup> Talbot preached in the forenoon & M<sup>r</sup> Brooks afternoon.

29.—I went ab<sup>d</sup> the Commadore at the watring place & thence ab<sup>d</sup> of Capt. Maddin, where I lay that night & was civilly entertained.

30.—I went ab<sup>d</sup> the commadore lay y<sup>t</sup> night & took leave of B<sup>r</sup> Talbot.

31.—Aboard Cap<sup>t</sup> Riddal took leave of Cap<sup>t</sup> Hamilton, Major Douglas Jr., went abt 3 leagues out of the hook & came up in the pilot boat. The fleet went to England. Jamaica fleet.



- 8.—preached; 15.—preached; 22.—preached.  
25.—Christmas, I preached “when the fulness of time, &c.,” it was the greatest cold was ever known in this Country.  
*January 5, 1706.*—preached I Cor. 13.13.  
*May 5.*—preached psl. 119.168.  
14.—I set out from N. Y. in my Lord’s barge ab<sup>t</sup> 8 at night & arr at Amboy ab<sup>t</sup> 2. mal thence to Bur ab<sup>t</sup> 6 y<sup>t</sup> night.  
15.—Arrived at Burlington.  
16.—An alarm of the French at Philad<sup>a</sup> the boats & ships & people came up.  
17.—I went to philad<sup>a</sup> & was forced ashore at Cap<sup>t</sup> Finnes whence I had a horse to town.  
19.—preached twice. preached psl 119.168 at philad<sup>a</sup>.  
20.—I came to Burlington.  
23.—I gave an Entertain<sup>t</sup> at the Point.  
24.—Mad<sup>m</sup> Lucting went down.  
25.—I went to Dan<sup>n</sup> Leeds w<sup>t</sup> D<sup>r</sup> Lilken.  
26.—I preached twice 2 pet. 3.15.  
27.—Waited on Mad<sup>m</sup> Ingoldsby &c to M<sup>r</sup> Claytons.  
28.—Returned.  
29.—K. Charles Birth & Return I preached & after Sermon went down to philad<sup>a</sup> & was in a severe Gust for an hower, Lord give me grace to praise him for the deliverance I arrived at philad<sup>a</sup> that night.  
30.—I returned & all y<sup>e</sup> company pleasantly to Burlington.  
31.—Set out in my return to York in a waggon drove by John Hammel, hire 4£., lay at pages first night met M<sup>r</sup> Ross there.  
*June 1.*—To George Riscarrisks to dinner & to Bentley that night.  
2.—My Lord came to Amboy, I preached before him there.  
3.—At Bentley.  
4.—At Amboy.



5.—From Bentley to New York in Carnes Boat, D. Gratias!

18.—To Long Island—at Jamaica.

19.—To Hempstead, to Jamaica that night.

20.—To New York D. G!

*September 1.*—preached in Trinity Ch. Eph. 4.7.

4.—Set out to Albany My Lord, Cap<sup>t</sup> Fame Wms &c.

15.—preached twice Heb. 3.12.

16.—To the Cohoes.

19.—We left Albany.

20.—din'd at Barnet Coymans.

22.—Esopus.

25.—to York D. G<sup>s</sup>.

26.—to Jamaica & returned.

*January 23, 1707.*—From N. Y. to Deucks at y<sup>e</sup> hook, stayed all night.

24.—Crossed the narrows & came to Justice Duxberrys abt 10 slept till 4 & thence to M<sup>r</sup> Stuarts 7 p. m.

25.—To M<sup>r</sup> McKenzies.

26.—M<sup>r</sup> Brook preached.

27.—To Bentley.

28.—To Amboy there saw M<sup>r</sup> Evans on his way to York.

29.—To D<sup>r</sup> Innes's, M<sup>r</sup> Gordon part of the way. Snowed.

30.—To D<sup>r</sup> Johnston's, M<sup>r</sup> Reads, M<sup>r</sup> Bowles, lay there snowed hard.

31.—To Bentley.

*February 1.*—To M<sup>r</sup> McKenzie.

2.—preached at the North Side.

3 & 4.—At Capt Scots.

5.—To M<sup>r</sup> McKenzies.

9.—preached at the French Church.

10.—To M<sup>r</sup> Duxberrys stay'd all night.

11.—To Long Island & to N. Y. D. G.

*March 23.*—preached in New York Col. 1.14. Set out for Burlington, My Ld, M<sup>r</sup> Anderson &c.



*Aprile 10.*—preached at Bristol in pensylvania, preached I Col. 14.

*11.*—*Good fryday.* I preached Heb. 5.9

*13.*—*Easter day.* I preached I Thess. 4.14.

*14.*—preached at Bristol in pensylvania Eph. 4.7.

*20.*—preached at Burlington buried Stuart.

*22.*—Quaker Meeting at Salem, My Lord Cornbury there.

*26.*—Survey'd the Land given for a Church by W<sup>m</sup> Hall.

*27.*—I preached.

*May 4.*—preached at philad<sup>a</sup> Church St. Jo. 3.19. L<sup>d</sup> C<sup>r</sup> pnt.

*June 2.*—*Whit sunday.* M<sup>r</sup> Moore adminred the Sacr<sup>t</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Ausden here.

*22.*—preached at New York I Cor. 15.58.

*July 6.*—preached at New York, Luke 13.24.

*20.*—preached in Tr Ch. New Y., I Cor. 15.58.

*August 17.*—preached at amboy Ia. 3.13. L<sup>d</sup> C<sup>r</sup> pnt.

*31.*—preached in New York, Math. 5.12.

*September 7.*—preached in Tr. Ch. 2 pet. 3.15.

*13.*—My Lord, Cap<sup>t</sup> Lucting, Mr Anderson & M<sup>r</sup> Delancy & Hopson aboard y<sup>e</sup> Sloop of Shibbolesh Bogardas—Coll. Cox.

*14.*—prayers—we lay y<sup>n</sup> over ag<sup>t</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Corbets.

*15.*—Thro<sup>b</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Highlands lay at polypus Is.

*16.*—To M<sup>r</sup> Sutherlands, we went a shooting pidgeons, my L<sup>d</sup> taken sick.

*17.*—Sailed.

*18.*—arrived at Albany.

*21.*—preached forenoon & afternoon gave notice of y<sup>e</sup> Sacr<sup>t</sup> my L<sup>d</sup> being sick I read prayers for him in the morning.

*23.*—L<sup>t</sup> Brewer and I went to Schenechtady we lodged in the fort.

*24.*—I preached at Schenechtady in y<sup>e</sup> Dutch Church. dined at Cap<sup>t</sup> Sanders & buried two children of John





McKintire who sickened & dyed of a day & laid in one grave, carried by 14 mourners. I ret to Albany y<sup>t</sup> night.

25.—My Lord went to Surachtogo [Saratoga]. We heard the news of M<sup>r</sup> Moores being gone.

27.—My L<sup>d</sup> returned. I dined at M<sup>r</sup> Lydius by Invit.

28.—I preached and admised the Sac<sup>r</sup>. Afternoon prayers in the Dutch Ch. & bap<sup>t</sup> two Children.

29.—My L<sup>d</sup> went to Schenectady & I. I lay at Cap<sup>t</sup> Sanders w<sup>t</sup> Major Wessey.

30.—Returned by way of Leistaghewna & dined there.

*October 3.*—Bapt W<sup>m</sup> Leonards Sentinel.

4.—We Embarqued.

5.—We lay at anchor agt Burnet the millers.

6.—Fair wind to the Roundout Kill.

7.—In the morning to Esopus.

8.—Aboard calm all day.

9.—Storm at S. B. W. lay at anchor by M<sup>r</sup> Brets.

10.—We lay at anchor under the Buterbergh.

11.—Thro<sup>h</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Highlands.

12.—Ab<sup>t</sup> 9 at night arrived in N. Y. D. G<sup>s</sup>.

14.—The Mayors Sermon preached by M<sup>r</sup> Vesey<sup>s</sup> & the feast at Harris's.

15.—I went to Long Is. w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Vesey & M<sup>r</sup> Leaths lay at Jamaica.

16.—Ret. my Lord went to amboy.

17.—I went but the tide & wind contrary at Constables Hook went ashore & lay at Capt. Scots.

19.—This morning Mad<sup>m</sup> Graham delivered of a son. I got two horses of M<sup>r</sup> Graham & Came to B<sup>r</sup> McKenzies at Stuarts I had anoy<sup>r</sup> horse & came to Bentley to amboy & read prayers & preached p. m.

21.—Walked, a shooting w<sup>t</sup> my Lord.

23.—Went over to Bentley & up to B<sup>r</sup> McKenzies.

24.—returned to amboy D. Gr!

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\* Rev. William Vesey, rector Trinity Church.



26.—preached twice psl. 66.7.

*November 2.*—It rained I read prayers at home m. & in y<sup>e</sup> Ch. p. m.

4.—The Court begun, I waited on Mad<sup>m</sup> Theod. to Raway. Coll. Quarry came.

9.—preached prayers p. m. it was Mad<sup>m</sup> Theod. Birthday.

10.—Set out to N. Y. in Cap<sup>t</sup> farmers boat. Serj<sup>t</sup> Kinnard to El. p<sup>t</sup>.

11.—It rained all day we were at York abt 4 p. m.

13.—My Lord arrived.

16.—preached forenoon & read prayers p. m.

17.—Went to Jamaica w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Chief Justice & Judge Milward.

20.—I returned abt 7 p. m. it rained all day y<sup>a</sup> was Mad<sup>m</sup> Hydes birthday y<sup>s</sup> day I reed letters from my fay<sup>r</sup> B<sup>r</sup> Will & Sister Martha.

23.—M<sup>r</sup> Daniel Bondet preached in my turn p. m. Rom. 12.1.

24.—I set out for Burlington by my Lords order, lay at B<sup>r</sup> Vesey's.

25.—It rained I lay at flatbush.

26.—I crosst the bay at y<sup>e</sup> narrows lay at Cap<sup>t</sup> Scotts.

27.—At M<sup>r</sup> McKenzies, we went to Mr. Stuarts.

28.—At amboy ferry.

29.—At Moores.

30.—*S<sup>t</sup> Andrews day & Advent Sunday*, came to Bur & preached Math. 5.12.

*December 3.*—I went down to philad<sup>a</sup> w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup>.

5.—Clifford imp.

6.—we came from philad<sup>a</sup>.

7.—preached at Burlington.

8.—went out of Town w<sup>t</sup> Tho Tyndal lay at his house y<sup>t</sup> night & left my horses at y<sup>e</sup> widow Watsons at y<sup>e</sup> Creek.

9.—preached at Freehold bapt. 2 children.

10.—preached at Hopewel & bapt 1.



- 11.—In my return lay at Cap<sup>t</sup> Newbolds.  
 12.—Ret. to Burl ab<sup>t</sup> noon D. G.  
 14.—preached.  
 15.—I went to hunt w<sup>t</sup> an Indian, I sent away Clifford.  
 16.—Went a hunting w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup>.  
 17.—Went out in M<sup>r</sup> Huddy's coach to M<sup>r</sup> Claytons.  
 18.—Returned D. G.  
 25.—*Christmass*. I preached and admin<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Sac<sup>r</sup> to  
 25 Comeants.  
*January 1, 1708*.—This day came M<sup>r</sup> Ross.  
 2.—M<sup>r</sup> Arrowsmyth buried at Philad<sup>a</sup>. Suped w<sup>t</sup> Ross  
 at Geo Willis's.  
 3.—Went over to John Hammels on the Ice.  
 4.—M<sup>r</sup> Ross preached.  
 5.—It rained and thawed.  
 6.—*Epiphany*. I preached.  
 7.—To philad<sup>a</sup> w<sup>t</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Hamilton.  
 12.—dined at Judge Growdens.  
 13.—To Frankfort w<sup>t</sup> Coll. Quarry &c.  
 14.—To Burl. went Cap<sup>t</sup> Hamilton we to Frankfort.  
 15.—To Frankfort.  
 16.—rained, I was sick.  
 17.—To Frankford.  
 18.—I preached twice & read prayers at 6 a'clock.  
 19.—I went on my Journey to N. C. w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Hen.  
 Brooks Dyer & L<sup>d</sup>, lay at Chester.  
 20.—To New Castle abt 4, lay at M<sup>r</sup> Woods.  
 21.—To M<sup>r</sup> Rosses to dinner.  
 23.—Set out ab<sup>t</sup> 10 pted w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Ross at Vande-Weers  
 after dinner & to philad<sup>a</sup> at night.  
 24.—I came to Frankfort—& to Burlington on y<sup>t</sup> Ice  
 D. G<sup>s</sup>.  
 25.—*St. Pauls day*—I preached, it snowed.  
 26.—M<sup>r</sup> Rogers, Carpenter of y<sup>e</sup> man of warr, bro't  
 me news from York.  
 27.—The philad<sup>a</sup> Genl went down.



28.—Cap<sup>t</sup> Hamilton went down, I was refining Metals  
w<sup>t</sup> ——— of sulphur.

29.—Capt Hamilton & Coll Coxe came up.

30.—I preached.

31.—I waited on Coll. Coxe to the Ferry.

*February 1.*—I preached.

2.—M<sup>r</sup> Wheeler & his wife dined w<sup>t</sup> me.

3.—Capt Hamilton & I were on the river on the Ice.

4.—George & Mary arrested.

5.—I spoke w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Att: abt it & went w<sup>t</sup> Huddy &  
Hamilton to Dan: Leeds, y<sup>e</sup> day Benj<sup>n</sup> Waller buried.

6.—Q's Birthday.

7.—the attorney released Geo: & Mary.

8.—preached & Christned M<sup>r</sup> Claytons child Martha.

10.—M<sup>r</sup> Huddy Clayton &c dined w<sup>t</sup> me.

14.—Went to W<sup>m</sup> Budds.

17.—To philad<sup>a</sup> & Capt Hamilton.

18.—*Ash wednesday*—blooded by D<sup>r</sup> Graham.

20.—Came up to Bur. D. G.

21.—I buried Jn<sup>o</sup> Wards son.

22.—M<sup>r</sup> Cary dyed—I preached.

23.—M<sup>r</sup> Cary buried I went to visit M<sup>r</sup> Ward's wife.

26.—To Bristol.

29.—John Wards wife and son buried p. m., I  
preached a funeral sermon. Rom. 13.14.

*March 2.*—Went to Hancocks & visited tewly's wife  
who was sick.

3.—To philad<sup>a</sup> dined at Frankfort.

4.—Coll Quarry's.

7.—Fair day I preached twice.

10.—At M<sup>rs</sup> Trents, I Christned Mad<sup>m</sup> Coxe.

11.—At Capt Antonies.

12.—Returned to Burlington D. Gr.

13.————w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup>.

14.—I preached Heb. 11.6—snow—C. H. slaeing.

15.—Huddys. 16.—Wheelers. 18.—At M<sup>r</sup> Budds.

19.—pain in my side. 20.—Huddys.





21.—Recd my Lord's Letter ordering me to York, I preached.

22.—Left Burl. & arrived at Tho. Tyndals.

23.—M<sup>r</sup> Wheeler &c came away we went to Maidenhead Church.

24.—M<sup>r</sup> Talbot went to Bur. I lay at Georges & Christned his child Mary.

25.—At the Ferry wind blowed I ed not get over.

26.—Blowed still I went to Thomas Bowles & stayed till,

27.—At sunset, called in at M<sup>r</sup> Warrens came to amboy & lodged at Smyths.

28.—To Elizabeth town I preached twice.

29.—I waited at y<sup>e</sup> point for a boat &c.

30.—I came over to York & escaped being killed by the boom w<sup>h</sup> broke over me. Deo Gratias!

31.—at York Church.

*April 2.—Good ffriday* I preached.

4.—*Easter day.* I preached.

23.—*Whit sunday.* I preached at Hopewell Ch., L<sup>d</sup> Cornbury pn<sup>t</sup>.

25.—Lay at Andrew Heaths, next day to Leonards, a quaker.

27.—got subscriptions for y<sup>e</sup> Church.

*June 13.—*preached at Eliz. Town, L<sup>d</sup> Cornbury pn<sup>t</sup> twice.

14.—My L<sup>d</sup> went to Judge pinhorn & achquihanon.

20.—I preached twice in Trinity Church I Cor. 13.12.

21.—I went in Compa w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Vesey M<sup>r</sup> Neau & M<sup>r</sup> Seabin to flatbush & dined at M<sup>r</sup> Freemans.

22.—dined at Cap<sup>t</sup> Matthews w<sup>t</sup> my L<sup>d</sup> Cornbury and went to Harlem ret & lay at M<sup>r</sup> Veseys w<sup>t</sup> B<sup>r</sup> McKenzie.

23.—My Lord &c we went to the Hook aboard a Briganteen, Capt Dunson & were Entertained ab<sup>t</sup> the Tritons prize Cond ☞ Cap<sup>t</sup> Narbury.

24.—We went ashore a fishing over ag<sup>t</sup> Ja: Bownes, thence that night to Middletown.



25.—To Shrewsbury where was a Court held.

26.—To Obadiah Bownes to dinner to Jn<sup>o</sup> Bownes  
y<sup>t</sup> night.

27.—To Amboy.

28.—To New York deo Gratias!

July 3.—At 11 at night I went to Elisabeth Town &  
arr at 4 mal.

4.—preached twice and baptised one child.

5.—I came home to York D. G<sup>r</sup>!

14.—Set out for Albany Lord Cornbury Coll. Red-  
knap Judge Milward & I, a fair wind to Vandingity hook  
—we had a gust.

15.—This morning we went ashore at Albart ninny's  
& catch fish, we sailed thro<sup>b</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Highlands.

16.—we had a fair wind & were taken w<sup>t</sup> a sudden  
Gust at N. nr eastwd  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an ho: afterwards we had  
our wind again & came to albany abt. 12 at night.

17.—I went & lodged at Derance Lydimis.

18.—M<sup>r</sup> Barclay preached in y<sup>e</sup> morning in y<sup>e</sup> Luth-  
eran Ch. & I in the afternoon in y<sup>e</sup> Dutch Ch.

23.—dined at Coll Schuylers farm.

24.—M<sup>r</sup> Barclay preached in the D. C. morning & I  
in y<sup>e</sup> Lutheran afternoon.

26.—My Lord was treated by the mayor & Corporan  
—abt 6. p. m. we set out & got to Barnet y<sup>e</sup> Millers.

31.—At 12 at night we came to York D. G<sup>r</sup>.

August 5.—abt 6 p. m. we set out my Lord, Redknap  
Judge Milward Cap<sup>t</sup> Bond Lancaster Lymes & I to  
amboy ab<sup>t</sup> 2 mal. I had no sleep.

6.—To Georges. 7.—To Burlington ab<sup>t</sup> noon. 8.—I  
preached. 9.—Union was proclaimed.

10.—Ab<sup>t</sup> 5 mal set out I was troubled w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> gripes,  
came to Georges ab<sup>t</sup> 5, my Lord was overcome w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup>  
heat & cd not go further y<sup>t</sup> night.

11.—at 4 mal set out to amboy ferry at 12 union pro-  
claimed & dined & to El p<sup>t</sup> ab. 10.



12.—Abt 6 mal. Set out for York arrived abt 9. Deo Gratias!

September 12.—I preached 2. Cor. 5.10.

19.—preached Eccl. 11.9.

May 6, 1709.—My Lord Lovelace dyed.

7.—Coll Ingoldsby set out for York.

8.—I preached p. m. Set out for York in my Shese & lay at Lethenties.

9.—I arrived at amboy, lay at Cap<sup>t</sup> Harrison's. Met my Cousin Douglas.

10.—I set out from El. point [illegible] went in a Canoe to Statten Island arr at York D. G.

June 10.—Friday, Coll Nicholson dined at Cap<sup>t</sup> Congreves. M<sup>r</sup> Jekell married to M<sup>rs</sup> Hannah Clark. I went towards Rye, lay at M<sup>r</sup> Bartows.

11.—To Coll Heathcots.

12.—Whit sunday—I preached at Rye twice and adminsred the Saert to 22 Comeants and Baptised some children.

13.—I came to New Rochelle & preached, M<sup>r</sup> Bartow read prayers y<sup>s</sup>day, the members of the French Church signed a deed by w<sup>t</sup> they conformed to y<sup>e</sup> doctrine & worship of y<sup>e</sup> Church of England & sev<sup>ll</sup> adresses. I came to West Chester y<sup>t</sup> night.

14.—Early I set out for York via Morisana q<sup>r</sup> I broke fast & arr D. G. & went down to Statten Island Capt Hamilton & c lay at By vancks.

15.—we went to Bentley & amboy.

16.—I came back as farr as M<sup>r</sup> Stuarts. M<sup>r</sup> Farmer & Mr McKenzy.

17.—we came to York in y<sup>e</sup> Gov<sup>rs</sup> barge.

19.—I preached. Trinity Sunday.

20.—I went up to long Island w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Neau.

21.—went to Hemstead & came back w<sup>t</sup> B<sup>r</sup> Urquhart.

22.—we returned to York.

24.—M<sup>r</sup> Urquhart & I dined w<sup>t</sup> Coll Nicholson at Foights & parted.



*Journal of the Expedition intended to Canada under the Command of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Coll: Francis Nicholson.\**

27.—Embarqued on board a Sloop w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Soldiers, one Compa W<sup>m</sup> Van Aal Coll Matthews Capt Dennie M<sup>r</sup> Rookby M<sup>r</sup> Bartler we arri y<sup>t</sup> night at the Highlands.

29.—dyed Rob<sup>t</sup> Milward Sentinel & buried on the point before M<sup>t</sup> Livingstone.

30.—ab<sup>t</sup> 10 a.m. we arrived at Albany.

July 3.— I preached on Math. 5.34.

7.—There was an Indian Kinticoy of the five nations.

8.—I heard the Mohocks Catechised.

10.—I preached. I Cor. 9.25.

11.—dined w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Lydins by Invitan.

12.—Coll Ingoldsby & Coll nicholson arrived.

14.—The Indians heard the propositions received their presents and performed their warlick dances.

16.—This day we had news of two Children Scalped at Schenctady.

17.—preached in the Dutch Church, prov. 14.34., afternoon the Mohocks were Catech: at w<sup>h</sup> Coll nicholson was present, afterward I gave them a barrel of beer.

18.—The Indians marched Mohock, Onontdagoes, Caywgoes, oncidoes, I waited on y<sup>e</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> to the Flatts where they received their amunition and provisions.

23.—an alarm y<sup>t</sup> 100 men were killed at Croyn point —I buried Roger Ch.

24.—Coll Whiting &c. went to y<sup>e</sup> Camp. I preached in the Dutch Ch. ps. 31.23.—great storm of rain.

26.—This morning an alarm from the Camp—the Gen<sup>l</sup> went up.

30.—Coll Ingoldsby &c went to York.

31.—preached in the Dutch Church Eccl. 12.1. Some of y<sup>e</sup> Jersey forces arr.

August 1.—I made ready to go to y<sup>e</sup> Camp.

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\*Lord Cornbury had appointed Mr. Sharpe "Chaplain of her Majesty's Forces in the Province of New York."





2.—I set out w<sup>t</sup> Maj<sup>r</sup> Wessels & Coll Matthews, lay at Stillwater.

3.—I came by water to y<sup>e</sup> first falls q<sup>r</sup> y<sup>r</sup> lay a pty of the Red Coats comde<sup>d</sup> by L<sup>t</sup> Dunbar, L<sup>t</sup> Hunt, & some N. E. men under L<sup>t</sup> Christophers.

4.—I walked to y<sup>e</sup> next carrying place guarded w<sup>t</sup> two men & lay y<sup>t</sup> night in Capt. Holl<sup>ds</sup> Tent, who comded y<sup>r</sup> w<sup>t</sup> Schuyler & Jackman.

5.—By water to Fort Nicholson.

6.—Coll. Matthews & major wessels arrived from y<sup>e</sup> Camp at Woods Creek.

7.—They went to albany, I preached psl. 128.1. I pitched my tent.

8.—This day an Indian quarreled with me.

11.—Coll. Schuyler L<sup>t</sup> C. Sch. & Coll. Redknap &c. were here.

14.—I preached Eccl. 12 ult.

17.—arrived Coll Matth. from Albany & some goods for me.

21.—I was Sick and could not preach, it rained very much.

22.—Coll Nicholson arr., Coll Schuler, Cap<sup>t</sup> Handy &c staid all night.

24.—Went to Woods Creek, I went y<sup>r</sup> was a Council of Warr.

27.—We returned I was Sick &

28.—I could not preach.

29.—D<sup>r</sup> Rookby &c went away; D Schuler brot me letters giving me account of my dear ffathers death & B<sup>rs</sup> — Reginem Eternam. I wrote y<sup>s</sup> day to y<sup>e</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> by L<sup>t</sup> Coll Schuler &

30.—I received a very abil ans<sup>r</sup>.

September 2.—Capt Handy was pm<sup>ted</sup> to Coll Matthews Reg<sup>t</sup> as Aid de Camp.

4.—I preached Eph. 5.14<sup>th</sup>.

7.—I went up to Camp at Woods Creek.

11.—I preached 107 pss. ult.



14.—I ret. w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Read & Cap<sup>t</sup> Harrison to F. N. & had y<sup>e</sup> news of m<sup>r</sup> Urq<sup>ts</sup> d.

16.—I wrote a Consolatory letter to M<sup>rs</sup> Urquhart & to Coll Wenham.

18.—Ab<sup>t</sup> 6 mal Major Shanks was taken w<sup>t</sup> an Apoplexy & dyed abt 11. I read prayers but was hindered from preaching by rain.

19.—arr: from y<sup>e</sup> upper Camp wooton Cap<sup>t</sup> Schuyler &c.

20.—Maj<sup>r</sup> Shanks burried, I preached psl. 90.12.

21.—I went to the Falls w<sup>t</sup> Rudyard Bartlet, we ret. y<sup>t</sup> night strangers.

23.—Rained. y<sup>s</sup> day recd a letter from M<sup>r</sup> Neau w<sup>t</sup> an inclosed from Coll. Heathcote.

24.—Cold—I was Sick & took pills.

25.—I preached prov. 21.12.

26.—A great many Sick came down from Upper Camp, Le Compt dyed & buried next day—at night adderly &c. arr. I gave a [illegible].

27.—Gen<sup>n</sup> arrived, it rained all night &

28.—rained very hard.

29.—The Gen<sup>n</sup> set out for Albany, Cap<sup>t</sup> Handy & he in a burch Canoe. Oliver Schuler Bartlet Harrison & I in a Canoes to stillwater.

30.—I rid on a waggon w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Gen<sup>n</sup> to the sprouts he took his Canoe & I came forward in a waggon to Albany D. Grs!

October 1.—Cap<sup>t</sup> Aderly dyed &

2.—was buried. Rob<sup>t</sup> McKey dyed. y<sup>e</sup> Gen<sup>n</sup> went away to New London; M<sup>r</sup> Read, Cap<sup>t</sup> Handy &c to N. Y. y<sup>s</sup> night came y<sup>e</sup> News of a N. E. L<sup>t</sup> being killed & L<sup>t</sup> Staats taken prisoner by the Fr. Indians near Fort Nicholson.

3.—Rob<sup>t</sup> M'gey buried L<sup>t</sup> Coll Schuyler & Indians went to Camp.

6.—Schyrmahoons Sloop went down. I bapt Andrew Coe Clinick.



7.—Dyed Cap<sup>t</sup> Willet abt 7 mal. arr: W<sup>m</sup> Van all Jacobs went down.

8.—Rec<sup>d</sup> lers of m<sup>r</sup> Neau &c. 9.—preached. 13.—I left Albany. 14.—Rain.

15.—Wind N. E. blowed hard in y<sup>e</sup> highlands & in y<sup>e</sup> night y<sup>e</sup> boom hurt y<sup>e</sup> Skipper.

16.—Arrived at York D. G!

17.—Got a reprieve for y<sup>e</sup> Condemned malefator, rain.

18.—S<sup>t</sup> Luke, I read prayers.

19.—Execution of—proctor. M<sup>r</sup> Barclay & his Ld m<sup>r</sup> Neau & Huddleston dined w<sup>t</sup> me.

20.—d. d. m<sup>r</sup> Bondets petition by y<sup>e</sup> L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup>.

21.—At Bowles.

23.—I preached and dined w<sup>t</sup> m<sup>r</sup> Bickley, S<sup>t</sup> Math. 22.43-44.

26.—Walked out.

27.—to Long Island m<sup>r</sup> Neau & m<sup>r</sup> Barclay.

28.—To New Rochelle by water.

29.—To Maranack.

30.—preached. Mad<sup>m</sup> Heathcote taken ill. Justice pudie buried & his Cousin.

31.—I wrote to John Barclay.

*November 1. All Saints day, went to New Rochelle.*

2.—Stayed w<sup>t</sup> B<sup>r</sup> Bondet.

3.—Went to Coll Heathcotes & returned.

4.—Set out but drove back I borrowed a horse to Westchester.

5.—To Long Island fferry went over lay at Sam<sup>n</sup> Heights in Flushing.

6.—To Jamaica I preached p.m. M<sup>r</sup> McKenzie & Stuart were there.

7.—To Flatbush & to N. Y. D. G! M<sup>r</sup> Bondet came.

9.—took phys. M<sup>r</sup> Bondets Ind<sup>ns</sup> signed &c. Gov<sup>r</sup> Ingoldsby dined w<sup>t</sup> us.

10.—M<sup>r</sup> Bondet spent y<sup>e</sup> [illegible].

12.—W<sup>t</sup> B<sup>r</sup> Barclay. it rained.



- 13.—preached at New York.
- 19.—I rid up to Jamaica w<sup>t</sup> Judge Milward &c.
- 20.—I preached twice & married Hazard & Hullet.
- 21.—It blowed very cold at North west. I sold my bald horse to Justice Bayly.
- 22.—I returned to York D. G<sup>r</sup>! M<sup>r</sup> Barclay went up.
- 23.—My horse came over—M<sup>rs</sup> Congreve taken ill.
- 24.—a meeting of the Vestry.
- 25.—I rid out w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>rs</sup> Rook by Leventhrop & M<sup>rs</sup> Tatham.
- 26.—reed a letter from L<sup>t</sup> Tatham w<sup>t</sup> one inclosed.
- 27.—*Advent Sunday*.—I preached p. m. 1 John 3. Chapter latter p<sup>t</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> v/se, rain.
- 28.—L<sup>d</sup> Cornburys birthday. I dined w<sup>t</sup> him, at night at Sister Barelays—
- 29.—fair day. I went to M<sup>r</sup> Bickleys in the morning dined at M<sup>r</sup> Waller & went out a shooting w<sup>t</sup> him & came back & suped to home I had a happy escape blessed be G from putting out my right Eye—
- 30.—*S<sup>t</sup> Andrew*. at McKlanans w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Vesey.
- December 1*.—I wrote to the Bishop of London &c rid out w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>rs</sup> Vesey, Barclay &c.
- 2.—rain. M<sup>rs</sup> Matthews, Sharpas, Tatham, Suped here—Coll Riggs went.
- 3.—I took phys dined at my Ld Cornbury's, walked out & went at night to M<sup>r</sup> Neaus.
- 4.—I preached Dent. 29 p. m. a fair day, suped at Mr Veseys.
- 5.—I wrote sev<sup>ll</sup> letters.
- 6.—I went out of Town, lay at Coll Morris's.
- 7.—To West Chester y<sup>r</sup> was Court; lay at M<sup>r</sup> Bartows.
- 8.—To Coll Morris's.
- 9.—To N. Y. met M<sup>r</sup> Evans on my way & Capt Congreve & M<sup>r</sup> Vesey at Ebets.
- 10.—I went to see M<sup>r</sup> Neau—
- 11.—I went out to Harlem & preached on y<sup>e</sup> Gospel for 2<sup>d</sup> d in Advent, lay at Cap<sup>t</sup> Codringtons.





12.—Fair Day. I returned to N. Y. D. G.!

13.—fair day in y<sup>e</sup> morning w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Smyth dined w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Vesey &c., at night w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Vesey & Evans a diem M<sup>r</sup> Stuart lodged w<sup>t</sup> me and y<sup>e</sup> night before.

14.—I went to prayers at night to see m<sup>r</sup> neau.

15.—M<sup>r</sup> Evans & Stuart went away I had a violent headach.

16.—Sick, I sent for D<sup>r</sup> Law. I read S<sup>t</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> meditations.

17.—I went over the ferry, I was Sick but had promised to preach at Jamaica, I got a waggon w<sup>h</sup> carried me from y<sup>e</sup> ferry 8 miles, I walked 4 miles on foot—before I went I sent M<sup>rs</sup> Tudor.

18.—preached at Jamaica, morning, Heb. 1.1.2., p.m. I Jo. 4.9.; at night I wrote letters.

19.—Sick, it rained; M<sup>r</sup> Woolsey conversed w<sup>t</sup> me.

20.—rain. I suped w<sup>t</sup> Judge milward 2ss. 6d.

21.—I dined w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Supervisors & went to Hempstead. lodged at M<sup>r</sup> Thomas's.

23.—Snow—I went w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Tho & his wife to see Justice Tredwell.

24.—Returned to Jamaica by—Smyths formerly Justice of peace.

25.—*Christmas*. preached Gal. 4.4.5 and adminstred the Saert to Nine Communicants, p. m. preached S<sup>t</sup> Luke 2.10.11.

26.—Rained. I dined at L<sup>t</sup> Walters's.

27.—Came on foot 8 miles to Flatbush. Lay at M<sup>r</sup> Freemans. Snow.

28.—*Innocents day*. visited the Jesuits & conversed de Transub. N. W.

29.—after dinner at m<sup>r</sup> Freemans, came to N. Y. Deo Gratias!

30.—Rain. I was at my Study—at night went to see M<sup>rs</sup> Barclay.

31.—Saturday fair day, at Study; I visited L<sup>d</sup> Cornbury—and returned to my study.



January 2, 1710.—Monday recd & payd 5li. Capt Holt & M<sup>r</sup> Falkner dined w<sup>t</sup> me at night at my Lord Cornburys & McKlannans w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Clowes.

3.—Rid out w<sup>t</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Congreve Ma<sup>d</sup>m Bickley Rookby & Tatham, dined at Bass bowary, suped at M<sup>r</sup> Bickleys—was at M<sup>r</sup> Neau's & M<sup>rs</sup> Barclay's.

5.—M<sup>rs</sup> Matthews Wilson Rookby Bickley Tatham & suped w<sup>t</sup> me.

6.—*Epiphany day.* I left York & went as farr as new Rochelle on my way to Stratford where I was sent for by the members of the Church of England there to preach. I had a fall from my horse but thank God rec<sup>d</sup> no hurt.

7.—Snowed. Coll Heathcote was at N. Rochelle, I went w<sup>t</sup> him to his house.

8.—To Rye Church, I preached a. m. & p. m.

9.—To New Rochelle I inducted M<sup>r</sup> Bondet.

10.—To Dinner at M<sup>r</sup> Vallam's at night M<sup>r</sup> Bondet & I to y<sup>e</sup> Coll.

12.—Set out from Coll Heathcots, w<sup>t</sup> him we lay at Maj<sup>r</sup> Sellecks at Stamford that night.

13.—To Norwalk, we lay at Beldens.

14.—To Fairfield, we were met by M<sup>r</sup> Johnston, M<sup>r</sup> Dunlap & M<sup>r</sup> Blackleech; went to Stratford that night.

15.—I preached twice forenoon psl. 31.26 p. m. Rom. 2.4.

16.—Dined at M<sup>rs</sup> Edwards, Choice of Vestry & Church wardens.

17.—dined at M<sup>r</sup> Blackleeches.

18.—dined at M<sup>r</sup> Dunlaps, it rained. at night he & M<sup>rs</sup> Dunlap & I rode to Fairfield & lay at M<sup>r</sup> Lewes's—I was much wett.

19.—I went to visit the Deputy Gov<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>r</sup> Web the min<sup>r</sup> of the place. I preached at M<sup>r</sup> Lewis's and lay that night at M<sup>r</sup> Sturges' a publick house. Coll Heathcote, Dunlap his bet Johnston.

20.—Coll Heathcote went away. We came to Stratford back.



22.—I preached twice and gave notice of the Sacrt. Tex. I Cor. 15.58, both parts.

23.—Visited M<sup>r</sup> putnam, M<sup>rs</sup> Laborie & M<sup>rs</sup> Edwards—M<sup>r</sup> Bridge came.

24.—Snowed hard. Visited M<sup>r</sup> Nisbet.

25.—M<sup>r</sup> Bridge went forward to Rye. I went to M<sup>r</sup> Janes.

26.—To Longhill; preached Eph. 5.15.16; a congregan of 200; the greater part wherof had never heard the Common prayer.

27.—Baptised Isaac Styles, the first male child born in the Colony of Connecticut, a man of 80 years of age. Visited one Zackary, a sick person—dined at L<sup>t</sup> Johnsons—and returned to Stratford.

28.—I stayed at home at Study; I recovered my illness.

29.—I preached. a. m. & admintd the Sacrt to 25 Communicants; p. m. preached Luke 16.2. & Christned three Children.

30.—*K. C. Martyr'd.* I preached Rom. 13.1. & p. m. Visited.

31.—I bought my horse darling, set out at noon & preached at Stratford Math. 11.34. I rode to Greens farms & lay at Simon Couches.

*February 1.*—Came to Norwalk, there met M<sup>r</sup> Bridge, we came thence in Company w<sup>t</sup> the Deputy Gov<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>r</sup> Davenport to Stanford.

2.—*Candlemass.*—To Snowfields it rained very hard—here M<sup>r</sup> Dunlap overtook us. we rode in the rain to Coll Heathcots y<sup>t</sup> night.

4.—A fair day, stayed at Manaranack.

5.—*Septuagesima.*—M<sup>r</sup> Bridge preached at Rye A. M. Jo. 21.15.16., I preached p. m. Math. 11.34.

6.—Came to New Rochelle, Queen's birthday.

7.—I came to York. Glory be to God!

8.—I visited y<sup>e</sup> L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>r</sup> Neau.

9.—I visited L<sup>d</sup> Cornbury &c.



10.—At Church to prayers dined w<sup>t</sup> the L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup>, suped w<sup>t</sup> L<sup>d</sup> C.

11.—I rode out to see Capt Codrington who was sick.

12.—I went over to Long Island about Sunrising & rode up to Jamaica & preached a. m. John 1.16. p. m. Math. 6.9, and come over to York ab<sup>t</sup> 8 at night. D. Gr!

13.—Dined w<sup>t</sup> Coll Graham at night, at M<sup>rs</sup> Bickleys bals night.

14.—W<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Neau at Bongounds, at Olivers.

15.—Mist the prayers, visited M<sup>r</sup> Vesey & walked out.

17.—Dined at McKlannans, thunder, Lightning & rain.

18.—at Study all day. M<sup>rs</sup> Rookby & T here at night.

19.—Sacrament day at night to M<sup>r</sup> Veseys.

21.—Dined by Invitan at M<sup>rs</sup> Evans's. *Shrove Tuesday*—walked out w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Neau.

22.—*Ash wednesday*, at Church to prayers. M<sup>r</sup> Vesey & Cap<sup>t</sup> Congreve went to Long Island, at night at M<sup>d</sup> Bickleys.

23.—Rid out w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>rs</sup> Vesey &c. Snowed hard.

24.—*St. Matthias*. Snowed hard dined at the attorney genls by Invitation. at night I had a cholick.

25.—deep snow.

26.—I preached I Cor. 13.13.—at night Christned y<sup>e</sup> child of M<sup>r</sup> Harris & visited the Sick.

27.—I went out in a Slae to the Bass bowry; at night M<sup>r</sup> Bridge came.

28.—I was ill.

*March 1.—Wednesday*. Dined at my L<sup>d</sup> Cornburys, suped at McKlannans.

2.—M<sup>r</sup> Bridge went out of Town.

3.—I went about for Subscripsns for N. R. Church, at night at M<sup>r</sup> Veseys.

4.—Jesuit in Town; visited the Lutheran Mins<sup>r</sup> & called to M<sup>rs</sup> Eccles.





5.—I heard M<sup>r</sup> Vesey on Ezekiel 18.28., at night at M<sup>r</sup> Neaus.

6.—I rid out in my Siae with &c, the day was unprofitably spent Lord pardon me & give me grace to redeem my time!

7.—I was at M<sup>r</sup> Neaus's &c.

8.—Queen's proclamans.

10.—M<sup>r</sup> Tatham Came, Suped at McKlannaus.

11.—I went out of Town to Coll Morris's.

12.—I preached at Harlem, Math. 11.34. penult.

13.—Returned to York. D. G.!

14.—Dined at Evetts, M<sup>r</sup> Vesey & some Ladys. I paid 19/<sup>s</sup> 6d.

18.—went out a shooting, at night.

19.—M<sup>r</sup> Vesey preached Act. 2.37., dine at Att. Genll.

20.—It rained, I got License for Church at N. Rochelle.

21.—With the Company for patents.

22.—Ditto.

23.—Ditto. Sick at night.

24.—Let blood by D<sup>r</sup> Johnston.

25.—Snow in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon; at my Ld Cornburys at night.

26.—I went over the ferry & preached at Jamaica a. m. Luke 1.30.31., p. m. Col. 1.14. Stayed all night.

27.—To N. Y. D. Gratias! at night w<sup>t</sup> M. D. Tatham & Hudys.

28.—To N. Rochelle at 12 to Coll Heathcots, we proposed a Town meeting to agree on a proper place on the street to build a Church for the Ch of England. M<sup>rs</sup> Hester Walker dyed.

29.—This day the people met & after some debate we agreed to build it near the place des armes where the horse pound stands. We dined w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Bondets at night wrote 4 letters: Viz to M<sup>r</sup> Evans, Tulbot, Honyman & Myles to beg contribution in y<sup>e</sup> parishes towards the work.



30.—We returned M<sup>r</sup> Neau his B<sup>r</sup> & I by west Chester & to N. Y. D. G.! abt 6 aclock & I visited M<sup>r</sup> Barclay.

31.—prayers at Ch. w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Barclay & vesey at night [illegible].

*Aprile 1.*—I went over the Ferry & rode up to Jamaica, lay at M<sup>rs</sup> Urqhts.

2.—I preached forenoon & afternoon Heb. 5.9 & gave notice of the Sacrament & Sermon on Saturday before Easter.

3.—At prayers. at night w<sup>t</sup>—— Suped w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Drawyers.

4.—At prayers. I walked out to M<sup>r</sup> Falkners.

5.—At prayers. Drunk Tea at night.

6.—At prayers—dined at my Lord Cornbury's—sick at night.

7.—*Good Friday.* I preached Rom. 5.8, it rained.

8.—I went over to Jamaica & preached Rom. 5.8 and

9.—*Easterday.* I preached there a. m. Math. 28.6 and adminstred the holy Sacrament to 14 Communicants and p. m. I preached I Cor. 15.55 & Baptised two Children and at night I came to N. Y. D. G.!

10.—This day came news of Coll Ingoldsby's being put out from the Gov<sup>rt</sup> of both provinces. I dined at Harris's.

11.—I dined at Harris's.

12.—The Sheriff of Q<sup>s</sup> County informed me that yesterday the dissenters at Jamaica made a forcible entry into the Church, all night at the French Garden.

13.—I waited on y<sup>e</sup> president of the Council abt Jamaica Church. I rid out with some Company at night I solemnized the marriage of Nath<sup>n</sup> & Elis: Brittain at y<sup>e</sup> house of M<sup>r</sup> Crannell.

14.—I read prayers at Church p. m. I went to Flatbush & prevailed w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> president to have council to morrow abt Jamaica Church.

15.—I waited on the Council but nothing was done



about Jamaica Church; afternoon I walked out alone, at night studied.

16.—I preached in the forenoon on I Tim. 6.12. dined at M<sup>r</sup> Vesey's. at night Cap<sup>t</sup> Codrington was buried; M<sup>r</sup> Vesey preached Rev: 14<sup>th</sup> 13.

18.—I dined at Harris's. I got two pistols for N. Rochelle Church. p. m. I visited. I walked out to Evetts. at night M<sup>r</sup> Bridge came to Town, I was w<sup>t</sup> him at Harris's. M<sup>r</sup> Bondet came.

19.—A minster dined at M<sup>r</sup> Glencrosses; p. m. w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Bondet.

20.—M<sup>r</sup> Bondet went out of town, I dined at M<sup>r</sup> Vesey's, at night w<sup>t</sup> a Comsn<sup>r</sup> at Webs's, lay at M<sup>r</sup> Veseys, spent 29<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>d</sup>.

21.—I read prayers. M<sup>r</sup> Bridge went out of Town, I removed from Cap<sup>t</sup> Congreves to M<sup>rs</sup> Davis's; at night w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Barclay at M<sup>r</sup> Klan's.

22.—A Study. Stuart in Town. M<sup>r</sup> Vesey & M<sup>r</sup> Barclay at my chamber.

23.—I preached in the morning Luke 13.7. Queen's Coronan day I was at the Fort. p. m. M<sup>r</sup> Barclay preached on the parable of the sower; dined at my Lord Clarendons.

24.—It rained—I was walking p. m., strained my knee.

25.—*St. Marks day.* at night at Swift's w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Barclay. I was ordered to go to Albany.

26.—dined at M<sup>r</sup> Veseys. at night there—

27.—I set out for Albany abt sunset in Nannings Sloop, aboard Cap<sup>t</sup> Scuyler & his wife M<sup>r</sup> Cuyler & his wife the wife of Rosabun—Rob<sup>t</sup> Wendal Cap<sup>t</sup> Wessel tenbrook & M<sup>r</sup> Groosbeek to tapann.

28.—to the Dance Camer.

29.—to Albany abt 6 at night, Lodged at M<sup>r</sup> Henrick Hansons.

30.—I preached at the Lutheran Church; dined w<sup>t</sup> Coll Matthews and Cap<sup>t</sup> Hollands.



*May 1.—S<sup>t</sup> Philip & Jacob.* I read prayers. afternoon I went up to Schechtady in Cap<sup>t</sup> Sanders waggon M<sup>r</sup> Huddy w<sup>t</sup> me. lay at M<sup>r</sup> Dowes.

2.—I set out in a waggon L<sup>t</sup> Huddy w<sup>t</sup> me, came half way to the Magua Castle dined there & was taken into a large Canoe by 5 Indian women & carryed to the Castle, where I was kindly entertained a Sachem met me half way to the landing & when I entred the gates the drums beat.

3.—I preached to the Indians, Ryer Schermahorn interpreted into Dutch & Lea Carler alias Stevens into Indian. After w<sup>b</sup> I gave y<sup>m</sup> a barrele of beer & was presented w<sup>t</sup> several things by them. abt 12 I came away & arrived at Schenectady abt 9.

4.—I preached here Eph. 5.16. and baptised a negro & christian Child. I lay at Adam Trowmans two miles from town.

5.—I arrived at Albany ab<sup>t</sup> 12, Suped at Cap<sup>t</sup> Weems's; it rained.

6.—It rained hard; suped at Hogans.

7.—I preached I Cor. 11.28. & adminred the Sac<sup>t</sup> to 8 Comecants & dined at Cap<sup>t</sup> Weems's at night at the ffort.

8.—Adrian went down, I dined at Hogans, Suped there.

9.—I dined at Hogans, at Study all day, at night at Capt Weems's.

10.—prayers. I walked to the miln at night at Cap<sup>t</sup> Weems's.

11.—Study till 12., dined at Hogans, walked, suped at Moudert Schuylers.

12.—prayers, dined at Hogans, the Reg<sup>t</sup> of the County in arms; at night I walked.

13.—at Study. dined at Hogans—5 Sloops from York, I had letters.

14.—I preached Eccles. 11.9., pm. prayers Visited by





some French Indians of the Natn of Cachnowagan, one of w<sup>e</sup> had been a praying Indian 30 years.

16.—I was at night w<sup>t</sup> Colls Matthews, Renslaer & Schuyler, a post from N.E., also the Spies sent to Canada, visited owen owens Sick.

17.—prayers I went a fishing before 5 in the morning; p. m. I wrote letters to N. Y. Owens dyed.

18.—*Ascension day.* I preached Luke 24.51. Sent a letter to Canada.

19.—I buried Owen Owens, Sentinel in Cap<sup>t</sup> weem's Company.

20.—At night at Cap<sup>t</sup> Brewers.

21.—preached Heb. 11.6 p. m., prayers, Vaness went down.

22.—At night at Hogans w<sup>t</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Weems.

23.—I set out after dinner & turned down to the sawmill.

24.—Wind at South, we catcht much fish.

25.—fair wind—we arrived at Sopus Creek, I went up to y<sup>e</sup> Town it was very hot I came on board at night.

26.—I went to Town and borrowed a horse of Major Windrup & rode to Hurley & Marbletown & lay at M<sup>r</sup> Cocks.

27.—Returned. 28.—I preached twice, Luke 11<sup>th</sup> 13. in the Dutch Church.

29.—K. C. 2<sup>d</sup> Ret. I set out in a Canoe & was in much danger of drowning but escaped, Lord make me thankful! I got to the house of Michael pacmitier.

30.—I went aboard Livingstons Sloop & come thro<sup>h</sup> the highlands. Suped at Cortlands. sailed to Corbets.

31.—I set out abt 12 came in a Canoe to York, Glory to God, Amen!

*June 1.*—I went over the Ferry w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Vaughan & M<sup>r</sup> Neau.

2.—M<sup>r</sup> Vesey &c returned; at night I visited M<sup>r</sup> Barclay &c.

3.—M<sup>r</sup> Vaughan went away.



4.—I preached forenoon & afternoon in Trinity Church. Luke 11.13.

5.—At night I was w<sup>t</sup> Mr. Barclay at McKlannans.

6.—M<sup>r</sup> Ross in Town, Supreme Court.

7.—At prayers. p. m., to M<sup>r</sup> Falkners.

8.—At Spring garden w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Vesey, Ross Stuart, home early.

9.—At McKlannans w<sup>t</sup> the affors'd & M<sup>r</sup> Barclay.

10.—I went out of Town in order to go to N Rochelle but was forced by y<sup>e</sup> rain to put in at Coll. Morris.

11.—It rained. I read prayers at Coll Morris, at night I set out to N. Rochelle was belated & lost my way I arrived at N. R. abt 9. at night. arrived y<sup>e</sup> Lyon of Lieth, Cap<sup>t</sup> Stevenson Comd<sup>r</sup>.

12.—I went to Coll Heathcots & stayed all night.

13.—I came back to N. R. & thence to York abt 10. I was y<sup>n</sup> informed y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Lyon of Lieth arrived w<sup>t</sup> 402 palatinates, y<sup>t</sup> 200 were dead in y<sup>e</sup> Voyage. Also y<sup>e</sup> Feversham w<sup>t</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Hid.

14.—This day arrived y<sup>e</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> w<sup>t</sup> 5 ships of the fleet, Capt Scot & Coll. Riggs &c.

15.—This day his Excy published his Commission at the City Hall & was Entertained by Coll Beekman, president of y<sup>e</sup> Council, at Harris's—I recd a letter from y<sup>e</sup> Bp of London.

16.—I was sick—5 ships came in. 17.—I was at Study. 18.—I preached prov. 29.2. p. m., Gov<sup>r</sup> pnt.

19.—w<sup>t</sup> D<sup>r</sup> Innes & M<sup>r</sup> McKenzy. 20.—din'd at McKlannans w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Barclay. 21.—prayers, dined at M<sup>r</sup> Veseys. 22.—The Clergy dined w<sup>t</sup> me. 23.—prayers. Gov<sup>r</sup> went to y<sup>e</sup> Jerseys, dined w<sup>t</sup> Coll Riggs.

24.—S<sup>t</sup> Jo: Bapt. at prayers in Ch & w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> palatines. Gov<sup>r</sup> Ret.

25.—I went over & preached at Jamaica. a. m. Josh. 24.15. p. m. S<sup>t</sup> Luke 13.7.; returned at night D. G.!

27.—We were at M<sup>r</sup> Neaus. 28.—prayers in the Fort.

30.—prayers in the fort, at night I visited M<sup>r</sup> Barclay.



*July 1.*—The Council dined w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup>.

2.—Sacrament at T. Church, p. m. I preached aboard the Lowship Cap<sup>t</sup> Gordon commander prov. 21.12.

3.—I wrote by M<sup>r</sup> Neau.

4.—M<sup>r</sup> Vesey & his Lady &c dined at y<sup>e</sup> fort.

5.—I dined at McKlannans w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Sinclair & Douglas; afterwards we went on board Cap<sup>t</sup> Gordon & were at night in Spring garden.

6.—Gov<sup>r</sup> dined at M<sup>r</sup> Bickleys, at night M<sup>rs</sup> McKenzy and some others were drinking tea at my chamber.

7.—I stayed w<sup>in</sup> till 3 p. m., walked out w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Falkner and D<sup>r</sup> Lilkie, it rained hard this night.

8.—The Gov<sup>r</sup> dined on board the Commadore I was y<sup>r</sup> also; it rained very hard all night, I was very much wet.

9.—M<sup>r</sup> Barclay preached a. m., I read prayers in y<sup>e</sup> fort after sermon & p. m. preached Josh. 24.15.

10.—Gov<sup>r</sup> treated by Cap<sup>t</sup> Weems, M<sup>r</sup> Bondet in Town.

11.—By Coll. Matthews. I was at Coll Depeysters garden.

12.—By M<sup>r</sup> Livingston. Coll Heathcote in Town.

14.—fair day—I walked at night w<sup>t</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Web.

15.—M<sup>r</sup> Barclay went up to Albany; French merc<sup>t</sup> arr<sup>d</sup>.

16.—M<sup>r</sup> Vesey preached A. M., M<sup>r</sup> Poyer p. m.

17.—I went up to Jamaica to Induct M<sup>r</sup> poyer; dined at M<sup>r</sup> Ives by the way at night to Jamaica. abt 5 a Jury of Inquest sat on y<sup>e</sup> body of Jonathan Everet. lay at Wiggans.

18.—I inducted M<sup>r</sup> poyer abt 10, at 12 I went to y<sup>e</sup> parsonage to demand possession. Coll. Willet went at 4, at 5 he gave his warrant to y<sup>e</sup> Sherrif, we came away at 7., got to y<sup>e</sup> ferry at 9 & to York D. Gratias!

19.—prayers, waited on y<sup>e</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> abt Jamaica.

20.—At night in M<sup>r</sup> Hardens Garden w<sup>t</sup> some Company.



21.—prayers. M<sup>r</sup> Bondets affair.—

22.—I was kindly in-treated; sick all night & restless.

23.—Sacrament at T. Church, I preached A. M. Eccl.

11.9.

24.—M<sup>r</sup> Ross in town, at night w<sup>t</sup> him & M<sup>r</sup> Fraser at McKlannans.

26.—M<sup>r</sup> McKenzie in Town, at home early, sat w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Handen, rain.

28.—Gov<sup>r</sup> dined at M<sup>r</sup> Rookbys.

29.—My Lord Cornbury went aboard to go to England.

30.—I preached a. m. Luke 13.24., p. m. read prayers & bapt y<sup>e</sup> Child of W<sup>m</sup> White & two negro Children. buried the Lieu<sup>t</sup> ——— of the Lyon of Lieth. Visited & bapt a sick negro man.

31.—Visited M<sup>r</sup> Gordon, we walked out to Everts's at night w<sup>t</sup> G. & M.

*August 1.*—The men of warr sailed at night; at M<sup>r</sup> Klannans at Coll Morris &c.

2.—At night w<sup>t</sup> D<sup>r</sup> Innes &c at y<sup>e</sup> Boot.

3.—The Gov<sup>r</sup> went to Albany.

4.—I went twice at night at M<sup>r</sup> Neau's. Sick in the night.

6.—M<sup>r</sup> Vesey preached a. m. Math. 7.7. I p. m. Heb. 11.13.

7.—abt 5 In the morning I went w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Neau to lay the foundan of New Rochelle Ch., we went over at Coll Morris's and waited on him. M<sup>r</sup> Beys &c. we arr. at New Rochelle abt 4.

8.—Coll Heathcote came to us & we agreed abt the place for building the Church where after some interruption by Lewis Le Forgeron we begun. M<sup>r</sup> Bondet laid the first stone S. E. Coll Heathcote y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> N. E. Coll Morris y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> S. W. I laid one by his & so we prayed God would prosper the Church of S<sup>t</sup> peters at new Rochelle. we came away together, Mr. Neau & I lay at the bridge all night and abt 5.





9.—We set out for York where we arr. as y<sup>e</sup> bell rung for Church abt 8 mal. D. G.!

10.—We rode out to the Bass bowary. at night I Christned the daughter of Capt Congreve Anne.

11.—We rode out to Hannes Waldroms and returned at night.

13.—I heard M<sup>r</sup> Vesey. dined w<sup>t</sup> Capt Gordon and read prayers aboard his ship afternoon. Cons.

15.—I borrowed a boat of Capt Paston & went aboard w<sup>t</sup> some company, returned at night.

16.—I went down to Statten Island w<sup>t</sup> Coll. Grahams boat & lay at By Vanks.

17.—Early I set out on foot & arrived at M<sup>r</sup> McKenzies.

18.—We went to Stonybrook, I stayed there all night.

19.—I returned w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Stuart to M<sup>r</sup> McKenzies.

20.—I preached psl. 119.168. in the French Church & came to By Vanks stayed all night.

21.—To New York in Bass John's Boat, Deo Gratias! at night w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Neau & M<sup>r</sup> Bard at McKlannans.

22.— ——— w<sup>t</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Gordon &c. 23.—dined w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Vesey. 24.—dined w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Neau. 25.—dined at Harris. Capt Hamilton arr from Bos.

27.—I preached p. m. S<sup>t</sup> Mark 10.17. The Gov<sup>r</sup> arrived from Albany.

28.—The palatines were in arms. I walked out & met y<sup>m</sup>.

29.—I walked out to see M<sup>rs</sup> Weems, rain.

30.—prayers. y<sup>e</sup> day Coll Gougan dined at y<sup>e</sup> fort.

31.—I went over the ferry a shooting—

*September 1.*—prayers, at Study. Assembly begun.

3.—Sacrament day I preached p. m. Mark 10.22.

4.—I rode out to Mad<sup>m</sup> Codringtons. at night sick.

6.—prayers. Glasier begun at night a Consort at M<sup>r</sup> Broughtons.

7.—Coll Heathcote in Town. D<sup>r</sup> Law Clinik recd Sac<sup>r</sup>t 11 at night.



10.—M<sup>r</sup> Vesey preached a. m. 2. Thess 1. I p. m. Jo: 13.35.

11.—I visited M<sup>r</sup> Rory, buried a Child, visited sick & was sick in the night.

12.—I went out of Town to New Rochelle. 13.—I went to Maranack, D<sup>r</sup> Law dyed. 14.—I returned to N. Rochelle. 15.—I came to York Deo Gratias! 16.—Gov<sup>r</sup> went to Amboy, returned 17<sup>th</sup> I dined at M<sup>r</sup> Veseys.

17.—I preached in Trinity Church twice on y<sup>e</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> of the 7<sup>th</sup> Ch of S<sup>t</sup> Luke.

18.—M<sup>r</sup> Freeman in town; M<sup>r</sup> Falkner came down.

19.—I went out to see Mr Falkner.

20.—at prayers. at night at Cap<sup>t</sup> De peysters. Coll. Heathcote in Town.

21.—S<sup>t</sup> Matthew's day. I dined at M. 2 privateers came in w<sup>t</sup> a prize.

24.—preached p. m. Math. 6.19.20. M<sup>r</sup> Vesey a. m.

26.—Mr Hegar & Capt Woolfen suped with me.

27.—I went a shooting after dinner at the Mayors.

28.—At night a Consort at M<sup>r</sup> Broughtons.

29.—S<sup>t</sup> Michael's day. at noon walking, I waited on y<sup>e</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> to visit M<sup>r</sup> Vesey.

30.—The Gov<sup>r</sup> went up to Settle y<sup>e</sup> palatines.

October 1.—I preached p. m. Math. 11.30. 2. a. m. at night I was y<sup>r</sup> it was a very severe storm.

3.—I dined at the Fort; at night at Harris's w<sup>t</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Holland &c.

4.—I went out a shooting.

5.—Messrs Hegar, Douglas & Hunter dined w<sup>t</sup> me— at night y<sup>t</sup> rain.

11.—I walked out at night ——— M<sup>r</sup> Wats came from D<sup>r</sup> Tho.

15.—M<sup>r</sup> Vesey preached a. m. psl. 84.7 I p. m.

17.—M<sup>r</sup> Neau, M<sup>r</sup> Hegar & I walked out to M<sup>r</sup> Falkners.

18.—S<sup>t</sup> Lukes day. M<sup>r</sup> Talbot in Town. visited.

19.—We dined at M<sup>r</sup> Neau's, Mr Talbot went away.



20.—Y<sup>e</sup> Compa in arms, prayers: I walked out.

23.—Gov<sup>r</sup> dined at the Mayors—I went out a shooting.

28.—M<sup>r</sup> Adams came to Town, news of the taking port Royal.

29.—M<sup>r</sup> Vesey preached a. m. M<sup>r</sup> Adams p. m. psl. 4 Verse 5<sup>th</sup>.

30.—M<sup>r</sup> Poyer in Town, I was at the Garden.

31.—At night at Swifts w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Thomas.

*November 1.*—At night at Drummonds w<sup>t</sup> Adams &c.

2.—This day I was married to My Dearest M<sup>rs</sup> Margarit Dreyer. Deo Gloria in Eternum!

3.—We were honoured with much company. 4.—M<sup>r</sup> Adams & Douglas went away. 5.—Gunpowder Treason. M<sup>r</sup> Vesey preached. 12.—I preached a. m. Luke 22.19. Sacrament day.

19.—I preached a. m. I. John 5.4. rain. Mr Vesey p. m. Math. 7.12.

21.—I walked to flatbush & back, at night Mr Bondet came.

22.—prayers at night w<sup>t</sup> B<sup>r</sup> Bondet.

23.—I dined in the fort.

24.—at night walked round the common.

25.—It rained hard I was at Study—at M<sup>r</sup> Rega.

26.—M<sup>r</sup> Vesey preached S<sup>t</sup> Matth. 7.21. I p. m. S<sup>t</sup> Matth. 7.7.

28.—M<sup>r</sup> Vaughan came & Mrs. Willox, y<sup>e</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> went away, at night at Romers.

30.—S<sup>t</sup> Andrew—prayers. walked out at night, at the boot w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Keil.

*December 1.*—At home all day, at night in y<sup>e</sup> Fort w<sup>t</sup> D<sup>r</sup> Keil &c.

3.—M<sup>r</sup> Vesey preached a. m. act. I p. m. S<sup>t</sup> Matth. 7.7.

5.—I wrote letters—at night D<sup>r</sup> Keil took his leave.

6.—the pacquet sailed, I went up to Jamaica. 7.—M<sup>rs</sup> R. D. P. married.

24.—I went to Kips bay & preached aboard the Feversham, Eccl. 12.13.



25.—*Christmass day* I preached S<sup>t</sup> Math. 18.11. very stormy rain.

27.—*S<sup>t</sup> Johns day.* This day M<sup>r</sup> Rooksby dyed.

31.—Lord forgive me the sins of the past year, and all former years of my life and grant y<sup>t</sup> what remains may be spent in a strict and constant attendance on the Duties of Religion y<sup>t</sup> living in thy fear I may dy in thy favour & be forever happy with thee for Jesus Christ his sake amen!

(To be continued.)





## LETTERS OF MORE THAN LOCAL INTEREST.

(Manuscript Division, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

*Capt. Henry W. Archer to Gen. Anthony Wayne.*<sup>1</sup>Philadelphia July 28<sup>th</sup> 1779.

My dear General,

I arrived here on Sunday morning at half past 10 oClock. From various impediments I could not get from New Windsor till near four Thursday afternoon. I rode that Eveng to Mr Wickham's 21 miles from N. W. Made 46 miles the next day, & slept at Hacketstown. Got up in the morning at 2 oClock & made the Billet by 9 oClock in the Evening being 63 miles that day, and within 16 of Phil<sup>a</sup> at which place I breakfasted, at the Presidents' of Congress. I was obliged to press a horse for one of the dragoons on the road which I suppose Nero will complain of at Head Quarters. I came into the city with Colours flying, Trumpet sounding, and heart elated, drew crowds to the doors and windows and made not a little parade I assure you—these Sir were Baron Stubens instructions and I pursued them litterally, tho' I could not help thinking it had a little of the appearance of a puppet shew. I made a point of waiting on the French Ambassador, and Mr Reed in your name, who as well as others speak of your atcheivement with wonder and praise. Had there been a soldier on the other side, Say the Political speculators, the war would have ended with the taking of Verplanks point. I have sent you the News paper of the day. Adieu Sir, may you long enjoy your present laurels,

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<sup>1</sup> *Wayne Papers.* Capt. Archer a volunteer aid de camp on the staff of General Wayne was detailed to proceed to the Congress in Philadelphia, with dispatches relating to the capture of Stony Point.



and quickly have an opportunity of acquiring new ones.  
I have the honor to be with Singular esteem,

Your very hble ser<sup>t</sup>

Gen<sup>l</sup> Ant<sup>r</sup> Wayne.

H. W. Archer

*George Washington to Joseph Wright.<sup>2</sup>*

Sir;

Mount Vernon 10<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1784.

When you have finished my portrait, which is intended for the Count de Solms, I will thank you for handing it to M<sup>r</sup> Robert Morris, who will forward it to the Count de Brahl (Minister from his Electoral Highness of Saxe at the Court of London) as the Channel pointed out for the conveyance of it.

As the Count de Solms proposes to honor it with a place in his collection of Military characters, I am persuaded you will not be deficient in point of execution. Be so good as to forward the cost of it to me, & I will remit you the money. Let it (after M<sup>r</sup> Morris has seen it) be carefully packed to prevent injury.

With great esteem—I am Sir,

Y<sup>r</sup> Most Obed<sup>t</sup> Servant

M<sup>r</sup> Wright.

G<sup>o</sup> Washington.

*George Washington to Gen. Edward Hand.<sup>3</sup>*

Dear Sir,

Mount Vernon Jan<sup>r</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> 1784

When I left Philadelphia I hoped to have had the pleasure of seeing you at Annapolis before my depar-

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<sup>2</sup> *Dreer Collection.* The Count de Solms, under date of August 4, 1785, acknowledges 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 between the King of Prussia and his illustrious brother Henry. . . . It must be that the picture resembles, for I regard it is a greatest ornament of my fortress. . . ."

<sup>3</sup> *Dreer Collection.* In 1780 General Hand succeeded Alexander Scammel as Adjutant General, and in 1798, in anticipation of a war with France, Washington recommended Hand's appointment as Adjutant General.



ture from thence, and to have had an opportunity (previous to my resignation) of expressing to you personally, amongst the last acts of my Official Life, my entire approbation of your public conduct, particularly in the execution of the important duties of Adjutant General.

Notwithstanding I have been disappointed in that expectation, & have it now in my power—only as a private character—to make known my Sentiments & feelings respecting my Military friends; yet I cannot decline making use of the first occasion after my retirement of informing you, My dear Sir, how much reason I have had to be satisfied with the great zeal, attention, and ability manifested by you in conducting the business of your Department;—and how happy I should be in opportunities of demonstrating my sincere regard & esteem for you. It is unnecessary I hope to add with what pleasure I should see you at this place—being with great truth

My dear Sir,

Y<sup>r</sup> Real friend & most Obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> Washington

The Hon. Gen<sup>l</sup> Hand.

*George Washington to Bushrod Washington.*<sup>4</sup>

Mount Vernon Jan<sup>y</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> 1784

Dear Bushrod,

I have received your letter of the 22<sup>d</sup> ult<sup>o</sup>—the former one accompanying my Trunks also came safe.

When I came to examine the Chimney pieces in this House I found them so interwoven with the other parts of the Work and so good of their kind, as to induce me to lay aside all thoughts of taking any of them down—for the only room which remains unfinished I am not yet fixed in my own mind but believe I shall place a marble one there—at any rate I shall suspend the purchase of any of those mentioned in your letter, & would

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<sup>4</sup>*Dreer Collection.*



not wish M<sup>r</sup> Roberts to hold either of them in expectation of it.

My best wishes attend you in which your Aunt joins. My Complim<sup>ts</sup> to M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Powell. With much truth & Affection

I am Y<sup>rs</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> Washington

Bushrod Washington, Esq<sup>r</sup>

*Samuel Bayard to Hon. William Bradford.*<sup>5</sup>

London 8<sup>th</sup> June 1795.

My Dear Sir.

Your much wish'd for letters of the 30 Mar. & 2 April are still in arrear. Every day we now look for the arrival of the vessel that was to sail in about 2 weeks from the date of your last letter. I trust she will bring the above mislaid letters with others equally interesting from yourself & our other friends—I rely more on you for general information, than on any other friend I have left behind. Your letter of the 15 Dec<sup>r</sup> 1794 is by far the most interesting one I have rec'd since I have been in England. Your other communications will not convey less information or pleasure, I am sure. My wish has been to make you as ample return as lay in my power—yet I am aware that there are many topics on which you must wish for light, on which I have not yet touched. I have a considerable assemblage of facts & observations treasured up in my mind of which I must disburthen it as opportunities offer. As I keep no copies of my letters to friends you must all forgive any repetitions, should such appear in my correspondence. I hope in a short time to procure a copying

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<sup>5</sup> *Wallace Papers.* Samuel Bayard, a son of Col. John Bayard, was born January 11, 1767, in Philadelphia, where he studied law with William Bradford and became his partner. This interesting letter was written while Bayard was the Acting Agent of the United States in prosecuting American claims before the British Admiralty courts, and in that capacity lived for four years in London.





press—a *quantity* of which article I am informed are soon to appear on a new construction & very reasonable terms.

In the present letter I propose giving you a little of the “*secret history of the characters & politics of this country.*” The unlimited confidence My dear Sir, that I repose in you & assures me that you will suffer nothing I may communicate to operate to my prejudice. At the same time however it is to be understood that you are at perfect liberty to make what use you please of any fact or opinion, which you think will have a tendency to produce a general or partial good.

The first person here whose sentiments we are to regard is unquestionably the King. The slightest intimation of *his* wishes or opinion must always have considerable influence on the politics of his ministry. Altho’ constitutionally *they* are *his* advisers, & do in fact take the *whole* burden of government off his shoulders, yet sometimes he becomes attach’d to a certain system of measures; & when this is the case he does not fail to exhibit that quality for which he has been long fam’d—& which in a good cause is styl’d Perseverance—in a bad one—Obstinacy. The present war, like the last, is believ’d to be really the King’s war. M<sup>r</sup> Pitt is said have advised against it, but when the King had determined on it, & inform’d M<sup>r</sup> P. that “if he would not conduct it another could be found who would,” M<sup>r</sup> P. thought it best to undertake the direction of the war & keep his place.

On the first news of the success of the combin’d armies against France, the King is reported to have said one day at the Levee—“Well when we have settled things in France, we will then turn our attention to America & put things to right there”—or words to this effect.

There can be no doubt of the hostile views of this country against the U. S. at the commence<sup>t</sup> of the war.



Many people here, are of opinion that the views of ministry are not changed in *in* regard to our country, & that they only wait for a favourable opportunity of carrying them into effect. Had they really any regard to the welfare & happiness of the *people*, I could find arguments enough to induce in me a belief that they wish'd to continue on the most friendly footing with us. But convince'd of the total want of principle in the present ministry—that their great object is to guard & perpetuate the present system of corrupt influence which they exercise over the two houses of parliament—& to keep themselves & their friends in *place*—admitting also to some late spoliations on our commerce, I begin to doubt the sincerity of the professions they have made of their wishes to preserve peace & friendship with y<sup>e</sup> U. S. In the Minister I must say, I have but little confidence—His frequent change of principle—His equivocation—& duplicity of conduct in many instances—towards nations & individuals & his want of *moral* principle as a private man exclude him wholly from rational trusts. M<sup>r</sup> P. is certainly deficient in the virtues of private life—Tho possess'd of a great income—little short of 30,000 per ann. he is generally believ'd to be in debt. To the virtue of temperance he has but a slender claim. He is known to be often intoxicated, & what aggravates the matter is that he takes no pains to conceal a knowledge of the circumstance from the public. The following anecdote I had from a gentleman of undoubted veracity who was eye witness of the fact (D<sup>r</sup> Merry).

On the evening assign'd for the reading & debate of the "traiterous correspondence bill" the House of Commons met as usual between 4 & 5 o'clock. They took up & finish'd the ordinary business of the day. this bill excepted—As it was known there would be some opposition given to the bill & as the Ministers had not yet made their appearance the house was obliged to wait



for them—after sitting about 2 hours unemploy'd—Mr Pitt & Mr Dundas came in as *drunk* as may be—Major Maitland the Brother of Lord Lauderdale—a blunt honest Scot. rose to expose the improper conduct of these gentlemen—Mr Fox however with a generosity that does him credit—rose winking to Mr Maitland—& himself *affecting* to be in liquor—suggested to the speaker the importance of the bill before the house—& the lateness of the hour & mov'd the adjournment of the house. The motion was seconded & adopted—Mr P. knowing the views of Mr Fox, rose & in kissing his hand to him, had to support himself by the Clerk's table on which was a pile of books that he knock'd over, (to the great amusement of the house) in his expression of gratitude to Mr Fox.

Of Lord Grenville not much can be said. He is a man of about 34. or 5. of a youthful appearance & gay in his dress & manner. His principles I believe are just what his Cousin Pitt & Lord Hawkesberry determine they shall be. He is but the echo of the Minister—& his representative in the House of Peers.

Lord Hawksberry, in the general opinion, is the influential man in the Cabinet. He is certainly a man of talents & information, but a perfect Courtier. No man is said to have so large a share of the King's confidence as himself. Nor has he fail'd to turn it to a good personal use. His income from Government is believed to be very large as it relates to himself—as well as to his family & friends. In Lord H. America has never had a friend. Neither has France at present. No man is a more sincere enemy to what are called French principles—nay to any thing like *reform*—than Charles Jenkinson.

Contrasted with the characters I have given above, how dignified, & estimable those of Mess<sup>rs</sup> Fox, Sheridan, Wilberforce & Grey appear. Of Mr Fox I do not recollect that I have yet attempted to give you an idea.



When you think of him, figure to yourself a short fat man—in person & gate not unlike D<sup>r</sup> Ruston—but whose port is as errect as that of Gov<sup>r</sup> Mifflin. As I have seen him only in Parliament I can give no account of his manners in private company—but as a speaker he is to be sure admirable. As a *handsome*, & *pleasing* orator he does not shine—but as an eloquent, argumentative, & persuasive speaker he is certainly the first man in Parliament. He always takes strong ground—& hence in *argument* always has the advantage. His politics are just, wise, humane, & dignified. The speech he made when he brought forward his late motion for the House to go into a committee on the state of the Nation, is a summary of his views, & is considered as one of the best speeches he ever made. I sent the best *likeness* of it to the Sec<sup>r</sup> of State which then existed—as contain'd in 2 Morn<sup>s</sup> Chronicles. It has since been published in a separate pamphlet, which I shall send either to yourself or my Brother by the present conveyance. I had the pleasure of hearing every word of it, & never indeed did I hear any thing that approach'd so near to my idea of the Eloquence of Demosthenes. Unfortunately however when M<sup>r</sup> Fox is most affected by his subject, his voice becomes squeaking & often fails him entirely. Sometimes he appears at a loss for words—faulters—& hesitates—but anon—he is like an impetuous torrent, that by its weight bears every thing before it, & sets opposition at defiance.

In one of my first letters to you I endeavour'd to communicate my opinion of M<sup>r</sup> Sheridan's powers as a parliamentary speaker. He has not made any distinguish'd speech since the one on the subject of the repeal of the Habeas Corpus. Hymen seems to have made a monopoly of his time & talents this last winter, & kept him aloof from the cares of state. His marriage with Miss Ogle is said to have render'd him as independent in his affairs as he has ever prov'd him-





self in his opinion & conduct. He has uniformly opposed the minister with a boldness & asperity beyond those with whom he acts, & there is no one who has been able to excite the *temper & retorts* of M<sup>r</sup> P. but himself.

In principle M<sup>r</sup> S. as well as M<sup>r</sup> F. are said to be really republican, but they have too much at stake to avow their sentiments, if friends to this form of govern<sup>t</sup>. A natural Son of M<sup>r</sup> Fox's who is deaf & dumb, being ask'd some time since, (on a Slate) whether his father was a republican answer'd in the same way—"In every country but England."

M<sup>r</sup> Wilberforce is a character with whom I am much pleas'd. He is a small man & in person & manner not unlike M<sup>r</sup> Swanwick. Altho' a friend of M<sup>r</sup> Pitt's—possessing much of his confidence, & *generally* acting with him, yet M<sup>r</sup> W. has too strong a sense of duty to go all lengths with the Minister. He has always differ'd with him in regard to the present war & but a few days since himself brought forward a motion to acknowledge the Republic of France as a preliminary to a negociation for peace.

The day assign'd for the debate of this motion was thursday the 21. May. Aware that the debate would be interesting I got an order for admission into the gallery from one of the members,—& with much difficulty obtained a good seat. It was suggested by some persons near me that *possibly* there might be no debate that day—that such a report was in circulation. No one however could tell why. At 3 o'clock as usual the Speaker made his appearance—prayers were read—a number of members appeared—but when the hour of 4 arrived—none of the Ministry appearing—& there being too few to make a quorum, the speaker, to the astonishment of all present adjourned the house until the next day. After this M<sup>r</sup> W.'s motion was postponed until the 27 or 28 May. Recent events have explain'd this manœuvre. The insurrection of the Jacobins at



Paris took place on the 23. & was known to Ministry & to them *first* on the 27 ult°. These & other circumstances have satisfy'd most unprejudic'd people here, that M<sup>r</sup> Pitt was really at the bottom of this business, which he expected would terminate in a way favorable to his views.

If the fact then be as the public here have reason to think it is—what opinion are we to form of a Ministry whose professed object it lately was by continuing the war to demolish the Jacobin faction, & now assist that very party in overturning a system of moderation justice & order—assist in destroying a set of men whose plan it is to establish a settled & *regular* government & thus to put an end to the calamities of war.

Of M<sup>r</sup> Grey, I can say but little. I have heard him speak several times & have been much pleas'd with the style of his elocution. He appears to be but a young man—not more I should think than 27. or 28. He is the Son of Sir Charles Grey—sincere in his opposition to the present ministry—but I am induc'd to believe that his aim is *place & power*, only.

The day on which I went to Westminster Hall for the purpose of hearing the debate on M<sup>r</sup> Wilberforce's motion, to secure a good seat I was there at 11 o'clock—but finding the doors would not be open'd until 3. I went into the Court of King's Bench. Lord Kenyon alone was on the bench trying causes by a special jury. Here I stay'd until the Court adjourn'd at 2 o'clock. Several causes were try'd in this short space of time, in which I had the pleasure of hearing Mess<sup>rs</sup> Erskine Garrow & thingay. These with Sir J. Scott the Att<sup>or</sup> Gen' had the practice at present. I have before mention'd I believe having heard M<sup>r</sup> E. on the floor of Parliament. However great he may be as an advocate—he does not shine as an orator. His gestures are exceedingly like those of Billy Blain—his voice & accent



have little of the agreeable. There is nothing striking in his countenance, & nothing conciliating in his manners—his *forte* is a bold & glowing eloquence—both he & Mr Garrow are remarkable for the close & severe—or (as it would be term'd with us) rude & cruel examination & cross examination of witnesses.

10. *June.* In examining an adversary witness, their views appear to merely to embarrass him—to irritate his temper that they may entangle him in contradictions.

In all my attendance at the American Bar I never remember on any one occasion having been witness of such harsh & irritating conduct as the counsel in the Kings Bench on this occasion observed toward the witnesses produced to give testimony. One of the witnesses who appear'd to be a decent & respectable man could not repress the emotions of temper which some of Mr E.'s questions—& the *manner* of proposing them had excited. Having been ask'd several times “if he meant to *swear* so & so”—He at length reply'd—“I do Mr E. mean so & so—is this *english* plain enough for you.” The warmth of the witness—appear'd to me & to the company around me to be perfectly justifiable as the consequence of Mr E. conduct to him.

He was however reprimanded by L<sup>d</sup> Kenyon, who desir'd him to be on his guard. “for that he would here find himself contending on very unequal ground.” In an American Court of justice, it appear'd to me—the reprimand would have lighted on the Counsel instead of on the witness, & the judge would have inform'd him “that people of fair characters, who came before a court & jury to give their testimony under oath were not treated as if they had been *convicted* of perjury—but as Gentlemen.”

I wonder the more at Lord K's taking part against the witness for not controuling his temper, as his Lordship is by no means famous for the command of his



own. He often, I am told by a gentleman of the Bar, suffers his feelings to gain an ascendancy over his better judgment—even on the Bench. On no occasion more, than when a jury ventures to give a verdict contrary to his *advice & judgment*. Within his own family circle his irritability of disposition is said to be oftener displayed. One of his friends some time since in company observed that “he thought Lord K. one of the best christians of the age—for that it was always *passion week* in his *parlour*—& *Lent* in his *Kitchen*.” The latter part of the observation alludes to another trait in his Lordships character, which is said to be generally predominant. He lives rather retired—is fond of his books, & entertains but little company. That, which he *does* sometimes see are said to leave his table, in general, with little satisfaction. A gentleman who dined with him some time since happening to mention in company that to the family & himself (the guest) his lordship had given a whole pint of wine. I can tell you added one of the company—a more singular proof of his Lordship’s liberality—“I have *known* him to give a pint of wine to *six* friends.”

I wish it were in my power to give you some interesting anecdotes of the *puisne* judges of the Kings Bench—or of the judges of the other different Courts of general jurisdiction. But as yet I had but little opportunity of gaining a knowledge of their respective characters or principles. M<sup>r</sup> Justice Heath is the only one of the judges to whom I have yet been introduc’d. I din’d with him some time since at M<sup>r</sup> Alderman Coombe’s & was much pleas’d with his conversation. But my *Court attendance* I need scarcely inform’d you—has been almost wholly confin’d to Doctors Commons & the Cockpit. It was my intention to have given you in the present letter some account of the Judge of the Admiralty—& of those Lords who usually attend as Commissioners in prize causes at the Cockpits not for-





getting the most eminent of the civilians; but as this communication has already exceeded the bounds within which I intended to confine it I must refer you for information respecting the Courts of Admiralty &c—to some future opportunity.

12. *June.* I thank you for the “rough draught” of your two opinions in the *Mary*—& the *Betsy*—Anxious to turn them to the best possible account, I had a fair copy of them immediately made & appriz’d that a cause in which the principles you have laid down, would shortly come into discussion before the Lords of Appeal, I sent this copy of your opinions to D<sup>r</sup> Nichall who is engag’d in this case for the American claimant. When I enclosed them to D<sup>r</sup> N. I took occasion to mention to him that as Sir W. Scott on a late occasion had read (before their Lordships) a paragraph or two from M<sup>r</sup> Smith’s (S. C.) speech, in the House of Representatives of the U. S. to shew the “insidious conduct of the French in seducing the Nantucket fishermen from America to settle in France,” a fortiori he might with strict propriety read the opinion of an eminent counsel in a case the principles of which, were the same with those involved in the one before the Court. I suggested also to D<sup>r</sup> N. that the opinions sent him, being those of the first *law officer* of the U. S. must prove interesting since the *Government* of the U. S. in all matters of law must necessarily refer to you, & in their conduct towards other nations be governed & directed in a great measure by your opinion of what is the law of Nations.

On the first occasion after receiving them D<sup>r</sup> N. expressed his approbation of your two opinions;—We acknowledg’d they were “sound & able, & did their author great credit indeed.”

They will no doubt be shown to Sir W. Scott if they are not read before the Lords of Appeal & I think will have more *extensive* & *beneficial* effects than probably



you contemplated when you penn'd them—or sent them across the Atlantic. If they influence the opinion of Sir W. S. they will influence also that of the Court of appeals. For here Sir W<sup>m</sup> has vast influence. Mr Jay knew this, & with a prudence & address, much to his credit endeavour'd to turn it to the benefit of American claimants. I have hitherto—& shall continue to observe the same policy, & as far as I am able secure the good opinion of Sir W. in favour of our countrymen & their claims. I am very sorry that there appears so little probability of settling these by *classes*, as was generally expected by our Gov<sup>t</sup> & citizens. Could the Captors & myself meet & consult together there might be some hope of putting the business in this train—but when one considers the *immense* interest, which the *prize agents proctors & advocates* have in the delay of our causes, can it be wonder'd at, that our business should take the direction it is likely to do. Were the spoliations on our trade to be the subject of a new negotiation our duty would be to insist (& we should unquestionably succeed) in an indemnification for our losses *as soon* as the same would be ascertained by *Commissioners*—the suits for the recovery of the captured property should be carried on at the expence of the *British Gov<sup>t</sup>* altho' ostensibly by the U. S. if required. Nothing is more clear than as the spoliations on our commerce were mostly committed under colour of authority from this govern<sup>t</sup> Compensation should come *from govern<sup>t</sup>* which should seek its indemnity from its own subjects.

Most of the Americans now in London, with whom I have conversed on the subject, are of opinion that when Senate are appriz'd of the expence & delay likely to attend the recovery of our captured property—& find the British cruisers notwithstanding the late negotiation, still preying on our trade, they will refuse to ratify Mr Jay's treaty in its present form. The general face



of affairs is so much alter'd from that which was display'd when the leading features of Mr Jay's treaty were settled, that no doubt can be entertain'd but that we could now obtain *better* by which I mean more *just* & *equal* terms, than at any period of the last summer.

Should the determination of Senate render a further negociation necessary I shall expect the pleasure of seeing Col. Hamilton here in the course of this summer. Should he come in character of Envoy with the further authority of acting as one of the Commissioners in the settlement of our affairs with this Government, the happiest consequences would probably result from the measure. It will be a matter of immense importance, that the Commissioners contemplated in Mr J.'s treaty should be men of enlarged minds & elevated characters—well acquainted with the laws of nations, & accusom'd to the use of figures. For it will probably happen in not a few cases, that the Commissioners will have to review the determinations of the Courts of Admiralty & Appeals. As these Courts are really *political*, *ministerial* & filled with characters not the most *independent* & *liberal* in sentiment, their decisions will in all likelihood be found tinctur'd with that *selfish* policy for which the Court of St. James has long been remarkable.

14 June. I mentioned to you in a late letter my wishes, & intention to establish an *interest* with some of the most distinguished Booksellers—& Editors of the best public papers in circulation. By James & Dilly, who in principle are perfect Republicans, I have been received with much friendship & have on several occasions dined with them in company with some of the most eminent Literati. Debrett who lives in the *West* or more fashionable end of London, is what you may call an *Opposition man*. His book store is the daily resort of those members of the 2 houses of Parliament & their *friends* who are opposed to the Minister, & friends of



reform. It is what they term an agreeable *lounge*—here they read the news-papers—get all the new pamphlets that are publish'd particularly, if directed against the measures of Ministry—& discuss in conversation all the affairs of the Nation.

Stockdales is the Ministerial *Lounge*—he lives but a few doors from Debrett in Picadilly, & his store is not less of a *news shop*, tho' of the opposite description than his neighbour's.

I have become an *acquaintance* of Perry one of the Editors of the Morn<sup>e</sup> Chronicle, he is an acute, intelligent man—his assistants Grey & Barnes—are said to be men of taste, & learning I have not yet been introduc'd to them, but expect to meet them in a few days at a friends.

I have cut out from the American newspapers the best articles of intelligence relative to our country that I could find & have sent them to Perry—most of them have appear'd in the Chronicle—but really the public mind is so eager for intelligence respecting the french & the other Powers of Europe—& so much is constantly arriving that America—her politics improvements & are quite overlooked.

17. June. In my letter by the present conveyance to my Brother I have given some acc<sup>t</sup> of the nature & operation of the late orders issu'd by this Gov<sup>t</sup> for sending in all vessels laden with provisions. In some cases they are attended with extreme hardship & loss. As necessity however is pleaded in excuse of the measure, & pay<sup>t</sup> is promis'd there is less ground for complaint than existed last year when our vessels when taken were considered as prize.

With this measure I am less alarmed than with the disposition which I *think* is too plainly discoverable in the Lords of Appeal. I *may* mistake but the impressions made on my mind by the conduct I observe at the cockpit forbid my promising the American appellants





whose causes must be heard, here, that justice which they have been led to expect. I have my apprehensions that the assurances which M<sup>r</sup> Jay may have received were never meant to be realiz'd unless *necessity* should compel. I believe I have already intimated to you my opinion that events on the continent would determine whether full justice would be done us or not. My opinion on this subject is not alter'd—it is rather strengthened. There is but one man who usually attends the Court of Appeals, on whose disposition to do substantial justice—as far I have yet seen, I could rely. This is the Master of the Rolls—Pepper Arden Esq<sup>r</sup>. From the Presd<sup>t</sup> of the Court L<sup>d</sup> Mansfield—claimants have nothing to expect—& the habit of taking part with captors, has so biass'd the mind of Sir W. Wynne, the kings Advocate Gen<sup>l</sup> all last war—that if he wish'd, he could hardly determine unpartally on an American appeal.

I send you by the present opportunity all the best pamphlets respecting Earl Fitzwilliam's recall with others. I have made inquiry of several persons respecting the place where I could get the best & cheapest glass for your house. I have not yet satisfy'd myself, but as you tell me it will not be wanted *before* fall I will send it by one of the *first* fall vessels—the *Adriana*—Fitzpatrick will sail in a few weeks.

I wish'd much to send the President, by this opportunity a present, which I received lately from my friend M<sup>r</sup> Slade & which I think will be an agreeable present to our excellent chief Magistrate. It is the *exact model* of the Bastille made from the stones that once form'd a part of this prison. When 84 models of this building were by a decree of the Nat. Assembly made for the 84 departments, M<sup>r</sup> Slade had interest enough to get one made at the same time for himself—the expence of making & sending this to England cost M<sup>r</sup> S. about £50. On my expressing a wish to have a wooden model made



from this, for the President, he insisted on my taking his. I flatter myself I could scarcely in G. B. find a more curious or acceptable present for the Friend of liberty & the Assertor of the Rights of Mankind. I hope to send it by the Adriana.

I beg to be remember'd with the truest respect & esteem to the Presd<sup>t</sup> Patty joins me in best regards to M<sup>rs</sup> W.—in love to you my Dear Sir her cousin—respects to D<sup>r</sup> Rush's family.

I am as ever

Yours most truly & affect<sup>ly</sup>

Sam Bayard.

Hon. W. Bradford Esq<sup>r</sup>

*Mayor Robert Wharton to Thomas Kittera, Esq<sup>r</sup>.<sup>\*</sup>*

Philad<sup>ia</sup> Feb<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> 1816

Thomas Kittera, Esq<sup>r</sup>

Dear Sir

I thank you for your attention in forwarding to me the bill now before the Senate for the Sale of the State House Lot &c. I immediately waited on R. Ritche Esq: and J. S. Smith Esq<sup>r</sup> President of the Councils & was happy to find that the same information had reached them by another source. I believe that Councils are to be immediately convened, to take the subject into consideration. I have lately had an opportunity to examine the Documents prepared by J. Read Esq<sup>r</sup> relative to the above property, and although I agree to the States claim of the Chesnut street front including the State House &c, yet I cannot believe that the Legislature has a right to order the other part sold—in referring to the above digest you will find a clause introduced into I believe all the Deeds of Conveyance from the former owners to the Commissioners appointed

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<sup>\*</sup> *Dreer Collection.* This letter contains a reference to the sale of the State House yard lot, in addition to matter of local interest.



under the Provincial Authority, that the "Ground to the Southward of the State house shall not be built upon but shall remain a publick Walk & Green for ever"—how far your great men will think themselves justified in breaking of that Solemn contract is not for me to determine, nor to say what construction the Supreme Court would give to it, should the Question be brought before them.

I hope you will be able to get the Law through so as to enable three instead of four Members to hold the Mayor's Court, & pray do if you can without danger introduce a clause so as to enable Councils to Elect the Mayor from out of the body of Citizens, instead of being confined in their choice to the Aldermen.

M<sup>r</sup> Meredith has informed me that he has inclosed to you a copy of the Digest of the Laws relative to the importation of Foreigners; the opinion of the Health Officer M<sup>r</sup> Puglia is that he is not authorized to receive what is called head money, & therefore will not direct Captains who import passengers to report them at the Mayor's Office. Indeed it would appear at least as some think, that, that Law is not in existence, in that opinion however M<sup>r</sup> Meredith does not concur; all the preceeding health officers used to oblige the Captains to report to the Mayor, & there to take before him the oath prescribed by Law—if that course is not continued a door will be immediately opened to the lame, halt & blind paupers of Europe to be thrown upon our Shores, & by that means greatly increase our poor rates—the fee to the Mayor under the old Law was 9<sup>d</sup> p<sup>r</sup> head. I leave it to your Judgment to say whether it ought not to be raised, particularly as the Salary which he receives is by no means an adequate remuneration for the very loathsome & greatly increased business which he is obliged to perform without any compensation. I mentioned the subject to M<sup>r</sup> Hallowell—will you please



to consult your Colleagues & let me hear from you when it is convenient.

Most sincerely

Your friend

Robert Wharton.

Thomas Kittera Esq.

Harrisburg, Pa.

*John Trumbull to John Vaughan.*<sup>7</sup>

New York 29<sup>th</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 1818.

John Vaughan Esq<sup>r</sup>

Phil<sup>a</sup>

Dear Sir

I have received two letters from Philadelphia, proposing to me to exhibit my picture of the Declaration of Independence at that City, and mentioning two places proper for the purpose, & probably attainable: the Academy and M<sup>r</sup> Earle's room:—of these two I should strongly incline to the former, but for the advanced State of the Season.

In the mean time I am offered the use of *Faneuil Hall* in Boston, the Cradle of the Revolution, for this purpose—and this liberality has suggested the possibility of obtaining in Philadelphia the very Room in which the Scene passed.

I know no friend to whom I can suggest such an Idea with so much propriety as to you: will you do me the favor to make the proper enquiries?—of course I cannot have the painting in Phil<sup>a</sup> sooner than Christmass.

With sincere Esteem I am

D<sup>r</sup> Sir

Your obliged & grateful Servant

Jn<sup>o</sup> Trumbull

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<sup>7</sup> *Dreer Collection.*





*John Trumbull to Robert Gilmer.\**

New York 14<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1825

Rob<sup>t</sup> Gilmer Esq<sup>r</sup>

Baltimore.

Dear Sir

M<sup>r</sup> Lloyd Rogers has the goodness to take charge of the two Small heads of W<sup>m</sup> L. Smith Esq<sup>r</sup> & General O. H. Williams, & will deliver them to you: I understand that he will leave town tomorrow.

When you shall have received the pictures, you will have the goodness to remit to me One hundred dollars, in any safe way that you please.

M<sup>r</sup> Ph. Hone has just received from London two paintings which you will have great pleasure in seeing, —painted by our Countrymen Leslie & Newton.

And a young man of the Name of T. Cole, has just made his appearance here from the interior of Pennsylvania, who has surprized us with Landscapes of most uncommon merit. We shall therefore have some interesting novelties for your next visit.

I am dear Sir very respectfully

Your faithful Servant

Jn<sup>o</sup> Trumbull

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\* *Dreer Collection.*



PENNSYLVANIA MARRIAGE LICENSES,  
1762-1768.

(Continued from page 221.)

1764.

*January.*

- 2: James Curtain—Hannah Rush
- 4: William Rupart—Elizabeth McGarragy  
John Nessmith—Margaret Yerkis  
Isaac Vaughan—Jane Lawrence
- 6: Thomas Overend—Martha Powell
- 10: Jn° Suber—Catherine Vanhorn
- 11: Mathew Scott—Elizabeth Thompson
- 13: Sam<sup>l</sup> Cartwright—Elizabeth Butler
- 14: Francis Titus—Margaret Wynkoop  
Robert Sewell—Sarah Sellows  
George Young—Rosanna Hoffman
- 16: Mathew Gardner—Mary Little  
John Baker—Eleanor Wheeler
- 17: Samuel Sivert—Barbara Maag
- 21: Joseph Baker—Hannah Baker  
John Heath—Mary Taylor  
James McGill—Elizabeth Johnson  
Jacob Vansciver—Esther Clare
- 23: John Vanderslice—Rebecca Sherier  
George Evans—Elizabeth North
- 25: John Shedd—Agnes Smith  
William Tarrence—Rebecca West
- 26: William Kennedy—Susanna Doack  
Henry Grubb—Susannah Cobb
- 30: Thomas Cahango—Ann Reily

*February.*

- 1: Frederick Gearhart—Anna Maria Mullendore  
Levy Dungan—Mary Davis
- 2: Samuel Read—Mary Wilder
- 6: Christian Taylor—Marg<sup>t</sup> Stouder  
Jn° Kopple—Elizabeth Morrin
- 7: William Miller—Anna Maria Schofflet



- 8: John Winter—Mary Cox  
Peter McDowel—Mary Camble
- 9: Hugh Williams—Luvisa Grew
- 10: John Gallagher—Sarah Mires  
James Clark—Anna Donaldson
- 13: Everhard Bolton—Deborah Griscomb
- 15: George Rife—Elizabeth Hendricks  
George Starner—Barbara Guyger
- 16: George Plimm—Mary Shaw  
George Hergisheimer—Rosanna Rumspeiger
- 18: Bartholomew Moore—Eliz: Warner  
William Beeby—Deborah Springer
- 20: Sam. Lowry—Elizabeth Ervin  
David Gable—Catherina Rhinehart  
James Robinson—Jane McBrier
- 27: Jn<sup>o</sup> Potts—Margaret Carmick  
John Huston—Jane Fullerton
- 28: Rich<sup>d</sup> Templin—Elizabeth Ervin
- 29: William Lary—Elizabeth Adams  
John Willet—Elizabeth Hough  
Abel Gibbon—Eleanor John

*March.*

- 1: Edward Hewes—Lydia Garrets  
Lester Falkner—Sarah Penrose
- 2: William Hughes—Maria Schunberger
- 3: Jacob Fanies—Catherine Post
- 9: David Evans—Susannah Morris
- 10: Jacob Burd—Sarah Wright
- 13: William Watherington—Esther Hommer  
John Stall—Frances Hyley  
Joseph Allen—Sarah Plumley
- 14: Nich<sup>s</sup> Cox—Rebecca Potts  
William Jackson J<sup>r</sup>—Mary Hopkins
- 15: Hugh Neilson—Jane Thompson  
Jacobus Van Buskirk—Mary Holleback
- 16: James Reynolds—Mary Ross
- 22: George Stewart—Perthenia Benton
- 24: Thomas Craig—Grace Morris
- 26: Lambert Tree—Margaret Hamilton
- 27: John Clue—Anna Johnson  
Robert Evans—Jane Pugh  
George Tomkins—Abigal Gilbert



- 28: Joseph Stackhouse—Rachel Rew  
 John Cochran—Eliz. Titum  
 29: James Harvey—Hannah Donaldy

*April.*

- 2: Samuel Pearson—Mary Wynn  
 John Arney—Martha Paxton  
 5: Rob<sup>t</sup> Martin—Jane Durows  
 George Sanderson—Eleanor Massey  
 Joseph Element—Catherine Cox  
 7: William Potts—Hester Moore  
 9: Charles Roberts—Hannah Norberry  
 Joseph Ellis—Sarah Hugg  
 John Duché—Jane Clark  
 Richard Winter—Mary Saunders  
 10: Cha<sup>s</sup> Willson—Rebecca Freak—omitted 3rd  
 March last  
 14: John Kell—Elizabeth Winson  
 18: Thomas Harrison—Sarah Richards  
 19: William Gallagher—Mary McCoy  
 Archibald McCorkel—Jane McMicken  
 20: Andrew Purfield—Sarah Farmer  
 Geo<sup>se</sup> Christophel Dowig—Margretta Holliday  
 Samuel Thomas—Susanna Shaw  
 21: Joseph Gwin—Eliz. Turbury  
 24: Isaiah Walton—Sarah Pinquite  
 William Ross—Esther Ferris

*May.*

- 1: Jacob Valtotten—Elizabeth Warner  
 2: Cha<sup>s</sup> Philips—Ann Jones  
 3: William Allen—Martha Brooks  
 Abraham Jones—Rebecca Bolton  
 4: Adam Berry—Sophia Johnson  
 James Garnick—Elizabeth Feagan  
 William Kirkpatrick—Margaret Piper  
 7: John Bernholt—Mary Alberger  
 Cha<sup>s</sup> Hart—Susannah McNaughan  
 9: Nathaniel Dowdney—Sarah Loanan  
 10: Elias Butner—Elizabeth Edwards  
 Thomas Bond—Ann Morgan  
 Jesse Cary—Catherine Arrell  
 John Turk—Ann Davis





- 11: Peter Hardman—Catherine Stone  
 12: Dan' Lovett—Sarah Biles  
 16: W<sup>m</sup> Campbell—Anna Philips  
     John David—Mary Thomas  
 21: Tho<sup>s</sup> Folwell—Eliz. Watts  
 22: Jn<sup>o</sup> Thomas—Jane Evans  
 26: Frederick Otto—Mary Withers  
     William Griffiths—Ruth Thomas  
     Hazeil Thomas—Juliana Thomas  
 28: Robert Porter—Margaret Lindsay  
     Edward Chew—Mary Thomas  
 29: William Christy—Sarah Laughrey  
 30: John Dowers—Mary Thornhill  
     Tho<sup>s</sup> York—Margaret Forbes  
     John Shaghmeysy—Margaret Jones  
 31: Daniel Bessonnet—Sarah Johnson

*June.*

- 1: Benjamin Rawlins—Mary Dunnawin  
     William Murray—Martha McIntire  
 4: Mathew Butler—Sarah Gardner  
 5: Ezekiel Hand—Abigail Garlick  
     Henry Robinson—Marg<sup>t</sup> Robeson  
 6: Leonard Harwood—Mary Davis  
 9: John Wilson—Ann Nelson  
     John Jackson—Martha Weaver  
 11: Christian Vanhorne—Sarah Vanzant  
 13: Martin Holder—Catherine Tinsmanin  
     Jn<sup>o</sup> Chatham—Marg<sup>t</sup> Francis  
 16: John Rambo—Elizabeth Craton  
     Dunin Irwin—Frances Bullman  
     William Smith—Ann Bell  
 20: David Davis—Eliz. Rambo  
     David Parry—Elizabeth Richards  
 21: Sam. Robins—Hannah Evans  
     James McGinnis—Jane Grant  
     George Pepper—Ann Paul  
 22: Christ<sup>o</sup> Krafley—Eve Crason  
     W<sup>m</sup> Bogar—Esther Johnson  
 23: Bartholomew Balderston—Sarah Johnston  
 26: John Johnson—Mary Seddons  
 27: George Hackett—Elizabeth McYoung  
     William Faries—Mary Forster



- 28: John Spence—Jane Godfrey  
 Benjamin Watherington—Sarah Niles  
 Josiah Appleton—Rebecca Gilbert  
 29: Jn<sup>o</sup> Adam Cripps—Catherine Wikenerin

*July.*

- 2: James Poole—Hannah Keen  
 4: William Will—Barbara Culp  
 6: Gerrard Hopkins—Meriam Daws  
 John Harrison—Elizabeth Gardner  
 7: James Middleton—Sarah Hill  
 13: William Shute—Edith Warner  
 16: Archibald McCormick—Hannah Fetter  
 Levy Peirce—Sarah Hillman  
 Joseph Jones—Rebecca Ballinger  
 Josiah Jenkins—Rachel Farnsworth  
 17: George Bigler—Ann Miller  
 Samuel Patrick—Rebecca Gibbs  
 Gabriel Wilson—Sarah Brintnell  
 18: Joseph Rankin—Marg<sup>t</sup> Carson  
 19: Joseph Harding—Mary Yard  
 Henry McAdams—Mary Robins  
 20: Richard Garaty—Ann Crossier  
 21: William Bate—Phoeba Holmes  
 26: Frederick Stonemetz—Pracila Vanleer  
 27: Jn<sup>o</sup> Childerstone—Frances Knox  
 30: James Creay—Eliz<sup>th</sup> Wilkinson  
 31: James Winter—Ann Smith  
 Lewis Grant—Marg<sup>t</sup> Alexander

*August.*

- 1: Adam Weidner—Mary Walter  
 Jonathan Abbett—Abigal Sidders  
 Rob<sup>t</sup> Walker—Isabella Hughes  
 James Read—Elizabeth Cather  
 Samuel Dugan—Elizabeth Watson  
 2: W<sup>m</sup> Hawskin—Martha Smith  
 3: Jonathan Thomas—Jane Large  
 4: James Hall—Eliz. Hill  
 6: Michael Crysap—Mary Whitehead  
 8: Andrew Reed—Elizabeth Jenney  
 10: Reuben Ellis—Hannah Schrack  
 11: Henry Bruster—Mary Brazil



- 13: Moses Garlin—Jane Eves  
 14: Robert Brown—Hannah Stevens  
 15: Robert Bray—Johanna Leader  
 17: W<sup>m</sup> Philips—Eleanor Cummins  
 18: W<sup>m</sup> Keslin—Sarah Goodwin  
 20: Patrick Johnson—Ann Hamilton  
 22: Jn<sup>o</sup> Jones—Alice Hunter  
 Andrew May—Mary Ball  
 23: Will<sup>m</sup> Lindsay—Jane Marshall  
 Edward Robinson—Phoebe Colton  
 24: Jn<sup>o</sup> Harrison—Elizabeth Hubbleson  
 28: Jacob Garaud—Mary McKee  
 29: Alexander Jamison—Isabella Poak  
 Enoch Morgan—Latitia Malone  
 David Hughes—Elizabeth McCarnon  
 Humphry Smith—Jane Wilson  
 30: Mathew Potter—Jane Gillyatt

*September.*

- 1: Morris Davis—Abigail Rork  
 Jacob Leamy—Hannah Bowen  
 Mich. Owner—Elizabeth Neil  
 4: Jn<sup>o</sup> Cope—Martha Darts  
 5: Alex<sup>r</sup> Murray—Eliz. Masmer  
 Joseph Dungan—Eliz. Carrol  
 6: George Robinson—Mary Harper  
 8: Edward Campbell—Rachel Conyngham  
 Henry McClelland—Martha George  
 10: Garnet Hughes—Ann Margaret Gotchill  
 Sam. Linch—Elizabeth Vanneman  
 11: Gilbert Grimes—Martha Miller  
 12: Rubin Emerson—Joyce Palmer  
 14: W<sup>m</sup> Harding—Sarah Adudel  
 15: Rich<sup>d</sup> Sewel—Ann Claxton  
 17: James Ashton—Ann Delavau  
 22: James Hunter—Eleanor Gardner  
 John Honeyman—Mary Henry  
 24: Thomas Hartley—Elizabeth Clark  
 Paul Jones—Phoebe Robins  
 Jn<sup>o</sup> Reynolds—Elizabeth Alee  
 25: Jn<sup>o</sup> Prior—Elizabeth Roberts  
 27: John Pogue—Catherine Porter  
 W<sup>m</sup> Drewry—Sarah Wolley



- 29: Jn<sup>o</sup> Sutton—Sarah Stackhouse  
Paul Crispen—Rebecca Hewlins

*October.*

- 2: John Fouracres—Elizabeth Stedham  
3: Jn<sup>o</sup> Chatham—Tacy Thomas  
6: Richard Carter—Agnes Yeates  
Robert Way—Catherine Gandawit  
Jn<sup>o</sup> Hutton—Elizabeth Merriott  
9: William Coats—Martha Davis  
David Weidner—Johanna Wummeldorf  
James Jackson—Catherine Denning  
10: Israel Taylor—Susannah Dougherty  
Jn<sup>o</sup> James—Elizabeth Bratton  
11: William Mason—Sarah Thompson  
James Russel—Mary Brown  
13: Seth Thomas—Martha Kirks  
Enoch Barret—Mary Denormandie  
15: James Graysbury—Sarah Hart  
Jn<sup>o</sup> Huff—Hannah Barber  
Erhard Scheeck—Margaretta Beckin  
17: Jn<sup>o</sup> McFall—Elizabeth McAddin  
Benjamin Dungan—Esther Cotman  
18: George Morgan—Mary Baynton  
22: Robert Stuart—Margaret Warner  
23: Hugh Miller—Frances Kilpatrick  
Robert Dove—Isabella Hunton  
24: Bernard Vanhorn—Jane Slack  
25: Charles Moore—Martha Lawrence  
26: William Moore—Christiana Harding

*November.*

- 1: William Cooper—Eleanor Helmes  
Charles Kelly—Martha Overend  
William Smith—Elizabeth Adams  
John Bourns—Jane Wilson  
Samuel Indicot—Eliz. Roberts  
George Willson—Elizabeth Adams  
2: Cuff & Judith, two Negroes the property of  
Mess<sup>r</sup> Mifflin & Elves  
5: W<sup>m</sup> Ennery—Martha Nangle  
Josiah Forster—Rachel Burr  
William Evans—Grace Buzby





- 6: Tho<sup>s</sup> James—Ann Page  
 7: George Stanton—Ann Tussey  
 Jn<sup>o</sup> Mason—Sarah Brown  
 8: William Knight—Ann Brown  
 Rob<sup>t</sup> Harrison—Mary Bonum  
 9: Sam. Jones—Sylvia Spicer  
 10: Cha<sup>s</sup> Moore—Martha Lawrence  
 James Taggart—Sarah Stinston  
 11: Jn<sup>o</sup> McKinstry—Elisabeth Carlisle  
 Nich Brandollar—Cath. Stone  
 15: James McDowell—Eliz. Loughhead  
 Tho<sup>s</sup> Kerr—Martha Ritche  
 16: Lewis Siren—Catherina Filgeren  
 17: Isaac Harris—Edith Murray  
 Abraham Carpenter—Eleanor Hillyard  
 19: W<sup>m</sup> Gamble—Ann McDonald  
 Jn<sup>o</sup> McDonald—Susanna Burk  
 Thomas Whaland—Margaret Burkhart  
 Jonathan Evans—Sarah Kirk  
 Martin Miller—Susanna Pechin  
 20: Amos Davis—Hannah Boore  
 21: Thomas Willson—Mary Ward  
 22: Mark McCord—Catherine Miller  
 23: Dennis Dougherty—Marg<sup>t</sup> Murphy  
 Thomas Mushett—Sarah Trumble  
 Jonah Woolman—Martha Mullen  
 W<sup>m</sup> Smith—Elizabeth Harper  
 24: Joseph Garner—Hannah Thornhill  
 Thomas Gordon—Hannah Jenkins  
 26: Jn<sup>o</sup> Morton—Eleanor Martin  
 28: John MacCarrel—Margaret Gaw  
 Adam Kerr—Jane Miller  
 29: George Glentworth—Marg<sup>t</sup> Linton  
 Patriek Willson—Sarah Powlin  
 Jn<sup>o</sup> Warner—Hannah Kentzel  
 Daniel Pearce—Rebecca McCoy

*December.*

- 1: Jonathan Roberts—Ann Starr  
 James McGraw—Bridget Twyer  
 3: John Moore—Rebecca Kenny  
 5: Alex. Adams—Martha Galer  
 William Robinson—Sarah Taylor



- 6: Thomas Hadley—Mary Craft  
Cha<sup>s</sup> Alexander—Eleanor Johnston
- 8: Cha<sup>s</sup> Crossley—Sarah Corbut  
John Flet—Catherine Webber
- 10: James Davis—Mary Hall  
Patrick Archdeacon—Jane Quin
- 11: Samuel Walker—Eliz. Derringer  
Daniel Stilwell—Elishe Lupton
- 12: Joshua Evans—Mary Thomas
- 13: John Dean—Mary Rose  
John Tarras—Marg<sup>t</sup> Josiah
- 17: William Clark—Susannah Falkner
- 19: Frederick Marstetter—Susannah Schrack  
William McGlaughan—Mary Pimley
- 21: Joseph Moore—Mary Kirkpatrick  
Jn<sup>o</sup> Young—Christiana Heassley
- 22: John Vance—Ann McNeir  
George Skipsey—Rachel Sutton  
James Davis—Sylla Clark
- 24: John Adams—Martha Hamilton
- 25: James Gibson—Isabella Serjeant
- 27: Christian Kinsley—Rebecca Won  
William Patterson—Susannah Williams
- 28: John Howard—Bridget Osborn
- 29: Arnold Francis—Eliz. Humstred  
Jacob Brenneman—Susannah Evans  
Francis Coattam—Theodorah Berry

*1765.*

*January.*

- 1: James O'Neal—Sarah Green  
William Wild—Elizabeth Barry
- 2: John Inglis—Eleanor Yocum  
Isaac Somers—Elizabeth Davis
- 3: William Powell—Mary Thomas  
George Baker—Mary Preston
- 7: Jn<sup>o</sup> Hiser—Annis Welch  
James Irwin—Elizabeth Yarborough
- 8: John Gallagher—Ann Inghland  
Jn<sup>o</sup> McKichan—Marg<sup>t</sup> McPherson  
David Mathias—Hannah Pugh
- 9: James Stuart—Elizabeth Snyder  
John Ashburn—Elizabeth Gottier



- 10: Silas Engles—Mary Trent  
 James Murrell—Martha Potter  
 John Carr—Elizabeth Linnire
- 11: Jacob Neidolf—Susannah Rhine
- 12: Thomas Smith—Martha Lewis
- 14: Jacob Huber—Elizabeth Bloomer
- 15: James Tull—Mary Wood  
 Rob' Work—Jane Cochran  
 James Allen—Catherine Christy  
 Francis Stewart—Jane Cammel
- 16: Jeremiah Rambo—Sarah Rambo
- 17: Emanuel Bartling—Elizabeth Etter
- 22: George Daullis—Mary Vaughan  
 John Kerr—Mary Shecon
- 23: Walter Kerr—Martha Palmer
- 24: Rob' McMullen—Margaret Davis
- 26: Richmond Allen—Mary Farmer
- 28: David Russel—Mary Grizzle
- 29: Jn° Gallagher—Eleanor Hussey  
 Philip Ryan—Ann Burk
- 30: John Fulton—Mary Goo  
 Thomas Wood—Rebecca Yerkes

*February.*

- 1: Harman Umsted—Elizabeth Francis
- 5: Cornelius Slack—Elizabeth Spear
- 11: John Morton—Patience Siver
- 16: James McCree—Jane Porter
- 19: Henry Keign—Barbara Mulladore
- 21: Isaac Dodge—Rebecca Wood  
 Joseph Marshall—Mary Cox
- 23: Jn° Farns—Themisine Brown
- 26: Christ' Yetter—Marg' Hart  
 James Latta—Mary McCalla

*March.*

- 1: John McMullin—Eliz. Rhoades
- 2: Benjamin Leedom—Alice Pearson
- 4: And<sup>w</sup> Yorke—Eleanor Coxe  
 Jn° Cain—Eleanor McDonald  
 Christian Stadtler—Cath. Kurtzen



- 9: R<sup>d</sup> Fry—Susanna Bruno  
 11: James Huston—Darcus Grey  
 13: John Wildee—Mary Jones  
 14: Anthony Mahony—Hannah Collet  
     Benj. Thomlinson—Mary Isler  
     James Currie—Margaret Haley  
 15: Sam<sup>l</sup> McNair—Mary Man  
 18: Geo. Savage—Hannah Ottinger  
     Michael McIntire—Ann Jarvin  
 19: Jn<sup>o</sup> Cruger—Catherina Alverse  
     Philip Miller—Catherina Yetten  
 20: And. Boon—Elizabeth White  
     Thomas Merris Jun<sup>r</sup>—Ann Butler  
     Watson Younger—Eliz. Slator  
 22: Geo. Climer—Eliz. Meredith—issued the  
     16th Inst.  
 23: John Oliver—Mary Armstrong  
 28: Thomas Ellis—Sarah Stinson

*April.*

- 1: John Edwards—Ann Griffith  
 2: Joseph Carson—Mary Correy  
 3: Elijah Weed—Mary Mitchell  
     Christ<sup>r</sup> Pechin—Christiana Bright  
 4: Nath<sup>l</sup> Blencowe—Kezia Heritage  
 5: Ja<sup>s</sup> Tomkins—Sarah Nixon  
     Sam. Honeyman—Eliz. Haney  
 6: William Conner—Agnes Read  
 8: Sam. James—Anna Keslurn  
 10: Jn<sup>o</sup> Ross—Sarah Reily  
     Jn<sup>o</sup> Bern—Mary Brooks  
     Peter Bell—Mary Williamson  
     John Proudfoot—Catherine Neiss  
 11: W<sup>m</sup> Kirkpatrick—Eliz. Carr  
 13: James Farmer—Marg<sup>t</sup> Messner  
 18: John Steinmetz—Cath. Keppele  
 19: Lawrence Mann—Marg. Lumbarder  
 20: John Snowden—Sarah Lefever  
 22: Joseph Shewell—Esther Kinnersly  
     Joseph Mullen—Elizabeth Donnally  
     Philip Frederick—Elizabeth Kennedy  
 23: Alex<sup>r</sup> Robinson—Ann Jameson  
 24: Jacob Vogdas—Eliz. Hampton





- 25: George McClay—Lydia Donovan  
 James Megettigen—Sarah Evans  
 Nich<sup>s</sup> Burtrow—Abigail Biddle  
 26: Robert Norris—Hannah Gilbert  
 29: Jacob Corse—Hannah Prigg  
 Geo. Kinsey—Phoebe Smith

*May.*

- 1: Lindsay Coats—Ruth Hughes  
 Michael Pesser—Elizabeth Simmon  
 Charles Vineyard—Henrietta Pearson  
 7: Thomas Wagstaff—Hannah Leech  
 8: John Martin—Elizabeth Bond  
 9: John Kensinger—Mary Wyvin  
 Robert Malcolm—Judith Abercrumme  
 Jn<sup>o</sup> Watson—Mary Carpenter  
 10: Matthew Henderson—Barbara Elliot  
 John Hellings—Elizabeth Titus  
 Sam. Skillen—Eliz. Towson  
 13: Jacob Jackson—Martha Evans  
 14: John Ramsey—Mary Purdy  
 15: W<sup>m</sup> Fenimore—Martha Mott  
 Walter Shee—Ann Thompson  
 George Librant—Elizabeth Schnack  
 William Woodrow—Hester Stoneburner  
 John Ferguson—Marg<sup>t</sup> Mitchell  
 16: James Hunter—Jane Gunning  
 William Skilling—Mary Blyth  
 20: James Rice—Rebecca Morberry  
 John Bennett—Margaret Redmond  
 22: Arch<sup>d</sup> Hamilton—Sarah Cook  
 28: Hugh Cooper—Mary Fowler

*June.*

- 5: Buckridge Sims—Elizabeth Morgan  
 6: W<sup>m</sup> Mills—Catherine Van Sciver  
 7: Alex<sup>t</sup> Frazier—Sarah King  
 8: W<sup>m</sup> Moore—Elizabeth McFee  
 Joseph White—Sarah Headley  
 11: James Paulhill—Mary Geraud  
 12: Jn<sup>o</sup> Clark—Eliz. Burk  
 Jn<sup>o</sup> Green—Alice Collute



- 13: Nich<sup>s</sup> Young—Mary Double
- 15: Hugh Jones—Esther Glover
- 19: Hugh Maxwell—Margaret George  
Thomas Hunt—Mary Skilton  
John Edwards—Rachel Gregory
- 20: Arch<sup>d</sup> McCorkel—Margery McBride  
George Kerr—Isabella Filpot
- 22: Phineas Massey—Susanna Battle
- 24: John Cole—Esther Merry
- 26: John Roberts—Susannah Davis  
Ja<sup>s</sup> How—Cath. Cox  
Ja<sup>s</sup> Urch—Mary Adams
- 27: John Clayton—Eliz. Leech

*July.*

- 1: John Groves—Ann Watson  
John Mattingley—Rebecca Jones
- 8: John Money—Margaret Smith
- 9: W<sup>m</sup> Symonds—Mary Pearson
- 11: Jacob Kaufman—Anna Wolferdin
- 18: Richard Harding—Martha Hust  
Geo. Moore—Rebecca Dobbins
- 25: Joseph Potts—Meriam Kelly  
Rob<sup>t</sup> Dunlap—Sarah Hood
- 26: Henry Hill—Mary Purchess
- 27: Tho<sup>s</sup> Paul—Marg<sup>t</sup> Miles  
Dan. Topham—Mary Hope  
Peter Care—Barbara Butterfoss
- 30: David McCulloch—Phoebe Boyd  
Gavin Davison—Mary Fitzgerald  
John Cole—Ann Shute
- 31: Henry Kelso—Agnes Kreitin

*August.*

- 1: William Fullerton—Eleanor Donaldson
- 4: John Grant—Deborah Montgomery
- 7: William Sweetapple—Mary Kennady
- 8: Jn<sup>o</sup> McCool—Marg<sup>t</sup> Camel  
Thomas Dixon—Dorothy Hungary
- 10: Jn<sup>o</sup> Oliver—Edith Edes
- 12: Will Conner—Susanna Power  
Thomas Palmer—Mary Miller



- 13: Thomas Dunbar—Hannah Higgins  
 Rich<sup>d</sup> Johnson—Catherine Campbell
- 14: Jonathan Rose—Eliz. Nowland
- 16: Robert Robertson—Eliz. Thomas
- 17: Jacob Hanse—Mary Bankson
- 20: Joshua Proctor—Marg<sup>t</sup> Green
- 22: James Davis—Ann McFall
- 23: Hugh Cassady—Rach<sup>l</sup> Richards
- 24: John Rice—Rach<sup>l</sup> Worthington  
 Rich<sup>d</sup> Palmer—Hannah Barclay
- 28: Sam<sup>l</sup> Galbraith—Marg<sup>t</sup> Miloy  
 Geo. Warner—Barbara Crips
- 29: Peter Helm—Mary Wright  
 William Adamson—Elizabeth Story
- 30: Rob<sup>t</sup> Miller—Prudence Phipps

*September.*

- 2: Fred. Ripple—Mary Rousbaughan
- 3: John Morgan—Mary Hopkinson  
 Ja<sup>s</sup> Kinkead—Marg<sup>t</sup> Legit
- 5: Evan Anderson—Esther Bowen  
 Thomas Bell—Rosanna Shirley  
 Benjamin Bruster—Rebecca Tatlow  
 William Peterkin—Mary Braford  
 Joseph Thacher—Ann Andrews
- 7: Abraham Morgan—Ann Morgan
- 10: John Wilson—Sarah Doughty  
 Enoch Levering—Mary Righter  
 Jn<sup>o</sup> Alex<sup>r</sup> Brown—Sarah Hatton
- 11: Sam. Parker—Hannah George  
 Henry Naglie—Marg<sup>t</sup> Croston  
 William Pollard—Mary Green
- 12: Prisley Blackston—Sarah Warnick
- 14: Edw. Reynolds—Mary Haney
- 16: Rob<sup>t</sup> Dunkin—Ann Henry  
 R<sup>d</sup> Chinyney—Mary Hannun
- 18: John Climmer—Mary Blacklidge
- 19: Thomas Dickinson—Mary Lort  
 Stephen Field—Margaret Briggs
- 20: Abraham Freid—Sarah Stout
- 21: David Loofborough—Sarah Twining
- 24: Isaac Anderson—Sarah Pearson
- 25: Robert Gregg—Jennett O'Neal



- 26: Alex<sup>r</sup> Stuart—Ann Cummins  
 28: Francis Quin—Jane Kennedy

*October.*

- 1: Ja<sup>s</sup> Walker—Mellison Robinson  
 3: Moses Malcolm—Mary Malcolm  
 Edward Hill—Sarah Rue  
 4: Thomas Downy—Mary Robinson  
 5: Jacob Marshall—Abigail Wood  
 Amos Griffiths—Sar. Howel  
 9: Isaac Wood—Eliz.<sup>t</sup> Howel  
 11: Henry Gullen—Marg<sup>t</sup> Stinson  
 Leeson Simmons—Hannah Watkins  
 14: Benj. Griffith—Rach. Waters  
 Jn<sup>o</sup> Croney—Cath. Hasand  
 15: Daniel Berkensha—Susanna Crockford  
 16: Isaac Durborow—Eliz. Newton  
 Griffith Jones—Hannah Loyd  
 17: Andrew Wade—Susannah Ackles  
 18: W<sup>m</sup> Connody—Hannah Pastorius  
 19: Dan<sup>l</sup> McMaahon—Ann Stinson  
 21: Phineas Thomas—Eliz. Harper  
 Isaac States—Tamas Tillyer  
 22: Rob<sup>t</sup> Field—Mary Peel  
 23: Mich<sup>l</sup> Sill—Abigail Ottv  
 25: John Salter—Rachel Reese  
 John Langdale—Alice Coates  
 26: Samuel Robinson—Mary Hufty  
 David Jones—Rebecca Carter  
 28: Jacob Rudolph—Judith Yocum  
 Sam Hastings—Massey Denton  
 29: Barbary McGawot—Catherine Mitchell  
 Henry Bernhold—Anna Nelson  
 Geisbart Bogart—Cath. Seiburn  
 30: R<sup>d</sup> Mitchel—Sarah Stevenson  
 Thomas Little—Cath. House  
 James Monk—Rebecca Price  
 Thomas Walter—Rebecca Pennell  
 And. Fitzsimmons—Ann Rearden  
 Levy Lloyd—Hannah Levis  
 31: Stephen Beezley—Abigail Harrison  
 Rob<sup>t</sup> Twales—Charity Tucker  
 James Nevil—Hannah Keen  
 W<sup>m</sup> Finley—Susannah Skinner





*November.*

- 6: Thomas Coulter—Sarah Brooks  
 16: Lewis Obryan—Mary Gilbert  
     John Wilson—Sarah Powel  
 18: Samuel Hall—Martha Bradford  
 20: Jn° Lewis—Mary Jones  
 21: Joshua Hemmenway—Sarah Angila  
 26: Samuel Wheeler—Ann Flower  
     William Kirk—Mary Malone  
 28: Samuel Thomas—Mercy Collins

*December.*

- 2: William Noblitt—Sarah Clinton  
     Jn° Garlin—Mary Smith  
     John Needham—Mary Jennings  
 4: Alex<sup>r</sup> Gibbs—Ann Parker  
 5: Josiah Bryan—Eliz. McHenry  
     John Brant—Eliz. Frazier  
 9: Andrew Singheis—Anna Margretta Salerin  
     Matthew Cochran—Eleanor Gilmore  
 11: Henry Burnet—Mary Reily  
 14: John West—Mary Warner  
 19: John Mann—Eliz. McGlaughlin  
 20: Christian Kremer—Marg<sup>t</sup> Waggoner  
 21: And. Hammon—Ann Manahon  
 23: Robert Bail—Margaret Potter  
     Robert Tucker—Mary Garret  
 24: Patrick McGee—Jane Hall  
     Simon Meredith—Ann Huff  
 28: Caspar Shell—Anna Maria Behlin  
     Lewis German—Mary Davis

(To be continued.)



SELECTIONS FROM THE WALLACE PAPERS.

(Manuscript Division, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

*William Bradford, Jr., to His Sister Rachel.*

Camp on Schuylkill, Dec<sup>r</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> 1777.

How does my little sister & the rest of the dear Refugees at Ellerslie—Are ye still, like the banished songsters of Jewry, hanging your harps on the willow & weeping when ye remember Philad<sup>a</sup>—Or rather do you not sooth your exile with future pleasing prospects, when we shall once more meet,—“the thieves being gone & the house swept & garnished”—“The whore of Babylon,” said a new england officer, unfeelingly, will be the better for her scourging.

I am glad to hear you have not forgot the use of your pen & hope you will employ it often. For my own part, I honestly confess that if I do not forget yet I grow very averse to the use of it. The exercise & bustle of a soldier’s life may invigorate the body, but it is *mighty* unfavorable to the powers of thinking. The mind falls into such a torpid state that even the idea of my dear Rachel & her agreeable letter can scarcely rouse a sprightly idea in it—

Your old friend Gaynor and her sister have retired beyond the Great River Susquehanna & taken up their abode at Carlisle—Their Humanity & the attention they showed to some of our officers who were prisoners, particularly to Cap<sup>t</sup> Plunket is said to have occasioned their leaving Philadelphia—The Cause of Humanity & the Sex however has been revenged and Cap<sup>t</sup> Plunket by the assistance of a little Quaker female who dressed the warrior in Petticoats, escaped from his confinement & has joined his regiment—



Col George is well—He has attached himself so entirely to the artillery that I do not see him very often except when business calls me & then I find him confounded lazy—The agitation of mind for the loss of his Charmer has subsided & no new beauty having appeared to set it in motion, he enjoys a stoical calm & does little else than breathe—

Make my compliments to the Belles of Rarition—I am Dear Girl

Your affectionate brother

W. B. Jun.

*P. S.* Tho they say the Devil is in Camp I can find no Brimstone—the truth is, a certain Disorder has been so prevalent, that all has been used, & I believe it would require a Shower of it, like that on Sodom—totally to eradicate it—

*William Bradford, Jr., to Col. Joshua M. Wallace.*

Jan. 27<sup>th</sup> 1778. Valley Forge.

My dear friend,

I am happy in hearing from my brother that a communication with Ellerslie will be opened by means of the Expresses he will be obliged to send frequently to his principal M<sup>r</sup> Boudinot at Baskinridge. This will give me an opportunity of sending you the news of the Day, & of hearing often from you—The family at Ellerslie is so dear to me that my heart can ill brook suspense about their welfare.

You have probably heard of the late gallant behaviour of Cap<sup>t</sup> Lee—The particulars are these—A party of Horse to the amount of 130 left Philad<sup>a</sup> on the 20<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> & taking rout thro' bye Roads suddenly surrounded the house where Lee & two Officers lay that Night—They were alarmed just Time enough to fasten the Doors—& post themselves & 5 privates at the different Windows when the Enemy began a heavy fire thro' the doors & windows & demanded the immediate



surrender of the house Lee, & his little party returned the fire with spirit—& tis said he had the Address to call out to them to surrender or that Morgans Infantry which was comming up would cut them in pieces—After a violent attack of 25 minutes, finding so gallant a resistance, & fearing lest their retreat should be cut off, they turned tail & made for Philad<sup>a</sup> They left several Caps & Pistols behind them which makes it probable they had several wounded—They took 5 of the troop prisoners who were out of the house & slightly wounded Lieu<sup>t</sup> Lindsay & Major Jemmason—Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington has thanked Cap<sup>t</sup> Lee & the Officers in the Warmest Manner—& An English Officer who lay in the house (being on parole & on his way to Philad<sup>a</sup>) speaks in Raptures of his bravery & proclaims it thro' the City. It is indeed remarkable that a Gen<sup>l</sup> & a Cap<sup>t</sup> of the same name should be attacked in the same manner, & that the latter should repulse a party of horse 6 times as large as that which captivated the former.

What think you of the resolve of Congress for Detaining Burgoyne—For my own part I look upon it as acting with a dignity becoming the free states of America—We have suffered ourselves to be trampled on too long—Fie upon it. We declared ourselves free & independant & have hitherto suffered ourselves to be termed & treated as Rebels—

What is your state doing towards filling up her skeleton Regiments If we do not exert ourselves with Vigor this winter, I fear we shall not be able to dispossess the Enemy of Philad<sup>a</sup> And it appears clear to me, that if we duly exert our strength & bring the force into the field which we are able to do, we may crush them with ease & end the Contest at once—Is it not extraordinary that with so many men as the Continent contains & with a proper sense of the importance of the object we are contending for, we should keep such a paltry Army on foot, whose numbers have





generally been inferior to, the handfull that Britain sent to subdue [worn]—When you take your seat in the Assembly & assist in navigating the political bark, I will write much more to you on this subject—

How does my dear Tacey & her darling Joshua? I am told she is unwell—and yet my heart laughed instead of being sad—Go on & prosper my noble brother!—My Landlord has read me so many Lectures upon the Text of increase & multiply that I beg [to] think that he who begetteth a son covereth [a] multitude of Faults—He will scarcely allow that all Paul's good Works, could atone for his continuing in a state of Batchelorism—

Give my warmest Love to Tacey—kiss the young Hero for me—& teach him to Love

Your friend & brother

W Bradford Jun<sup>r</sup>

*William Bradford, Jr., to his sister, Mrs. Wallace.*

Camp. March 15<sup>th</sup> 1778.

My dear Tacy,

I received your letter a few days ago—I need not tell you how much pleasure this testimony of your affection gave me—your own heart can inform you. The articles you mention came safe to hand. Thank my dear Mamma for me—her kindness & attention deserves many thanks.—I have also the receipt of Master Joshua's favor to acknowledge—Tell the young Gentleman, that he is perfectly in the right—his nose is not out of joint yet—and it will be his own fault if it ever is so.

The best news I have to send you is that the southern & Eastern States are exerting themselves to the utmost to send a formidable force into the field early in the Campaign.—Pennsylvania instead of adopting their vigorous mode of drafting is trying the old method of recruiting & offering the extravagant bounty of 120



Dollars, As this must occasion a new Emission of money, it has a destructive tendency & I hope will be laid aside. It is expected however, whether this state does her duty or not, that we shall have a large army in the field before the end of May which perhaps will be time enough to open the Campaign. I have no doubt we shall be an overmatch for the Enemy if they come out to meet us, & shall be able to drive them from Philad<sup>a</sup> whether they risk a battle or not—

This state still teems with Traitors who are continually attempting to supply the Enemy with Provisions. A few days ago four large Waggon's loaded with flour & pork, which had been purchased in York Town & sent off towards Philad<sup>a</sup> for the use of the Enemy: fell in with Col. Morgan's Corps near the lines & who made prize of them all. I hope the purchasers will be properly paid for their trouble.

You mention four shirts which were mending for me—You will keep them till I write for them, as I have some hopes of being supplied here—I am anxious for the time when my business will indulge me with a Visit to Ellerslie. I count the days as they pass & am almost tempted like the poets “to chide their delay & bid them speed their flight.” I flattered myself that I should have the pleasure of seeing you early in April. Col. Ward's departure to New England will prevent me—During his absence the burden of superintending the Department will rest on me—& therefore it is probable I cannot obtain a furlow till his return which will be in May.

With regard to the pad, if it can be conveniently made at Rariton it will be best—

Give my kindest love to Mamma & remember me to all the family—I shall write to M<sup>r</sup> Wallace in a few days—Tommy & his family are well.

Adieu my dear sister—  
remember your own

Affectionately  
W. Bradford Jun<sup>r</sup>



*James Madison, Jr., to William Bradford, Jr.*

Williamsburg March 23<sup>th</sup> 78.

Dear Sir

An Express being just starting off for Head Quarters, I cannot help imparting to you some very agreeable intelligence just recd. A Capt. of a Letter of Marke Vessel from this State writes to the gov<sup>r</sup> from Cheasepeak Bay that he left Martineque on the 23 Ult<sup>o</sup> that Letters had been recd. there from France as late as 1<sup>st</sup> from sundry respectable Merch<sup>ts</sup> relating that the French Court had actually recognized Doc<sup>r</sup> Franklin as Ambassador for the Independent States of America in the most public and authentic manner and that the Doc<sup>r</sup> had formed an Alliance for 30 years. That the King of Prussia had notified his intention of sending several ships loaded with Stores to America and had threatened in case of their being interrupted by the British Ship of War to invade Hanover with a formidable Army and that he had declared Empden a free Port. This account also says that the Queen of Portugal had opened her ports to the United States. Some parts of this News carry the face of great improbability, but there are several circumstances that encourage us to hope that the substance of it may not be entirely groundless. It comes through two other oral channels, one in particular by Capt. Bush an intelligent and honest man from this state who left Martineque as lately as the 10<sup>th</sup> inst<sup>t</sup> and affirms that the News respects D<sup>r</sup> Franklin & the King of Prussia was rec<sup>d</sup> by the Gov<sup>r</sup> of M. in dispatches from France and that 13 rounds were fired from their Canon in deference of the 13 independent States of America. This Express has been detained for the purpose of scratchg these few lines and I can only add that I am as I ought to be

Y<sup>rs</sup> ob<sup>t</sup>

J. M. Jun<sup>r</sup> (?)

[James Madison Jun<sup>r</sup>]



*William Bradford, Jr., to his sister, Mrs. Wallace*

Camp April 21, 1778.

My dearest Tacy,

Where I disposed to forget as much as I am thinking of you, it would be out of my power to do so. I carry so many proofs of your kindness about me, that Ellerslie frequently obtrudes itself upon my mind even in my most busied hours—yet ever welcome will that idea be which reminds me of that sister in whose affection my heart finds so large a portion of its happiness.

I heartily wish for an end of this cruel War which seperates the dearest friends & banishes the social & domestic pleasures. But tho' I long for peace I hope our rulers will never purchase it upon base terms. Such terms it is said will be offered soon—for I call any terms base & dishonorable which imply a dependance upon G. Britain when we have bled & suffered so much in resisting her Tyranny. A very extraordinary speech delivered by L<sup>d</sup> North is published in the Philad<sup>a</sup> Papers. He says that the power of America is much Greater than any man would have imagined—that it will require length of time and much expence to subject us—& therefore he proposes that [com]missioners be sent over with *ample* powers to [neg]ociate a reconciliation—to disclaim the parlia[men]tary right of Taxation—except such as are [neces]sary for the regulation of commerce—& that [it] shall be disposed of by the state or provinci[al] word to put us in the situation we were in [before] 63 with some additional securities of our freedom. [He e]omplains of Gen' Howe—says that he himself has [done] everything that a good minister could do—has [furn]ished the General with Troops with money & [provi]sions in plenty—but that he could not command success without the endeavors of the Commander in Chief—That he is well assured Gen' Washington has always been inferior to Howe in





Numbers—This is the substance of the speech as related to me (for I have not seen it) and have no doubt it will produce very disagreeable consequences. It will give the disaffected among us an opportunity to raise a clamor & will gull others who long for peace on any Terms—Hostilities I hope will not cease while the Enemy continues in the Country—if we must negotiate—let us negotiate & fight at the same time—

Give my love to M<sup>r</sup> Wallace—inform him that he will oblige me extremely by sending the boots pr first opportunity—Yet why request this—I know his kindness & attention—

I have not purchased the Tea—I expect M<sup>rs</sup> Fisher will be out soon & I will trust the management of the affair to her—With love to all I am

My dear sister

Your very affectionate

W. Bradford Jun<sup>r</sup>

*P. S.*

I brought away one of your Keys by mis[take] I left my own behind. Yours I have sent [torn] who no doubt will forward it to you.

*William Bradford, Jr., to his sister, Rachel.*

[Valley Forge] May 14<sup>th</sup> 1778.

My dear Rachel

I find by a Letter from my father that you are on a visit at Trenton. I should be happy could you extend your Jaunt as far as full View—The Camp could now afford you some entertainment. The manœuvering of the Army is in itself a sight that would Charm you.—Besides these, the Theatre is opened—Last Monday Cato was performed before a very numerous & splendid audience. His Excellency & Lady, Lord Stirling, the Countess & Lady Kitty, & M<sup>r</sup> Green were part of the Assembly. The scenery was in Taste—& the performance admirable—Col. George did his part to admiration



—he made an excellent *die* (as they say)—Pray heaven, he don't *die* in earnest—for yesterday he was siezed with the pleurisy & lies extremely ill—If the Enemy does not retire from Philad<sup>a</sup> soon, our Theatrical amusements will continue—The fair Penitent with the Padlock will soon be acted. The “recruiting officer” is also on foot.

I hope however we shall be disappointed in all these by the more agreeable Entertainment of taking possession of Philad<sup>a</sup>—There are strong rumors that the English are meditating a retreat—Heaven send it—for I fear we shall not be able to force them to go these two months—

I scrawl these few lines to accompany a letter which I send to my Father—Love to sister Betty & all Friends.

Adieu ma chere sœur, je suis votre.

W. B.



REPORT OF ADMIRAL SIR WILLIAM PENN TO  
THE NAVAL BOARD, 1655.

(Manuscript Division, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

Honored Gent.

My last of y<sup>e</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> of December sent by the Ship called the Merchant of London, w<sup>ch</sup> we met about 34 Lgs SW<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Lizard, bound home, informed yo<sup>u</sup> what posture o<sup>r</sup> fleet was in at that time, only we mistook the Beare for y<sup>e</sup> Great Charity w<sup>ch</sup> vpon springing a Leake, or some other disaster, bore vp the night before, the wind being much, y<sup>e</sup> Sea great, & it being alsoe very dark none of the Ships in our Company could possibly speak w<sup>th</sup> her. Soe y<sup>t</sup> we remaine ignorant of the cause, wherfore she left vs. Two dayes after finding we lost much time in attending some slugish ships of our Company. I ordered (by the approbation of Gen<sup>l</sup> Venables, & M<sup>r</sup> Winslow) the Beare, Sampson, & Adam & Eue to keep Company together w<sup>th</sup> the Lion, & to follow vs soe fast as they could, apprehending y<sup>e</sup> Service might be advantaged by our hasting hither. We, the Vice Adm<sup>l</sup>, Gloucester, Portland, Dover, & ffalmouth, making sayle away. But y<sup>e</sup> next day (being 1<sup>o</sup> January) the Paragon springing a Leak in her Larbord bow occasioned the loss of some time by obliging vs thence forward to occomadate o<sup>r</sup> selves to w<sup>t</sup> sayle she was able to beare. On y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Grantham ouertook vs, & informed that y<sup>e</sup> Pellican Priz. - had sprung a Leak about 40 Lgs. to y<sup>e</sup> Westward of Scilly, w<sup>ch</sup> being surveyed by seuerall Captaines of Ships in her Company, it was by them thought necessary to take out y<sup>e</sup> Soldiers, & returne her back, w<sup>ch</sup> was accordingly done, and I conceive she might fetch some part of Ireland the wind being then



Easterly. On y<sup>e</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> we came in sight of the Isle of Palma, & drawing noe nigher then what might serve to make the place, we stood away. All this while God gaue vs a very favourable Wind, in soe much y<sup>t</sup> scarce at any time were we necessitated to vary o<sup>r</sup> Course. And from the place we sailed away before the Wind, w<sup>th</sup> a Constant, and almost a stedy Gale till we arrived at this in all w<sup>ch</sup> time we met w<sup>th</sup> noe Ship, nor Vessell, saue y<sup>t</sup> by w<sup>ch</sup> I wrote vnto yo<sup>u</sup>. On y<sup>e</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> we came here, where we found y<sup>e</sup> Reare Adm<sup>l</sup> & his Squadron, who came in the day before, alsoe the Marigold, and Selby, who were in some howres before them. Only y<sup>e</sup> Marston Moor (w<sup>h</sup>ome the Reare Adm<sup>l</sup> had sent away w<sup>th</sup> Majo<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Heane, & Capt Butler to put in Execution y<sup>e</sup> Instructions they received from his Highnes, in Order to this affaيرة, hoping she would have been here some days before any of the rest, w<sup>ch</sup> he kept in Company w<sup>th</sup> him, could arrive) mist y<sup>e</sup> Island & runn to Leeward. But on y<sup>e</sup> next day being the 30<sup>th</sup> she alsoe came in.

The Goodnes of God hath been exceeding great vnto vs as well in respect of y<sup>e</sup> short & faire Passage he gaue vs as alsoe the Generall health of both Seamen & Souldiers, this, through his mercy is still continued vnto vs, beyond all expectation, w<sup>ch</sup> giues vs great occasion to praise his Name. Presently after o<sup>r</sup> arriual we imbarqu'd all Ships, Vessells, & Boats, soe that none since y<sup>t</sup> time hath departed vntill this, w<sup>ch</sup> is pmitted to come w<sup>th</sup> the Com<sup>rs</sup> Pacquet to his Hignes. We took alsoe course for securing all fforraigne Ships, & Vessells y<sup>t</sup> were found in any Harbour of this Island, an accompt wherof, as alsoe of those since come in, & seized, yo<sup>u</sup> haue hereinclosed. By Thursday 1<sup>o</sup> ffebruary all other Ships were come in, saue y<sup>e</sup> G: Charity, Pellican, Little Charity, & y<sup>e</sup> Crow, of w<sup>ch</sup> fowre we have not heard as yet any tidings. On y<sup>e</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Marston Moore, & Selby were dispatcht away to Leeward w<sup>th</sup>





his Highnes's Lres to y<sup>e</sup> Gouverno<sup>rs</sup> of Montserat, Christophers, Meavis, & Antegua, Capt Butler, & Lt Col: Holdip, being joynd in Comission w<sup>th</sup> Capt Blagg, & sent away by the Com<sup>rs</sup> w<sup>th</sup> Instructions w<sup>t</sup> to doe at those places, a Copie wherof yo<sup>u</sup> shall herew<sup>th</sup> receive.

Vnderstanding y<sup>t</sup> there was on bord two Merchant Ships of London, (vizt) the Advice, & y<sup>e</sup> John, some Beefe & Porke sent hither for Sale by ye Victuallers of y<sup>e</sup> Navy I ordered a survey therof & finding a small parcell of it may be eatable I intend to take it vp for a suply of flesh for o<sup>r</sup> New Levyes I have alsoe ordered some judicious & vnconcerned Comand<sup>rs</sup> of Merchant Ships to survey & appraize all y<sup>e</sup> fforraigne Ships, & Vessells w<sup>th</sup> their appurtenances, Coppies of w<sup>ch</sup> appraizm<sup>ts</sup> as alsoe of the Inventories of y<sup>e</sup> respectiue Ships, & y<sup>e</sup> Skippers Examinations are herewith sent yo<sup>u</sup>.

Gent. I know yo<sup>u</sup> haue alwaies before yo<sup>u</sup> o<sup>r</sup> Con-dicon as to Victualls, & yo<sup>u</sup> know y<sup>e</sup> want therof hath occasioned the loss of many a man, & y<sup>e</sup> miscarriage of many an Vndertaking in these Western Parts, w<sup>ch</sup> God in his Mercy, & yo<sup>u</sup>, in yo<sup>r</sup> prudence I hope will p<sup>r</sup>vent in this. The state of o<sup>r</sup> Victualling (so far as I can judg) is truely laid downe in y<sup>e</sup> inclosed accompt, wherein yo<sup>u</sup> will see how much the Victuall<sup>rs</sup> haue ouer-charged seuerall Ships, & how in the oatmeale, Pease, & Rice w<sup>ch</sup> is furnished in Liew of ffish they are short about 200<sup>li</sup> in the fflower y<sup>t</sup> is in Liew of flesh about 1800<sup>li</sup> sterl: much of o<sup>r</sup> dry Prouisions (especially bread) is greatly p<sup>r</sup>judiced by the wet, & by the dampnes of y<sup>e</sup> Ships Houlds, where much was stowed away in Bags, y<sup>e</sup> Bread Roomes being full, others haue been Leaky in their Bread-rooms, wherby great quantities haue been spoiled, & vtterly made vnfit to be eaten. Of this o<sup>r</sup> want will soon be very great, vnles yo<sup>r</sup> sup-plies be very large, & speedy. The number of Eaters doth & will encrease daylie, & this nor any of y<sup>e</sup> Lee-



ward Islands being able to supply vs at all, w<sup>t</sup> we haue will not last long, & we cannot rationally expect any recruits but from Old & New England & w<sup>t</sup> quantity of wheat this last can spare, I cannot say, but this will be found a trueth, y<sup>t</sup> were they kept constantly a baking (besides their owne occasions of bread) they cannot possibly be able to supply the eight part of w<sup>t</sup> this fleet, & Army will call for. And I find it will be very difficult to bring y<sup>e</sup> men to short allowance of Victualls, vnless they be paid y<sup>e</sup> rest of it in ready money (w<sup>ch</sup> o<sup>r</sup> Stock will not hold long to doe) & y<sup>t</sup> alsoe where they may buy refreshm<sup>ts</sup> therewith. As for y<sup>e</sup> things w<sup>ch</sup> I apprehend very needfull to be speedily sent, as a supply to the fleet, in reference to Boatswaynes, Gunn<sup>rs</sup>, & Carpent<sup>rs</sup> Stores they are in an inclosed noate & I shall y<sup>e</sup> rather desire it may be minded for y<sup>t</sup> the Land forces haue noe other way of supply but from vs & indeed o<sup>r</sup> Stores are very much exhausted, by triming, & fitting vp these rotten Prizes to make them serviceable for transportation of o<sup>r</sup> new Leavyes whose Number besides 2 Troops of Horse, I suppose, are about 3000 more then 1400 wherof, we shalbe necessitated to receiue into o<sup>r</sup> fleet, y<sup>e</sup> Prizes being for y<sup>e</sup> most part very small, & but of one deck, are very vnfit for such Service. Our Sayles we find to Rott very much by the D in these parts, w<sup>ch</sup> calls for a timely supply. The Swiftsure hath two Main courses, one wherof hath belonged vnto her about these 4 yeares & is almost vnserviceable, y<sup>e</sup> other is soe far from being new, y<sup>t</sup> we have been forced to strengthen it, by banding since o<sup>r</sup> coming from Portsmouth, my desire therefore is, y<sup>t</sup> a new one may be sent by the first conveyance.

And as for Cask, w<sup>t</sup> w<sup>th</sup> triming vp all sorts for y<sup>e</sup> Prizes, & for o<sup>r</sup> owne Ships, y<sup>e</sup> Store of Iron hoops laid in, is well nigh all spent, soe y<sup>t</sup> I must be an earnest suitor to yo<sup>u</sup> for a large supply by the first,



(y<sup>e</sup> Leeward p<sup>ts</sup> affording none that I can hear of, either wood, or Iron) that through y<sup>e</sup> want therof we be not streightned, & rendred incapable of taking in such quantities of Liquor, as may be proportionable to y<sup>e</sup> time, & number o<sup>r</sup> business shall require by w<sup>ch</sup> defect alone, a hoop full designe may be made abortiue.

The occasion of o<sup>r</sup> stay here hath been for y<sup>e</sup> want of Armes, y<sup>e</sup> Ships wherein they are, hauing not reached vs, & those we were promised to be furnished w<sup>th</sup> here, were all disposed of before o<sup>r</sup> arriual, soe y<sup>t</sup> notw<sup>th</sup>standing all meanes haue been used both to buy, & borrow here, till o<sup>r</sup>s should arriue, we haue not been able to excuse aboue 1500, & those too, but very lately, in hopes therby to be rid of vs, & many of y<sup>e</sup> Souldiers y<sup>t</sup> we brought over w<sup>th</sup> vs, had noe Musquetts, & of those they had, few (as y<sup>e</sup> Colonels affirme) are serviceable. but w<sup>th</sup> this supply from y<sup>e</sup> Island<sup>rs</sup> we are resolued not to stay for those Ships but on y<sup>e</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> instant to set Sayle, & cast o<sup>r</sup>selues vpon y<sup>e</sup> Prouidence of God for the rest.

We have listed a compleat Regim<sup>t</sup> consisting of about 1200 lusty Seamen Comanded by their owne officers, & exercized almost euery day on y<sup>e</sup> Shoare they are very free & resolute for Land Service when there shalbe occasion for it.

We cannot as yet, heare any certaine relation of y<sup>e</sup> Spaniards strenght by Sea in these parts, but one who about 6 weeks since came from an Island to Leeward possesst by the Netherland<sup>rs</sup> called Curacas neer Corro vpon y<sup>e</sup> Maine did report y<sup>t</sup> he hath an Armado at y<sup>e</sup> Havana, but could say little to y<sup>e</sup> strength therof.

Gent I think it my duty to communicate vnto yo<sup>u</sup> y<sup>e</sup> discouragem<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> officers & Seamen ly vnd<sup>r</sup> by reason of y<sup>e</sup> surplusage of Prize Money vndiuided, w<sup>ch</sup> they look vpon, as their reall due, concerning w<sup>ch</sup> I have endeavoured to satisfie them by taking on my selfe a good share of the blame, for not stirring in it more in



season, & telling them y<sup>t</sup> I doubted not, but that they should receive full satisfacon therein. This hath begat two seuerall addresses vnto me by way of Peticon from divers Comand<sup>rs</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> fleet, in behalfe of them selues, & Seamen, wherein they desire to vnderstand w<sup>t</sup> they may rely vpon for their Shares of w<sup>t</sup> shalbe taken in these Seas. My answeare to them was, y<sup>t</sup> though I could not give them any absolute answeare herein, yet I beliened a speedy declaration would giue them satisfacon in it. I p<sup>s</sup>umed alsoe to tell them (finding it was but convenient) y<sup>t</sup> they might rest assured his Highnes would not afford them less in this, then they had in y<sup>e</sup> Dutch Warrs to w<sup>ch</sup> I receiued noe reply saue y<sup>t</sup> they apprehended y<sup>e</sup> work of y<sup>e</sup> p<sup>r</sup>sent Service harder & more vncomfortable then y<sup>t</sup> of the other was. another part of the Petition was concerning the care y<sup>t</sup> should be taken for y<sup>e</sup> maimed, & y<sup>e</sup> Relacons of y<sup>e</sup> slaine in the Service. To w<sup>ch</sup> I gaue them assurance of the same care y<sup>t</sup> was taken during the War w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Dutch. I beseech yo<sup>u</sup> make me capable of y<sup>r</sup> next to giue them satisfacon in these particul<sup>rs</sup>, the Service being much concerned in yo<sup>r</sup> incuragm<sup>t</sup> of those y<sup>t</sup> are here, that others therby may be y<sup>e</sup> sooner invited to ingage in the same, for doubtless the hard Ships they are like to encounter, will not be small, & y<sup>e</sup> Prizes (I suppose) not of soe great concernm<sup>t</sup> as some doe imagine. In one thing I shall make bold to giue yo<sup>u</sup> my advice, w<sup>ch</sup> is y<sup>t</sup> when yo<sup>u</sup> shall send my Ships to o<sup>r</sup> releife, or otherwise, they may be such as carry their Gunns of a very good heighth, for y<sup>e</sup> Seas in these parts run constantly so high, y<sup>t</sup> I feare very few of these men of War wilbe able to carry out their lower Tyres when occasion may be therof, (w<sup>ch</sup> fault I hope wilbe mended in y<sup>e</sup> second rate Ships now in building) And as for Dutch Ships we haue too many in those, we brought out of England, & shalbe sending them home soe fast





as occasion shall require. I haue not further to trouble yo<sup>u</sup> at this time but remaine. Gent.

Gent I wanted roome to tell yo<sup>u</sup> y<sup>t</sup> it would very much conduce to the advantage of the service, y<sup>t</sup> twenty Shallops (somewhat larger and more flat bottomd then those we haue) be sent in quarters vnto vs, with Masts, Sayles, & what else belongeth vnto them, and a Small gun for the head of each. And to giue yo<sup>u</sup> my opinion, that the State will Loose very much during o<sup>r</sup> work, for want of more 5<sup>th</sup> rate firrigots, they being the most convenient & vseful in regard of their nimblenesse vnder Sayle rowing if occasion serue, & their force withall. Those that are Lesse, may be in too much danger.

Gent

Yo<sup>r</sup> humble servant

Wm. Penn.

ffrom on bord the Swiftsure  
in Carlisle Bay. Barbadas. this  
17<sup>th</sup> March. 1655.



GENEALOGICAL GLEANINGS OF THE WILSON,  
OR WILLSONS, OF ULSTER.<sup>1</sup>

BY THOMAS ALLEN GLENN.

(Continued from Vol. XXXVIII., page 354.)

*Diocese of Derry Wills.*

Will of Hugh Willson in Broglashow. Dated 5 Dec., 1721. Proved 9 August, 1722, by Thomas Martin, John Cross (*sic*), and John Willson.

To testator's wife (name not mentioned) one third part of all my goods & household furnishing & only one cow to Mary Willson daughter to George Willson & all the rest of my worldly goods to be equally divided between my son John Willson & my son (*sic*) John Corss (*sic*) & my son (*sic*) Thomas Martin.

Witnesses: John Scot, George Clenden.

*Diocese of Ardagh (searched to 1806).<sup>2</sup>*

\*George Wilson, Leherly, 1722.

Alexander Wilson, Lisserdowland, Co. Longford, 1765.

Mathew Wilson, Fagharoe, 1769.

William Wilson, Augherickard, 1768.

William Wilson, Cloncoose, 1787.

William Wilson, Drumbruckless, Co. Cavan, 1790.

Will of George Wilson of Leherly, Co. Longford. Dated . . . . Proved 1722, by Jona Wilson, executrix.

Testator desires to be buried in the Church of Lanesboro, and refers to lands in the Co. of Longford.

Sons John and James, three unmarried, and one

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<sup>1</sup> And borderland. Many of the descendants of the Ulster Wilsons moved to adjacent places, and a number to the south of Ireland.

<sup>2</sup> \* before a name indicates that an abstract of the will is given.



married daughter. Wife (no name mentioned), executrix.

Witnesses: Jean Kelly, Arth. Forbes.

*Diocese of Kilmore Wills (searched to 1800).*

Admon. (C. T. A.) of Thomas Wilson of the parish of Killersherdine deceased granted to George Wilson and Ann Wilson (widow and relict of the deceased), 25 April, 1711.<sup>3</sup>

\*Ann Wilson, Corabagh, Co. Cavan, 1716.

\*William Wilson, Drumwhose, Killisherdin, 1743.

\*Samuel Wilson, Derryhow, Drumlane, 1746.

\*Andrew Willson, Poles, Anageliff, 1752.

\*Thomas Willson, Billis, 1763.

John Wilson, Proudstown, Co. Meath, 1792.

*Ardagh Admon. Bonds.*

William Wilson, Lisardoolin, Templemichael, 1720-1.

Samuel Wilson, Derryhow, 1746.

Mathew Wilson, Farraghroe, Killoe, 1771.

Alexander Wilson, Clonbroney, 1799.

*Kilmore Admon. Bonds.*

John Wilson, Cornacary, 1759.

Thomas Wilson, Billys, 1763.

George Wilson, Drominiskin, 1768.

Robert Wilson, Drewlamon, 1777.

Thomas Wilson, Belisses, 1800.

*Meath Admon. Bonds.*

Mark Wilson, Parsonstown, Meath, 1778.

Will of Ann Wilson (*alias* Boyers) in the Co. of Cavan living in the land of Corabagh [widow of Thomas Wilson deceased]. Dated 20 April, 1716. Proved 14 May, 1716.

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<sup>3</sup> Will missing.



Daughter Mary and her (the latter's) husband Thomas Wilson.

Sons of testatrix, viz.:

Thomas Wilson, and  
Hugh Wilson.<sup>4</sup>

Daughters: Sarah, Elizabeth, and Mary (above named, wife of Thomas Wilson).

Lease of Corabagh<sup>5</sup> to testatrix's son Hugh Wilson.

"If Sarah Wilson and Elizabeth Wilson marry without the consent of their uncle Hugh Wilson and Thomas Wilson their natural<sup>6</sup> brother their portions shall not be given to them nor their husbands."

Trustee, "George Wilson who is Exor [of will of testatrix's late husband, Thomas] along with me."

Exor., son Hugh Wilson.

Witnesses: Thomas Wilson, David Campbell, Hugh Wilson.

Will of William Wilson of Drumwhose, in the parish of Killisherdin, Co. Cavan, Linendraper. Dated 13 April, 1742. Proved by James Moore and James Trenor, exors., 20 April, 1743.

Wife Sarah to have lease of house in town of Cootehill, and lands belonging thereto, she to educate testator's children.

Son Adam Wilson under age of 21 years. Daughters, Lidia, Jane, and Elizabeth.

Exors., Brother-in-law James Trenor of Dung, in the parish of Drumgoon, Co. Cavan, Linendraper.

Brother-in-law James Moore of Manor of Corvoggy in said Co., farmer, Kinsman John Boyle of Cootehill, gent., to be director.

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<sup>4</sup>He was born 1689 (about), and removed to Pennsylvania. See PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, vol. xxxvii, page 507.

<sup>5</sup>Near Cootehill.

<sup>6</sup>*i.e.* natural born, *not* illegitimate as the word is generally understood. The records of this period frequently contain the words "natural and legitimate."





Witnesses: James Hamilton, John Reed, Robert Hicks.

Will of Captain Samuel Wilson of Derryhow in the parish of Drumlane, Co. Cavan, gent. Dated 21 Sept., 1745. Proved by Rebeckah Wilson, relict, 16 Augt., 1746.

The testator desires to be buried in the Church of Drumlane.

Wife Rebeckah Wilson, Lease of Derryhow, and she executrix.

Daughter Rebeckah Anderson "now in America." Grandson Samuel Stephens, and his sister Frances Baker. Nephew Tom Wilson.

Witnesses: Jos. Ingham, Francis Halliday, Richard Moore.

Will of Andrew Willson of Poles in the parish of Anageliff, Co. Cavan. Dated 24 April, 1752. Proved by Robert Wilson, 18 May, 1752. The testator desires to be buried in the Churchyard of Anageliff.

Wife to have money due from a bond of her father James Johnston.

Daughter Elizabeth Wilson.

Testator's father Robert Wilson, and mother Mary. Lands of Poles and Lisdromin.

Children of Samuel Ramsay by testator's sister Mary.

Cousin Robert Wilson.

Uncle James Wilson.

Exors., Mr. James Cottingham, testator's father Robert Wilson and Michael Collum of Stragetly.

Witnesses: A. Evans, Robert Ramsay, John Reily.

Will of Thomas Willson of Billes. Dated 6 Sept., 1762. Proved by the widow, 28 March, 1763.

Testator mentions his wife Uphemia, sons Charles



and Thomas, and daughter Elizabeth. Testator was possessed of freehold farm lands, a mill, and other property.

Exors., Robert Byers, and John Bran.

*Indexes to the Act of Settlement.*

(Grants).

1666-1684.

John Willson, Waterford.

Nicholas Willson, Clonmell.

Sir Ralph Willson, Limerick.

Rowland Willson, West Meath.

Samuel Willson, Meath, Kings County.

William Willson, West Meath.

*Certificates of the Court of Claims.*

John Wilson, vi. 24.

Nicholas Wilson, vi. 8.

Rowland Wilson, vi. 17.

William Wilson, vi. 57.

Samuel Wilson, vi. 44.

John Wilson, xi. 58.

*Certificates for Adventurers and Soldiers.*

Mr. Willson, xxiv. 35.

Ralph Willson, xxvii. 48.

Robert Willson, xxiv. 30.

Samuel Willson, xv. 79.

David Wilson, xxviii. 48.

Edith Wilson, xxix. 81.

John Wilson, xvii. 41, xxiii. 29, 30, 43.

Nicholas Wilson, xxv. 48.

Sir Ralph Wilson, v. 40.

Robert Wilson, xxi. 82.

Rowland Wilson, xiii. 61, xxx. 60.

Susan Wilson, xiii. 61.



\*Thomas Wilson, xxix. 83.

William Wilson, xi. 41.

*Decrees of Innocents.*

\*Thomas Wilson, ix. 86.

1668, 2 Jan., the Kings Inn, Dublin. Award to Thomas Wilson, one time an officer in His Majesty's service in Ireland, of lands in Ireland in lieu of arrears of pay. The said lands being part of those seized and set apart by reason of the late horrid Rebellion or Warre which began or broke out in this Kingdome of Ireland upon the twenty-third day of October, 1641. The said Thomas Wilson being an officer as aforesaid during this war, had in common with other officers, a grant of said lands, 7 May, 1659, which is confirmed (Certif. for Adventurers &c., xxix., 83).

14 Carl. 11., 6 Nov. Claim of George Gouldsmith and Hester his wife, to town and lands of Kilbeg in the Co. of West Meath, and Barony of Moycashell, setting forth that Thomas Wilson, esquire, being seized of said town and lands grant the same with his daughter the said Hester to the said George Gouldsmith as a marriage portion, in the year 1650. Claim allowed 4 Augt., 16 Carl. 11. (Decree of Innocents, Roll ix., 86). The decree did not release the remainder of the estate of the said Thomas Wilson, forfeited.

*Muster Rolls and Hearth Tax, Raphoe and Derry.*

Mr. William Wilson,<sup>1</sup> Raphoe, 1618.

William Wilson, tenant, Raphoe, 1630.

James Wilson, tenant, Raphoe, 1630.

Robert Wilson, tenant, Raphoe, 1630.

John Wilson, tenant, Raphoe, 1630.

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<sup>1</sup> Father of Sir John Wilson of Wilson's Fort. Mr. William Wilson survived his son, and was living after 1636.



Alexander Wilson, tenant, Raphoe, 1665.

Richard Wilson, Raphoe, 1665.

Humphrey Wilson, 1665.

John Wilson, Derry, 1630.

Gabrael Wilson, Derry, 1630.

James Willstone, Derry, 1663.

James Willsonn, Derry, 1663.

Robert Willsonn, Derry, 1663.

Andrew Wilson, Derry, 1663.





LANCASTER, PENNA., FOR CAPITAL OF THE  
UNITED STATES.

[Among the "Yeates Papers," in the Manuscript Division, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is the original of the letter sent to William Hamilton, Esq., by Edward Hand, Burgess, a copy of those forwarded to the Senators and Representatives of Congress, when the selection of a permanent location for the Federal city was being considered. The advantages of Lancaster, Penna., are set forth in detail by Burgess Hand.]

Lancaster March 17<sup>th</sup> 1789.

Gentlemen

The Corporation of this Borough have been instructed by the Inhabitants thereof & of the adjoining Townships to address you. The *new Constitution*, to which we anxiously look up as the Means of establishing the Empire of America on the most sure & solid Basis, is ere now in Motion & one of the Objects of *Congress* will be to fix on a permanent Place of Residence where their exclusive Jurisdiction can be *conveniently & safely* exercised. Should the general Interests of the Union point out an Inland Central Situation as preferable to that of a Sea-port for the future Residence of that *Honorable Body*, We humbly presume to offer ourselves as Candidates for that distinguished Honor. We feel ourselves more emboldened to enter into the Lists, as we find this Borough has been lately put in Nomination by the *Honorable Congress* under the former Consideration, and we suffer ourselves to be flattered, that the Reasons which then subsisted for such a Choice, exist more strongly at the present Moment. As an Inland Town we do not perceive ourselves inferior to any within the Dominion of the United States.—Our Lands are remarkably fertile & in a high State of Cultivation, —Our Country is possessed of every Conveniency for Water Works as will appear by the Drafts herewith sent—& peculiarly healthy;—our Water is good:—Every necessary Material for Building is to be had in the greatest Quantity desired, & at the most reasonable



Rates, & we venture to assert that there is no Part of the United States which can boast within the Compass of ten Miles, the same Number of Waggon & good Teams with ourselves.

We are sensible that Dealing in Generals will have no Effect with dispassionate & temperate Minds.—We venture therefore to descend into a more minute Recapitulation & pledge ourselves to you for the Truth & Correctness of the following Statement, which has been made upon the most thorough Examination & in the Carefullest Manner in our Power without Exaggeration.

The Borough of Lancaster is a Square encompassing a Portion of Ground of one Mile in Length from the Center (the Court House) by the Main Streets which intersect it at right Angles. We have five public Buildings, Including an elegant Court House 58 Feet by 48 Feet. In the second Story thereof is a very handsome Room 44 Feet by 32 Feet in the Clear & two convenient adjoining Rooms each being 22 Feet by 16 Feet in the Clear.—There are seven Places of public Worship besides a Temporary Synagogue, belonging to the respective Societies of Episcopalians—Presbyterians, Lutherans, Reformed Church of Heidelberg, Moravians, Quakers & Catholics. Within the Compass of the Borough an Enumeration of the Dwelling Houses was actually taken in 1786 & the Number then built was 678, which since that Period has considerably increased. Many of the Houses are large elegant & commodious, & would in our Idea accommodate Congress & their Suite at this Period, without Inconvenience. Boarding & Lodgings are to be had at very easy Rates. According to the best Computation we can make there are within this Borough about 4200 Souls. A Number of great Roads pass through this Place,—we are a Thoroughfare to the 4 Cardinal Points of the Compass. Labour is to be had at the Rate of 2/ p Day;—

The Current Prices of Provisions are Wheat 5/6. Rye 3/. Indian Corn 2/6 Oats 1/6 p Bushel Best Hay £3 p Ton Pork & Stall fed Beef from 25/ to 30/ p C<sup>w</sup>t Veal 3<sup>d</sup>—& Mutton 3½<sup>d</sup> p lb—All Kinds of Poultry are in great Abundance & reasonable. Shad Rock & Salmon are plentifully supplied to us from the Susque-



hanah in their Seasons. The Prices of Fire Wood the last Season have been for Hickory Wood 12/6 & oak 8/6. p Cord. Within the Distances of 9 & 30 Miles from this Place, we have 6 Furnaces 7 Forges 2 Slitting Mills & 2 Rolling Mills for the Manufacture of Iron. Within a Compass of 10 Miles square we have 18 Merchant Mills, 16 Saw Mills, 1 Fulling Mill, 4 Oil Mills, 5 Hemp Mills, 2 Boring & Grinding Mills for Gun Barrels & 8 Tan Yards. There are a great Number of convenient Sites for Water Works still unoccupied.

Within the Borough alone are the following Manufacturers and Artisans Viz. 14 Hatters 36 Shoemakers, 4 Tanners, 17 Saddlers, 25 Taylors, 22 Butchers, 25 Weavers, 3 Stocking Weavers, 25 Black Smiths & White Smith, 6 Wheel Wrights, 21 Bricklayers & Masons, 12 Bakers, 30 Carpenters, 11 Coopers, 6 Plasters, 6 Clock & Watch Makers, 6 Tobacconists 4 Dyers, 7 Gun Smiths, 5 Rope Makers, 4 Tin Men, 2 Brass Founders, 3 Skin Dressers, 1 Brush Maker, 7 Turners, 7 Nailers, 5 Silver Smiths, 3 Potters & 3 Copper Smiths, besides their respective Journey Men & Apprentices. There are also 3 Breweries, 3 Brick Yards, 3 Printing Presses & 40 Houses of public Entertainment within the Borough.

The Materials for Building such as Stone Lime, Sand, Clay proper for Bricks, Timber Boards &c. are to be had in the greatest Abundance at the most reasonable Rates; We would instance as one Particular, that the best Pine Boards from the Susquehannah are delivered here at 5/6 p hundred Feet.

Our Centrical Situation will be best determined by the Consideration of the following Distances which pursue the Courses of the Roads now occupied, but may be shortened & which we consider as accurately taken Viz:

From Lancaster	Miles.
to Philad <sup>a</sup> .....	66
to Wilmington .....	50
to Newport .....	47
to Head of Elk .....	45
to North East .....	42
to Rock Run .....	38
to Mouth of Susquehanah .....	42



to Baltimore by M <sup>c</sup> Calls Ferry . . . . .	60
to Trenton by Swedes Ford . . . . .	90
to Coryells Ferry on Delaware . . . . .	87
to Reading . . . . .	31
to Easton . . . . .	83
to Wrights Ferry on Susquehannah . .	10
to Harris's d <sup>o</sup> . . . . .	36
to Andersons d <sup>o</sup> . . . . .	13
to M <sup>c</sup> Calls d <sup>o</sup> . . . . .	16
to Peach Bottom d <sup>o</sup> . . . . .	22
to Nolands Ferry on Potowmack . . . .	93
to Harpers d <sup>o</sup> . . . . .	110

We have presumed Gentlemen to make the foregoing Statement & address it to you. The general National Interests of *America* at large will, We are persuaded be fully considered, when the important Point of the future permanent Residence of *Congress* is agitated & determined on by that *Honorable Body*. We have Reason to Think that W<sup>m</sup> Hamilton Esq<sup>r</sup> who is intituled to the Rent Charges & unoccupied Parts of this Borough would cheerfully meet every Wish of Congress, so far as his Property is concerned. Permit us only to add that our Citizens are federal & strongly attached to the new System of Government:

We have the Honor to be with every Sentiment of  
 Respect Gentlemen,  
 Your most faithful  
 And obedient Hble Servt<sup>s</sup>  
 In Behalf of the Corporation  
 & Citizens.  
 Edw<sup>d</sup> Hand  
 Burgess.





## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## Notes.

WASHINGTON'S ARMY STORES at Bethlehem, Penna., from September 17 to December 24, 1777.

*1777 September 17.*—Army wagons loaded with supplies began to arrive at Bethlehem, and John Okely received a letter from David Rittenhouse with orders from Washington to provide for the storing of army stores. They unloaded everywhere and in a few days many more arrived—all from French Creek. [17th, 38 wagons; 18th, 24 wagons; 19th, 9 wagons.] The sulphur, powder and cartridges were stored in the old flax house; the provisions and whiskey in the old dyer's house. Confusion increases in the town.

*September 23.*—The entire heavy baggage and army stores of the army in one train of 700 wagons, under command of Colonel Polk of North Carolina, with a guard of 200 men, arrived and were parked in the lowlands north of the Sun Inn. The following days they were unloaded and ordered to proceed to Trenton to bring all the stores thither.

*September 26.*—Up to this time, upwards of 900 wagons are parked behind the inn. The army women came with them.

*October 25.*—The encampment of Colonel Polk's guard was removed to the lowlands, because of the cold winds.

*December 24.*—General Washington's baggage, which for three months has been stored here, moved off to-day.

COMMISSARY GENERAL OF PRISONERS BOUDINOT TO WILLIAM ATLEE.—Camp, April 18, 1778. “. . . . I heartily feel for our worthy General, who ought to be a Saint instead of a mere man. He is sensibly effected in everything that touches his Honour, and this is too often wounded.”

## WELSH OWNERS OF THE STATE HOUSE YARD.

I venture to make a few corrections in connection with the Welsh owners of “The State House Yard” lots, mentioned in Mr. C. H. Browning's very interesting article in THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE for January, 1916.

On page 87, in referring to the Rees Thomas “woodsawyer” there specified as “one of the most prominent men of the Welsh Barony,” it would seem that Mr. Browning supposes him to be identical with Rees Thomas of Merion, who married Martha Awbrey, and was a justice, and member of the Provincial Assembly of Pennsylvania; but this is certainly wrong. Rees Thomas, the husband of Martha Awbrey, a Welsh gentleman whose career in the Province is well known, died in 1742, at which time his son, Rees Thomas, Junior, was yet alive. It is therefore quite obvious that neither of these men could be identical with Mr. Browning's Rees Thomas “woodsawyer” who was admittedly dead before 1732. As a matter of fact, it may interest Mr. Browning to learn that there were several persons in the Province at that time named Rees Thomas, who were not even remotely related to each other.

Nor is Mr. Browning correct in stating that all but one of the Welshmen owning a certain area of the State House Yard were Radnor men. Some exceptions are: the above Rees Thomas “woodsawyer,” David



Powel, John Jarman, from Llangurig (not "Llangerig"), Montgomeryshire, and John Roberts "malster." Mr. Browning is also wrong in stating (page 87) that the latter is *not* identical with John Roberts "of Pencoid" or Pencoyd. The latter is described both as "gentleman" and "malster," a combination of social position and occupation common enough in Wales, even in modern times. Under the designation of John Roberts of the parish of Llangian, in the county of Carnarvon gentlemen, he had a deed dated 30-31 July, 1682 (executed in Wales) from Richard Davies, for 150 acres of land to be surveyed to him in the Province of Pennsylvania, and which was so surveyed and laid out in Merion ("Merion," Glenn, 35, 36, 99; orig. deed and Ms. in handwriting of Rowland Ellis, endorsed "Rich<sup>d</sup> Davies Purchase & Alienation," Lib. Hist. So. Pa.). Lot No. 7 of Mr. Browning's paper appertained as a "bonus" to this purchase. In documents executed after his arrival in Pennsylvania, John Roberts of Pencoyd, or Pencoid, Merion, late of the parish of Llangian, Carnarvonshire, is frequently called "malster" and sometimes "yeoman." I repeat that he was the same John Roberts\* who became ancestor to the present Pencoyd family. There is not the slightest doubt as to that.

On page 102, James Morgan is described by Mr. Browning as "of Radnor township"; but he never set foot in that place. In 1691 he sailed for Pennsylvania, was taken fatally ill during the voyage, and dying at its termination, was buried at Bohemia Manor, where the passengers were landed. The lands which he had purchased in Wales descended to his son and heir, John Morgan, to whom they were afterwards surveyed. Rowland Ellis states (in connection with lot No. 13 of Mr. Browning) that Ellis Jones had a deed for 100 acres; that he assigned the same (with all rights, which would include the "bonus" lot No. 13) to William David, "the said William to *John Morgan*;" *not* "James," the latter being long since dead.

On page 87, Mr. Browning tells us that David James was a mariner, and had a son Howell James, both from Glascome. On page 91 he informs us that the above Howell James, then of Radnor township, married Madeline, daughter of David Kinsey, and was living 10 Nov., 1695; but on page 100, we are told that David James, having died, "his daughter and sole heir, Mary James," by deed 20 Nov., 1695, sold lot No. 15 to D. Powell. Howell James, or another of the name, was living in 1699, 1700, *perhaps* a master mariner and conceivably son to a David James; but I do not think that he was son to David James, owner of lot No. 15. However, on the other hand, I am reasonably sure that Mary James was not "sole heir" to her father; but she was his executrix, and empowered to sell his real property. Rowland Ellis says so explicitly, and tells us that she conveyed the title to her father's lands as "Executrix." She had according to most accounts a brother Evan and a sister Rebecca, who married John Miles (see PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, April, 1913, 243).

The title given by Mr. Browning to land purchased by Peter Edwards, including lot No. 4, does not agree with that of Rowland Ellis. The

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\* John Roberts of Pencoid, Merion, in an account of himself, says that he was the son of Richard Roberts of Llanergan (or Llanengan) Carnarvonshire, and that his mother was of the parish of Llangian. These parishes adjoin, and are in the Llyn (sometimes written Llun in English) peninsula. He speaks of himself, therefore, as "formerly of Llyn." His certificate of 1683 calls him "of the county of Carnarvon." The deed to him from Richard Davies, 1682, describes him as of the parish of Llangian, in the county of Carnarvon. The original purchase continued to be held by the Roberts of Pencoyd family, and may be yet in their possession. (See "Merion," 98.)



latter states that this Peter Edwards purchased from Richard Davies 100 acres, and sold the same to Thomas Parry, who resold it to Thomas Rees.

On page 102 "Hamhanghobyeholgen" is so given in "Merion," page 362; but only as a verbatim copy of an entry in the Brooke Bible.\* Mr. Browning, no doubt, has copied this gibberish without referring to page 36 of same volume, to "Welsh Founders," Glenn, vol. i., page 194, or PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE for April, 1913, page 240. The correct spelling is Llanfihangel Helygen (old Welsh Llanvihangel), meaning the Church of St. Michael by the Willows. On same page of Mr. Browning's paper, "Llanlanread in Elvel" should read Llausantfraid in Elvel. The Thomas Jones designated by Mr. Browning as of this place is described as of the parish of Glascombe (or Glascomb) in the original deed. Llausantfraid in Elvel and Glascomb are separate parishes, and two persons named Thomas Jones went to Pennsylvania from this district in Radnorshire.

It would be interesting if Mr. Browning would give his authority for the statement (page 87) in quotations, viz., "Evan ap Oliver, gentleman, from Glascombe," said to have been a shipmate of Penn, in 1682." This man is described as Evan Oliver (without any *ap*=son of) of Glascombe, in deed 19-20 June, 1682, and was the son of Evan Oliver of Glascomb, gentleman, as proved by latter's will. The family had assumed the surname of Oliver sometime before.† According to my information Evan Oliver did not arrive in Pennsylvania until 1692. If (see page 87) the John Jones who was owner of lot No. 10, i.e. was nephew to a Thomas Jones of Radnorshire, I fail to understand how Mr. Browning makes him the writer of the letter which he cites. Unfortunately, sure data is not available, but I am not inclined to suppose that the William Davies, or David, mentioned in these titles is identical with William Davies, the churchman. There were two of the name in Radnor.

I sincerely trust that the above will not be taken by Mr. Browning as an adverse criticism of his valuable paper; but simply as an indication that we Welshmen take an active interest in the history of our kinsmen who helped to found your commonwealth. Mr. Browning's method of original research in respect to the early Welsh settlers of Pennsylvania is notable; but Welsh pedigrees are full of pitfalls as Mr. Browning (unless he is more careful) will, I fear, find out.

Thomas Allen Glenn.

LETTER OF MRS. ELIZA FARMAR, 1783.—

Kinsington, Oct. 25, 1783.

Dear Mad<sup>m</sup>

. . . . I have been sadly plagued with Ague & Fever three succesif winters after the British went away and the winter they were here was greatly disstrest as our House was Situated between the lines where the Americans and British frequently would be firing at each other which was very alarming. . . . Mr. Farmar was afraid to leave the house with only Sally and I in it for the British had destroyed all our fences and one day taken away a waggon load of our winters wood which made us feel many cold days for there was not any to be bought for the British cut down all before them notwithstanding we thought ourselves well of in comparison to some who sufferd cruelly

\* The transcript was made for me by the late Mr. F. M. Brooke of Philadelphia, and is probably merely a copy of a copy. The original, no doubt, read *Llanvihanghel yr helgen*.

† If Evan Oliver had assumed an *ap*, after the Welsh custom, he would have designated himself *Evan ap Evan*, i.e. Evan, son of Evan.



striped of all turnd out and their houses burnt before their Eyes most of the houses near us have been ether burnt or pulled down as would have been the case with us if we had not stayd in it even at the hasard of our lives Sally and I did once go near 40 Miles up the country in a Waggon loaded with some of our goods in the midst of Dec<sup>r</sup> Just before the battel at Trentou I cannot give you a full discription of the distress and Confusion that apared in every face for they gave out that the Souldiers was to have their days plunder that terified people to that degree that they were happy who got carriages to carry their goods and familys off tho some knew not where to go I saw one family of ten persons one of which a young woman and her child six weeks old with their household goods in two open waggons and tho it had frose hard in the night and then snowd hard they were obliged to goe through it and had no place to go to but had preswad[ed] the Waggoner to take them to his house tho an utter stranger I mention this one instance of the many distresses I met with in our journey for the roads were so bad that we were 3 days on our journey and sufferd so much on Mr Farmars account as he would not leave the house which determined me when the English did come as he would not leave it then to stay with him and take eur share of the trouble which I thank God is happily over but I wish it had ended more to the honour of England for they have behaved here worse then Savages in their behavior to the inhabitants and prisoners not only killing them in cold blood and otherwise abusing them but actually stervd some tho the people of Philadelphia made broths and other Victuals and sent to the prison for them Cuningham who was the keeper sometimes would not let them have it but woud throw it on the ground and tell them to lick it like dogs as they were I hope you will not be tired with the lenth of my letter for it is so long since I have had an opportunity of writing to My friends that I dont know when to leave of but think it is time to come to a conclusion Mr Farmar and Sally joins with me in Wishing you and yours all the happiness this word can aford and beleive me to be

dear Madam your Affectionate

Cousin and humble Serant

Eliz. Farmar.

**FREAKS OF LIGHTNING, 1752.** The following description of some freaks of lightning which accompanied a storm that swept through the valley northeast of Lehigh Gap, Penua., in 1752, was written a day after the incident. The building was rated a large one, for its location in the then wilderness.

May 18, 1752.

" . . . Between four and five o'clock p.m. several storms had passed over without much fuss, then when we least thought of it and it was beginning to clear off, there was a sudden report, terrible to hear. Lesh and I were in Hoffman's room reading, and as the report came, I held my hand to my left ear as it hurt. The dogs howled pitifully. As Lesh opened the door and we proceeded to see what had happened, we were greeted with a powerful smell of sulphur fumes, and the lower we went into the house the stronger the fumes. At once we thought the bolt had gone down the chimney into the house, but found no fire. Its effects were wonderful. The chimney was shattered from top to base: the large laths from the ridge of the roof to the windows were splintered and the sash of windows smashed. On the second floor the bolt made a small hole in the chimney; on the third floor the path of the bolt could be traced in a serpentine line, down into the kitchen—also made a hole in the wall of a room, where the chimney butts up against the wall. In Hoffman's room the stove-pipe was burst. There was a hole in the chimney in the kitchen, and the bolt passed into the cellar, and through





the wall, piercing a pane of glass and breaking a milk-crock. The two dogs appeared to be lamed for an hour, each in a foot and one of the cats was singed in the region of the stomach, as though clean shaved by a barber. Rancke was right at the chimney place blacking his shoes, but the bolt passed without hurting him. The cook stood right before the window, which was smashed badly, but not hurt, although a piece of the sash was projected across the room with great force. The stones of the chimney fell on the outside and near the cellar door large boards were wrenched off. The noise made by the bolt was awful."

A RELIC OF THE PHILADELPHIA TEA PARTY OF 1773.

A CARD.

THE PUBLIC present their Compliments to Messieurs JAMES AND DRINKER . . . We are informed that you have this Day received your Commission to entslave your native Country; and, as your frivolous Plea of having received no Advice, relative to the scandalous Part you were to act, in the TEA SCHEME, can no longer serve your Purpose, nor divert our Attention; WE expect and desire YOU will immediately inform the PUBLIC, by a Line or two to be left at the COFFEE HOUSE, Whether you will, or will not, renounce all Pretensions to execute that Commission? . . . THAT WE MAY GOVERN OURSELVES ACCORDINGLY.

*Philadelphia, December 2, 1773.*

HUGH ROBERTS' SUGGESTIONS REGARDING THE FOOTWAY AND CARTWAY OF MARKET STREET, 1764.—

*To the Gentlemen impowred to ascertain the breadth of the footways in the City of Philadelphia:*

As it has been lately part of my business to assist in making those regulations, I beg leave to offer some considerations on the breadth of the foot ways, on the North and south sides of the Butchers Shambles, being a part that I have particularly observed about 40 years. First there was taken out of this 100 foot Street, 28 feet for a Court House and Shambles, the major part of which 28, is made a dry paved foot way and more used than either of the foot ways on each side, which makes a broad foot way on the sides less necessary; and above 10 feet more has been taken out of the Cartway for Court house Steps, so that it leaves the Cartway there extream narrow on both sides; for this reason the brick pavement on the south side was made about 12 feet wide, ie not wider than those of the narrowest streets in the City, and on the North the brick pavement is 14 feet wide which makes the Cart way there 2 feet narrower than on the south: The Butchers Carts stand on the North because the Country Market is chiefly kept on the South, and all the Pumps are placed on the North side for the advantage of the Winter Sun—these incumberances and the extream narrow passage in so public a part occasion frequent Squabbles and Contentions between drivers of Carriages Horsemen and others, and I never remember to have observed or heard of any dispute about a passage on the foot



way there, unless where the part has been incumbered with Flax seed or other Lumber; and when Fire wood is laid in the Street there 'tis often extremely difficult for a Carriage to pass, for every 50 foot Street has more convenience of Cartway for Fire wood—Materials for building &c than this 100 foot Street.

I have once heard it observed, that the footways north and South of the Jersey Market are wider and the Cart way in general as narrow as against the Butchers Shambles, but when the foregoing reasons are considered, and that the Court House Steps contract the passage more than 10 feet, and that for one Country Horseman who turns at the court house to the East, about forty turn to the West (because all the Inns are on the west side) I believe every objection will be obviated.

As to the uniformity in the breadth of the footways in Market street, on the East and West side of second street, it cannot be, without reducing the Cart way at least 3 or 4 feet more than it already is on the south side the Court House, for an inequality of breadth must be either between the East and West side of second street or third street and its immaterial in which it is made.

A few years Since the owners of Houses on the North and South sides of Market street, to the westward of the old shambles, made the foot ways as wide as they are to the west of the Meal-Market: this incroachment on the Cart way might then be allow'd, but since the new Shambles have been erected and a broad footway made in the Middle, the former pretence for making wide foot ways on the sides Ceases, or can be maintain'd with less reason. I have indeed never heard any other offer'd, why the foot ways there should be continued wide, after the necessity of building those shambles, than because it was a broad street, the foot ways on the sides should be broad in proportion without any further Consideration.

I hope you'll please to excuse these Observations, as they arise only from a desire of having the Benefits of a regular built City as equally distributed as may be to a general Advantage.

All which I submit to your deliberate Consideration.

Hugh Roberts

May 1764.

LETTER OF EDWARD TILGHMAN JR. TO BENJAMIN CHEW.

[20 Augt. 1776.]

My dear Sir

I reced yours of the 13<sup>th</sup> Instt last night. You will find by a Letter I wrote Betsey Yesterday what were my Sentiments with Respect to my Situation, its Irksomeness did not so much arise from the Duty of a common Soldier to w<sup>h</sup> I found myself quite equal as from Circumstances of another Nature not worth while to be now mentioned. All that is now over. L<sup>d</sup> Sterling commands a Brigade of the best Troops we have who are to act as a Corps de reserve and the Duty of a Major Brigade being rather too much for one Person, his L<sup>d</sup>ship takes me as an Assistant. I do not know that any Rank is annexed to this Station, I want none, 'tis enough for me that I am in an elegant House beautifully situated on the North River and have my duty to do on Horse back. This I hope will make Betsey easy. Return totally uncertain. Now for News.

The Night before last the Gallies & two Fire Ships went up to attack the Phoenix & Rose—the Gallies 'tis said misbehaved—one Fire Ship burnd a tender and the other was very near serving the Phoenix in like Manner; this Expedition convinced them of the Precariousness of their Situation and last Night down they pushed with a fine Tide and Gale. At seven this Morning I heard a smart Firing up the River &



presently they hove in Sight. Each Battery cracked away at them in its Turn w<sup>h</sup> the Ships sometimes bore with great Stoicism and sometimes returned. No Harm done on either Side—that I could see—L<sup>d</sup> S. said several Balls struck. In Truth the Ships did not seem to mind us at all & rather directed their Fire ag<sup>t</sup> the Battery at Paulas Hook. A 32 Pder from P. Hook struck within 40 yards of us—it made a damnable Whistle. The Scene really was entertaining and would doubtless have been more so had not they told how many Shot struck & went near the House as the Ships went up. The North River being now open is of great Advantage to us.

Yesterday L<sup>d</sup> Drummond, who I am told has shamefully broken his Parole, came with a Flagg to offer Terms as tis said, upon the Basis of L<sup>d</sup> North Conciliatory Plan—To Day there will be another Flagg. What will come of it God knows—as to L<sup>d</sup> Drummond he is only mentioned with supreme Contempt & Indignation. The English hardly seem to wish to fight. The Season of Southerly winds they have lost and will find it difficult to attack now but in open Day. The most is made of our Ground—the Eminences all secured. The General seems Care worn.

Sometime ago I wrote for several Things—The Hunting Shirt I do not now want—would wish for all the other Things, direct to me at L<sup>d</sup> Sterlings Quarters. A Horse I must have. Hemsleys I think wont do, nor is it proper for me to take him. I must beg you to purchase one for me—any thing that is not too low & has a good Carriage. My Saddle & Bridle are at home or the Stable—one Stirrup & Leather I know are in the Office. My Leather Breeches must be washed & sent—they are at home or at Dan Clymers & with them my Boot-Buckles Leather Breeches—Buckles and Spurs. A buff waistcoat with a narrow Lace & a Scrub Coat to ride in rain with. Two 30 Dollar Bills in a Letter well secured. My Cutteau and Belt. The Waistcoat should have the Lace taken off I think and cut so as to make a bell regimental Waistcoat & the Lace sold for Epilets. Tis worth £5 or £6. Horse &c & Hanger may come by some body travelling this Way—enough will be glad of the Opportunity. The other Matters may be made into a secure Bundle and sent by the Stage. I have six shirts, two more would not be amiss & Handkfs—2 pr Stockings fit for Boots. Horsewhip & if Horse Pistols to be had Binks to make Holsters for them & fit them for the Saddle. These Things you will be so good as to beg Ben & Billy to manage. 19<sup>th</sup> A Deserter Yesterday—he only brings the old Account of a speedy Attack. Hat & Boots I shall buy here. L<sup>d</sup> Drummonds Plan was of his own framing but had the Approbation of L<sup>d</sup> Howe, its Particulars I cant relate. I am

Dear Sir,

Gen<sup>l</sup> cheers up.

Your most affects

Edw<sup>d</sup> Tilghman J<sup>r</sup>.

LETTER OF DAVID GRIER TO GEN. ANTHONY WAYNE.—

Philad<sup>a</sup> July 5<sup>th</sup> 1777.

D<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup>

Since my last to you I am Informed by Col Irwin from Carlisle that notwithstanding the Officers Recruiting haue & are still Using every Possible Industry Cannot get one man Country People are giving from a Dollar to 10/0 p<sup>r</sup> Day Wages to labourors which Intirely Prevents any success in Recruiting therefore I wish I had your Orders to take all our Officers now Recruiting to Camp at least until havesting is Over &c. We have had a Day of Rejoycing here to Celebrate the Anniversary of our Independence all the ships of war &c were lined from Opposite to the Coffee House down the River & give a Gen<sup>l</sup> discharge two troops of Horse Paraded Opposite & give three Cheers between evry thirteen Guns



which was the Number every Vessel discharged; in the Afternoon the Congress with a Number of other Genl<sup>ls</sup> dined at the City Tavern & after dinner drank thirteen Patriotick Toasts after every of which thirteen Platoons were fired on the Commons by the Carolina Brigade in the Evening the whole City (Except Torry Houses whose Windows Paid for their Obstenacy) were Illuminated with lights at every Window Cont<sup>d</sup> till 12 OClock at which time the lights were Ordered to be Extinguished a Small detachmen<sup>t</sup> of our Regm<sup>t</sup> are now on their way from Carlisle which shall be sent as soon as Equip'd to Join the Regm<sup>t</sup>. I am now pretty well Recovered & able to goe to Camp when your Honour shall think Proper.

Blankets are very Scarce Capt<sup>a</sup> McDowell is now Come here & Intends to goe to Camp with this detachm<sup>t</sup> he informs me that Blankets Can be got in the Upper part of York & Cumberland Counties I intend to Apply for Money from the Clothiers & send there to Purchase them as the last detachmen<sup>t</sup> that went to Camp had not one Blanket I believe it will be Necessary for me to goe to Carlisle to get the Rem<sup>t</sup> of Ace<sup>t</sup> there Little & to Order all down but shall wait your Orders in that Respect, & till then am your Honours

Most Obedient &  
Hbl<sup>e</sup> Servant

David Grier

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Wayne

LETTER OF ELIAS BOUDINOT TO GEN. HORATIO GATES, 1778.

Camp April 4<sup>o</sup> 1778.

D<sup>r</sup> Sir

Having sent orders to M<sup>r</sup> Peters for the immediate sending forward all the Officers detained at Hanover as well as those at York Town. I think it necessary to inform you that General Lee is permitted to come to Camp, and I have entered into the Exchange of Coll Allen for Coll Campbell.

I hope you have rec<sup>d</sup> my last Letter of the . . . March.

Am in Haste

D. Sir,  
Yours &c.,

E. Boudinot

To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates  
Presd<sup>t</sup> of the Board of War.

REV. JOHN SHARPE'S JOURNAL.—On the fly leaf of the Journal, the following baptismal records and a catalogue of books are to be found:—

1712, *Febr 3d.*—"I baptized Mary, the daughter of Richard Davis, and Hunter, the son of John Scott, Gov<sup>r</sup>.

*Nov. 30th.*—"I bapt. at the house, the daughter of Christian Strait, named Maria Magdalene, a Palatine.

*Dec. 28.*—"I bapt at the s<sup>d</sup> house, the daughter of Johannes Philip Tays, named Christina Elisabeth, a Palatine."

"A Catalogue of Books given by the Society for propagation of the Gospel to His Excy Coll. Hunter which are now given to me to be distributed:

Collection of papers of the Society, 13; Journal of the Society, 10; Bp of Lincoln's Sermon on Charity, 12; Acct of the Charity Schools, 84; Acct of Scots Hospital at London, 29; Husbandmans Manual, 52; Davis's Method of Church, 100; Rebuke to uncleanness, 41; Abridg<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Bible, 28; Pastoral Letter, 99; Rebuke to drunkenness, 38; Exhortation to house keeper, 94; Welch, 50; Lords day, 30; Abridg<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Bible 26."





GOODWIN FAMILY RECORDS, from the Bible in possession of Mrs. Ethel Goodwin O'Daniel, a granddaughter of Hill Chandler Goodwin.

*MARRIAGES.*

James Squier to Ruth Baldwin Jan 2<sup>d</sup> 1775  
 Abner Chandler to Sarah Hill 1759  
 Hill Chandler to Rhoda Squier Nov 4<sup>th</sup> 1790  
 Simion Goodwin to Phebe Chandler Sept 5<sup>th</sup> 1811  
 Mary Ann Goodwin to Artes Pepper 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1831

*BIRTHS.*

James Squier—July 1730  
 Ruth Baldwin—Sept 2<sup>d</sup> 1734  
     there Children  
 Solomon Squier—May 19<sup>th</sup> 1756  
 Heber Squier Dec 4<sup>th</sup> 1757  
 Sarah Squier Sep<sup>t</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> 1759  
 Ann Squier Nov 29<sup>th</sup> 1761  
 James Squier Dec 8<sup>th</sup> 1762  
 Abner Squier May 13<sup>th</sup> 1766  
 Ruth Squier July 3<sup>d</sup> 1768  
 Rhoda Squier June 16<sup>th</sup> 1771  
 Huldah Squier June 18<sup>th</sup> 1774  
 Sarah Squier Oct. 15<sup>th</sup> 1778  
 Abner Chandler Feb 17<sup>th</sup> 1732  
 Sarah Hill 1736  
     there Children  
 Hill Chandler May 14<sup>th</sup> 1761  
 Abner Chandler April 10<sup>th</sup> 1763  
 Philo Chandler Feb 1766  
 Uri Chandler 1767  
 Lucina Chandler August 12<sup>th</sup> 1769  
 Betsy Chandler Jan. 8<sup>th</sup> 1772  
 Phebe Chandler Jan 30<sup>th</sup> 1774  
 Luke Chandler Oct 1<sup>t</sup> 1777  
 Daniel Carter Sep<sup>t</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> 1749  
 Molly Carter March 30<sup>th</sup> 1750  
 Marthy Carter March 30<sup>th</sup> 1771  
 Simeon Goodwin Feb 7<sup>th</sup> 1789  
 Phebe Chandler July 30<sup>th</sup> 1791  
     there Children  
 Mary Ann Goodwin Feb 5<sup>th</sup> 1813  
 Hill Chandler Goodwin March 9<sup>th</sup> 1815  
 Rhoda Ann Goodwin April 30<sup>th</sup> 1818  
 Harriet Newel Goodwin May 26<sup>th</sup> 1820  
 Hester Squier Goodwin June 28<sup>th</sup> 1822  
 John Merrill Goodwin 17<sup>th</sup> August 1824  
 Sarah Wood Goodwin 7<sup>th</sup> Jan 1827  
 Simeon Anson Goodwin 6<sup>th</sup> July 1829  
 James Monroe Oct 4<sup>th</sup> 1831  
 Pheby Elener Jan 27<sup>th</sup> 1834

*DEATHS.*

Sarah Squier 26<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1777  
 James Squier 12<sup>th</sup> Nov 1784  
 Ruth Squier 9<sup>th</sup> June 1794  
 Sarah Squier 29<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 1797  
 Lucina Squier 10<sup>th</sup> April 1799



Sarah Chandler 12<sup>th</sup> May 1 [torn]  
 Phebe Hubbel 5<sup>th</sup> March 18 [torn]  
 Philo Chandler 4<sup>th</sup> April 18 [torn]  
 Abner Chandler sen<sup>r</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> June [torn]  
 Huldah Reed 23<sup>rd</sup> June [torn]  
 Josiah S Johnson 4<sup>th</sup> Oc<sup>r</sup> [torn]  
 Hill Chandler 8<sup>th</sup> July [torn]  
 Luke Chandler 30<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> [torn]  
 Roswell S Hopkins 4<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1828  
 Ruth Hopkins 5<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1829

—o—  
 Betsy Squier 20<sup>th</sup> Feb. 1830

—o—  
 Susanna Merrill 6<sup>th</sup> August 1823  
 Harriet Goodwin 12<sup>th</sup> August 1823  
 Simeon Goodwin 17<sup>th</sup> August 1823  
 Susanna his wife 18<sup>th</sup> August 1823  
 all of one house

—o—  
 Nathaniel Gilman 18<sup>th</sup> December 1826  
 Solomon Squier 20 Febary 1833  
 Ann Bills 22 September 1836  
 Sarah Gilman 1839.

CELEBRATING THE KING'S BIRTHDAY AT BURLINGTON, NEW JERSEY, 1776.—The British officers, prisoners of war in Burlington, New Jersey, celebrated their King's birthday, June 4, 1776, on the island in the Delaware river opposite to the town, "to which they had retired to avoid giving offence." The following song (preserved among the Yeates Papers, in the Manuscript Division of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania), was sung on the occasion:

(.1.)

O'er Britannia's happy land,  
 Ruled by George's mild Command,  
 On this bright, auspicious day,  
 Loyal Hearts their tribute pay.  
 Ever sacred be to mirth  
 The day that gave our Monarch Birth.

(.2.)

There the Cannons' thundering roar  
 Echoes round from shore to shore;  
 Royal banners wave on high;  
 Drums and trumpets rend the sky.  
 Ever sacred, &c.

(.3.)

There our Comrades, clad in Arms,  
 Long enured to war's alarms,  
 Marshall'd all in bright array,  
 Welcome this returning day.  
 Ever sacred, &c.

(.4.)

There the Temples chime their Bells,  
 There the pealing anthem swells,  
 And the gay and grateful throng  
 Sing the loud triumphant Song.  
 Ever sacred, &c.



( .5. )

Nor to Britain's Isle confin'd;  
 Many a distant region join'd  
 Under George's happy sway,  
 Joins to hail this joyful day.  
 Ever sacred, &c.

( .6. )

O'er this land among the rest,  
 Till of late supremely blest,  
 George to Sons of Britain dear  
 Swell the Song from year to year.  
 Ever sacred, &c.

( .7. )

Here we now lament to find  
 Sons of Britain, fierce and blind,  
 Drawn from loyal love astray,  
 Hail no more this joyful day.  
 Ever sacred, &c.

( .8. )

When by foreign Foes dismay'd  
 Thankless Sons ye called for aid;  
 Then we gladly fought and bled  
 And your Foes in triumph led.  
 Ever sacred, &c.

( .9. )

Now by fortune's blind Command  
 Captives in your hostile land,  
 To this lonely spot we stray,  
 Here unseen to hail this day.  
 Ever sacred, &c.

( .10. )

Tho' by fortune thus betray'd  
 For a while we seek the Shade,  
 Still our loyal Hearts are free,  
 Still devoted George to thee.  
 Ever sacred, &c.

( .11. )

Britain! Empress of the Main,  
 Fortune envy's thee in vain;  
 Safe while Ocean round thee flows  
 Tho' the World were all thy foes.  
 Ever sacred, &c.

( .12. )

Long as Sun and Moon endure  
 Britain's Throne shall stand secure.  
 And Great George! thy Royal Line  
 There in Splendid Honour Shine.  
 Ever sacred be to mirth  
 The day that Gave our Monarch Birth.



LETTER OF RICHARD PETERS TO THE BOARD OF WAR.—Peters Papers, Manuscript Division, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

York Town Nov<sup>r</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> 1777

Gentlemen

Your Existence as a Board & my Connexion with you as *your Secretary* approaching to a Dissolution, I think it necessary to mention to you that the Books & Papers are ready for your Inspection & to be delivered over to the Gentlemen appointed by Congress in your Stead except the Ordinance Accounts which want posting & will be completed as soon as possible. I have the Confidence to think that everything is in the best Train the Materials furnished us with would admitt. Proper Returns either from the States of the Officers appointed by them in the Continental Army their Ranks & Dates of Commission—from the Muster Masters Gen<sup>l</sup> of the Numbers & Enlistments of the Army—from the Continental Agents of the Stores in their Possession—or from the Officers in the Ordinance Department (a few excepted) could never yet be obtained altho on a Review of the Letter & Minute Books you will perceive repeated & peremptory Requisitions & Orders for these Purposes have been transmitted from time to time by your Direction & my anxious Inclinations to comply with your Desires in these as well as all other Parts of the Business. The office however will bear the strictest Inspection in every Particular wherein it was possible for me or my Assistant to do the Business with any Degree of Exactness or Propriety & especially considering that everything was taken up without Precedent or much Experience to go by. The Accounts of Contingent Expenses are ready & I desire the Board will be pleased to settle them & give me a proper Discharge for these as well as the large Sums which have passed thro' the Office since its Establishment.

As Congress have thought proper to overlook me totally in the new Appointments in the War Office I am to retire from the public Business to that Attention to my private Concerns which my public Avocations for near Eighteen Months past in the War Office precluded me from paying & by the Neglect of which they have been suffered to run much to Ruin. This was a Sacrifice I willingly made while I thought I was with much Assiduity doing the public a grateful Service—a Consideration which cheered me thro' the many Vicissitudes our Affairs have undergone since my *unsought* Appointment to a new, troublesome & complicated Department. But it seems I was mistaken & I mention it with no other Regret than that the Neglect I have been treated with is an implied Censure on my Conduct & the Tongue of Slander is not idle especially too as it has some Materials to work with.

Had I consulted my private Advantage I had long ago sought a Return to my private Station. But I thought it exceedingly disreputable to desert a public Employment while Difficulties or Dangers presented themselves. If the Office I have held had been *merely honorary* I should with equal Cheerfulness & Industry have performed the Duties of it. But as it was *made pecuniary*, Malice may represent the Reward as commensurate to the Services done. I on this Consideration submit it to the Hon: Board whether the Sallary of Three hundred Pounds <sup>per</sup> Annum (none of which I have yet received & for which you can scarcely now hire a Clerk of good Abilities) is equal to the Cares & Risque of Character in superintending—the Fatigues of executing & the travelling & other extraordinary Expences incurred by the Removals of Congress in attending the various & important Business of the Department, beside the loss which for Want of Attention in me or my Assistant might have ensued in the transmitting & paying Twelve Millions of Dollars which have passed thro' our Hands in the Course of the Business. Should you however not think it proper to apply to Congress for any Enlargement of the Allowance from the Beginning as has been done with other





Officers I beg the Favour of your Order for the Pittance I am entitled to by the Establishment of the Office. When their Business is properly delivered over I shall take my respectful Leave of the Board always remaining ready to step forth in the Service of my Country whenever it shall be thought necessary & in the mean time assuring them that I am

with the greatest Esteem  
their very obed<sup>t</sup> & most humble

Servant

Hon: The Board of War

Richard Peters.

I shall have everything ready for the Reception for the Commissioners on their arrival & I heartily wish they may conduct themselves so as to merit that Approbation which all well meant Endeavorers have not the good Fortune to meet with.

LETTER OF BARON STEUBEN TO RICHARD PETERS, OF THE BOARD OF WAR;  
1779.—

Camp Smiths Clove New York June 12<sup>th</sup> 1779.

Altho' I give to the D——l the Honorable Board of War, I still always Except my dear friends Messrs Peters & Pickering; I beg, my dear sir, you will make a similar distinction between the Inspector General & Baron Steuben—You may d——m the first as much as you please, but pray, preserve your friendship to the Latter. Yes, my dear friend, the Board of War has hurt me considerably by the delay of the Regulations: Is it possible to employ only one Bookbinder for a work of which the whole army at once are to have Copies, But, no more on this subject, I flatter myself that I shall receive 600 Copies by Major des Epiniers whom I send on purpose to Philadelphia.

I desire him at the same time to explain you the particulars of our most critical situation, from which I hope we will Extricate Ourselves with Glory. Heaven appears in this moment to be a little Torified, but I hope we will reconcile him to us, by our Zeal & attachment to the good Cause of America.

What say now our Peace makers; who thought all preparations for this Campaign superfluous? Doth yet Mr H——y L——ns send back the Officers who come over here to defend his Country? I believe that in order to reconcile Heaven to us we should begin by hanging some Merchants who have troubled our affairs in such a manner, by their mercantile spirit.

My respects to Mrs. Peters, and an hundred kisses to my Rake of an Aide de Camp, repeat often my name to him, that he may not forget me quite.

I am with the greatest Esteem

Dear Sir

Your mo: obed<sup>t</sup> hu<sup>s</sup> Servant  
Steuben

R. Peters, Esq.,

LETTER OF THOMAS CALLOWHILL TO HIS DAUGHTER HANNAH PENN,  
THEN IN PENNSYLVANIA, 1701.

Bristol 4<sup>th</sup> of the 9<sup>th</sup> mo 1701

Deare Hannah

Thine of the 17<sup>th</sup> & 22<sup>d</sup> 6mo last came to o<sup>r</sup> hands & Gave us the satisfaction of heareing of yo<sup>r</sup> health &c. welcom to us. it signified Mary Loafly Inclineation to Marriage there and of the want of a Certificate of the Cleareness here the Inclosed [illegible] are & Intended by [blank] who are goeing hence on the Ben & Hester @ way of Virginia. I have duplicate of the same w<sup>ch</sup> intend @ som other hand—wee continue in Indifferant good helth. I bless god. Many are in Expectation



of yo<sup>r</sup> sudden coming [illegible] w<sup>ch</sup> makes me doubt whether this may find you at Pensilvania or noe if it doth let it bring to thy Remembrance what I wrott in my former touching my Lands purchased there of w<sup>ch</sup> I expected thy Care & som answeare to my satisfaction as also of w<sup>ch</sup> thou haue reed from Thomas Roberts or Thomas Paschall thine of the 13<sup>th</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> mo 1700 said thou had reed but 15<sup>th</sup> pensilvania money fro Tho. Paschall & none from Tho. Roberts & since haue not said in any letter what is received from Either of them thy letter hints Great uncertainty in your setlem<sup>t</sup> and it is the opinion of B C & other friends that you will com over sudenly see that otherwise thy Mother would Incline to send over som nessesaries w<sup>ch</sup> now she omitts because of the Uncertainty of its finding thee there—wee are now com to the 16<sup>th</sup> Instant & in prety good degre of helth, but not without weakenes & paines that Attends o<sup>r</sup> Age and decaying bodys o<sup>r</sup> Coz Haynes youngest daughter Lidia about 3 years of Age Dyed in the small pox yesterday & is to be buried this day last 5<sup>th</sup> days past brought us [illegible] that parliment was dissolved and that the King would Ishue out writts for a new Election to sitt 30<sup>th</sup> x<sup>br</sup> next. Charles Jones is not yet dead but very weake. The swelling in one of his Leggs broke & voids much watter &c. This letter is now Called for with Deare love fro myselfe & thy mother to the Governo<sup>r</sup> thyselve Deare Jn<sup>o</sup> Tishia & Our friends in Generall I rest thy Lo ffather

Tho. Callowhill

phebe desires to be kindly remembered to you.

LETTERS OF JOHN NICHOLLS TO PRENEAS PEMBERTON, 1688-9.

Bridport, y<sup>o</sup> 3<sup>th</sup> of y<sup>o</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> m<sup>o</sup> 1688-9

Deare freinds

P. Pemberton & H. Baker

After y<sup>o</sup> Sallutation of my deare Loue unto you, hearby you may know that through the Continewed merceys of y<sup>o</sup> Lord unto us, I with my Brother after about 6 weeks passage Arived In saftye at Plymouth In y<sup>o</sup> west of England & soon after gott Home where wee found our Relations & freinds hear Generally well to our mutuall Joy & Comfort, & wee are both at present In Helth Blessed bee y<sup>o</sup> Lord, being fynely Recouered since our Coming Home But my Brother was taken againe with y<sup>o</sup> Feaver & Ague before we came from Philadelphia & Continewed weak y<sup>o</sup> Hole voyage And now Deare freinds although wee are outwardly far seperated one from another, yett you are often In my Remembrance & at this tyme doe I Remember you with thoughts of vnfayned Loue—youre welfare & prosperotye Every way being that which I truely desier, And now freinds as to news I question not but youle hear before this Comes to youre Hands of y<sup>o</sup> sudden Change which hath been hear since our Coming Home, however Hearby you may know that I 5<sup>th</sup> of y<sup>o</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> m<sup>o</sup> last, y<sup>o</sup> Prince of Orringe with (as it is sopposed) about 18 or 20 thousand men both Horse & ffoot Landed In Deuonsheir about 50 miles to y<sup>o</sup> west of us, & soe passed up y<sup>o</sup> Country, & when they drew near unto y<sup>o</sup> Kings Armye, many of y<sup>o</sup> Kings soldiers fled unto y<sup>o</sup> prince & y<sup>o</sup> Remainder of his Armye Declined to fight them; alsoe y<sup>o</sup> greatest part of y<sup>o</sup> nobelitye of y<sup>o</sup> nation Joyned with y<sup>o</sup> Prince upon which y<sup>o</sup> King left y<sup>o</sup> nation & went Into France, & y<sup>o</sup> Prince is proclaimed King In his stead. But Ireland stands out for y<sup>o</sup> late King, there being by Relation more then 30 thousand men In Armes & wee newly Hear that y<sup>o</sup> King is going from France unto them with some thousands of men with Him, what y<sup>o</sup> Ishue of these things may bee, must bee left unto y<sup>o</sup> Lord—A parliment is Come together & now sitts, but as yett hath done but little, but I vnderstand they Inclyne to modderation, soe that at pressant I beelve they



will Rather Repeale then make Laws for persicution. And now Deare freinds I should bee glad to Receive a few Lynes from you as you have oppertunitye whereby I might know how it is with you & freinds there-away whome I truely Loue & unto whome my Heart was Rightly Joyned In y<sup>e</sup> fellowship of Truth—& unto whome my Deare Loue at this tyme truely Reacheth, perticulerly to Deare Thomas Jannye W<sup>m</sup> Earlye Arthur Cook James Delworth & Nickliss Wallu with youre & there wives, & hearin I shall Conclude youre Truely Loueing freind

John Nicholls

I was lately at Mary Whiteheads House (formerly Mary Warrell) & shee with her Husband & Children were well.

Deare Phenias

Hearby thou may know that these following Bills are & are like to bee payd uiz W<sup>m</sup> Plumlye Walter Bridgeman Jn<sup>o</sup> Towne & Jn<sup>o</sup> Eastburne unto whome I desier thee deliver up there Bonds, Except W<sup>m</sup> Plumlyes of which as yett hath noe advise of y<sup>e</sup> mony being payd—only a likelihood thereof—As for John Penquite I dought his Bill will come Back protested, y<sup>e</sup> freind that I Employed to gett y<sup>e</sup> mony Informes mee that his Father is soe poore that hee doubts of y<sup>e</sup> payment of y<sup>e</sup> mony—*And Rich<sup>d</sup> Thachers Father alsoe Refuses to pay his Bill saying hee owes him not y<sup>e</sup> mony, which If soe hee was very much to Blame to Draw on him for it, wherefore I desier thee lett him know that his Bill is like to come Back protested & that hee see & prouide to pay thee without delay, for I used him kindly In what hee had of mee*—I desier thee when thou write to mee, lett mee know how people haue payd In what they owed us, & how our plantation Lyes & where there is any one Lives on it or not. I haue not oppertunitye at present to Inlarge wherefore shall Conclude with y<sup>e</sup> Reinembrance of myne with my Brothers deare Loue to thee & thy wife thy truely Loueing freind

John Nicholls

[Endorsed on back]  
To my Loueing freind  
Phinias Pemberton  
Liveing neare the Falls  
of Dallaware River  
In  
Pensilvania

LETTERS OF JASPER AND SARAH YEATES, 1776.—(Yeates Papers, Manuscript Division, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

Philad<sup>a</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup>, 4, 1776

My dear Sally

I have thrice heard with the greatest Pleasure of your Progress on the Road, and have Reason to be extremely pleased with your Removal from this Place. Every Thing continues in the greatest Confusion here; happy are those People who can get their Families out of Town. Col<sup>o</sup> John Cadwalader has requested Leave of me to store a part of his most valuable Furniture in our House. If it should come up to you in my Absence, you will please to have it put up in the Garret & have the Room locked up.

I beg you will make yourself easy on my Account. When my Business is finished here, I shall return to Lancaster at least for some Time. We have received of Congress the Ballance of our Account this Morning so that my Mind is at Rest in that Particular. The Indians are to have an Audience to morrow & then I shall be engaged for a few Days in looking out for Presents for them. We have the Militia accounts at Pittsburgh to settle & some other smaller Matters, which I hope will not be a Work of Time, I never have more closely attached myself to



Business than since I have been down here. I found it absolutely necessary if I wanted my accounts settled: Nothing but this Consideration could have prevented my going out of Town with you, & I know your Love for me will impute it to the true cause?

Tell the young Ladies that I have just seen M<sup>r</sup> Craig. All his Family is well and desire to be remembered to you. Give my Duty to your Grandpapa & Mamma my Love to my Sister M<sup>rs</sup> Hand, Jenny, Miss Patty & the Children & Believe me to be most truly

My dearest Wife

Yours most Affectionately

J: Yeates

I have had no Time to write to Col<sup>o</sup> Slough. Pray tell him that Nothing is or can be done with Respect to the Matter he intrusted to my Charge

Launcester September 14<sup>th</sup> 1776.

Dear M<sup>r</sup> Yeates

The only Comfort I have during your absence is in writing to you or perusing your very Affectionate Letters it is but seldom I met with an opportunity going your way but I never have nor never shall omit writing to you by every Conveyance, I thank you for all those I have received and am well convinced of the Sincerity of your Affection. The utmost of my desires are to have you safe returned to me again oh! when shall I be thus blessed shall I ever be happy again The World and all the trifling amusements of it cannot afford me the least Pleasure Unless I had You to share them with me and then the least would make me happy. Where shall I find out a safe retreat for him I love. I once thought the place you are in would secure you from danger as I hoped those barbarous Creatures could be hired to be at peace with us but if they are determined to be at war with us What a dismal prospect lies before us I hope you will make the best of your way home Your Commission was for peace and not war. You might travel by Night and lye by in the day time, but Good God what have I not to fear on all sides if you should be called upon to go to new york or thereabouts it is out of the frying pan into the fire M<sup>r</sup> Slough's Battalion marched from here today or rather part of them to give their Cotta for the flying Camp some of the Country officers hid themselves he had a good deal of Trouble with many of them. M<sup>r</sup> P—— G—— is returned he runs the Gantlet for a Tory & a Coward. he says he has all men of Sense on his side & he does not care What Fools say such numsculs as is in the Convention. Your Sister Kitty and himself got quite warm on that Subject yesterday half jest & half earnest they look upon both my Uncles and Andrew Allen in the same light keep this to yourself untill we see each other they never where reckoned so violent as some but I can hardly think they agree with the Present Charectar. The Way my Brother happened to be taken was by the Guard neglecting to give him notice that they were going to leave the Island I hear that himself and M<sup>r</sup> Miles sent over to our People for their baggage and with all wrote word they where treated very well They say they have no Compassion on the Tories that are on long Island The Regulars plunder their houses of every thing they want

Jacky Ewing wrote me three very Affectionate letters since he left us I got one from the doctor & Jessy by your Sister. M<sup>r</sup> Young has promised me to get my winter's Wood for me. My dear little daughter is standing by me at her request I am to ask you when you will come home I am sure your presence would make us all very happy I hope when you do come we shall be able to keep you with us. Our little





Sally continues lively & I hope will pick up her flesh she is vastly better since your sister came home she has four Teeth two has been these six weeks a coming out they gave her a good deal of pain and no doubt has been a great means of the lax being so violent All the Family are well and desire their kind love to you I am my dear M<sup>r</sup> Yeates

Your ever Affectionate & dutifull Wife  
Sarah Yeates

since I wrote the above I have the Pleasure to acquaint you that Jacky Ewing is returned he looks very thin I enclose you a letter from Jessy

Endorsed— To Jasper Yeates Esquire  
at  
Pitts Burgh

LETTER OF ANDREW BROWN TO JASPER YEATES.—

Sir,

When I came to this City from Lancaster, I found it imprudent to go into New York, the Enemy still having possession of it. I then formed a resolution of going into trade, but several gentlemen assured me that if I would undertake the direction of a public school, I would meet such encouragement as would far exceed any expectations of mine in any other business.

Without much hesitation I accepted of their proposal, employed assistance, and opened my English, Mathematical, and French schools the 25<sup>th</sup> of last month, in that large and elegant house built by M<sup>r</sup> Kinneer, the corner of vine and third streets.

Four days after I began to teach I had students sufficient to support me in easy circumstances; and the schools under my direction increase daily.

Nothing gives me affliction but what was suggested to me a few days since by M<sup>r</sup> Slough, viz. that this plan of establishing an Academy in Philadelphia, had been formed *by me* in Lancaster. Col<sup>o</sup> Miles and M<sup>r</sup> Potts of this City know I had very different views.

It is extraordinary that any person who knows the conduct of the HUBLIES, and one or two others towards me, should be a moment at a loss for the true cause of my removal to a place where I could be upon an equal footing, without involving a whole neighbourhood in a quarrel; which must inevitably have been the case had I continued at Lancaster.

I have just seized a moment to write this, and a line to M<sup>r</sup> Atlee and M<sup>r</sup> Henry. I have not time to write to M<sup>r</sup> Zantzing; please therefore to inform him that I saw Miss Elizabeth last Monday, and that she was well.

The late President Read's son and daughters, Col<sup>o</sup> Miles' sons and daughter, Col<sup>o</sup> Read's daughters, Col<sup>o</sup> Morgan's sons and daughters &c. &c. &c. are my Pupils. Indeed sir, if you saw our Academy, in its present infant state, filled with young Ladies and Gentlemen, all belonging to principal Citizens, you would not charge me with lucrative views in wishing, as I confess I do wish, that your sweet children, Miss Mary and Master John, were among the number.

M<sup>rs</sup> Brown desires that you would be pleased to present her compliments to M<sup>rs</sup> Yeates, M<sup>rs</sup> Ewing, Miss Mary and the Children.

I am Sir,

with gratitude and respect,

Your obliged and obedient

humble servant,

And<sup>w</sup> Brown

Philadelphia

Sept<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> 1783.

Jasper Yeates Esq<sup>r</sup>



If Miss Mary would be so kind as to write to me by *Shaffer* (for I would have no letters sent by your Post) I would consider myself infinitely obliged, and I would answer her letters punctually.

M<sup>rs</sup> Levy came in just as I was folding this, she begs to be remembered in the most affectionate terms to M<sup>rs</sup> Yeates, M<sup>rs</sup> Ewing, and Miss Mary; and requests that you would be so kind as to ask M<sup>r</sup> Chambers whether he has heard anything lately from M<sup>r</sup> Levy.

## LETTER OF EDWARD SHIPPEN TO JASPER YEATES.

Lancaster 13<sup>th</sup> September 1776Dear M<sup>r</sup> Yeates

Your favour of the 30<sup>th</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup> I had the pleasure of receiving a few days Since by the Express, who I understood had been saying Something about the design of the Indians; however, I endeavoured to palliate the worst part of the Story; so that M<sup>rs</sup> Yeates became a good deal composed. I also let her know that if the Commissioners thought themselves in any Sort of danger, they would immediately pack up, & come away. Jaeky Ewings came home last night: I have not Seen him yet. This goes by Michael Hoofnagle, who promises to call here, and at your house to give your folks an opportunity of writing. Peter tells me he came to town yesterday; of this, I shall presently inform them. Y<sup>e</sup> wet Season has prevented our getting your pasture ploughed & Sowed as M<sup>r</sup> Slough & myself fully intended should be done; but as the waggoners took the Liberty to remove two or three pannells off the front of my little pasture for a passage to haul in Logs for the Fort, an inlet was given to the cows, who broke down y<sup>e</sup> fence between us, not to mention the Soldiers wives breaking down many of the rails by hanging out their Sheets &c. So that had we been able to have accomplished our design, all our work would have been in vain. For news I refer you to the inclosed Papers. Doctor Shippen wrote me t<sup>o</sup>ther day that he found Neddy Burd was missing since y<sup>e</sup> battle with Howe on Long Island; but Doctor Hand writes 30-August, that he was a Prisoner, which my Said Brother Doctor now confirms These two late accounts I sent to M<sup>r</sup> Burd, who, yesterday, acknowledged the receipt of my Letter, but was Sorry to Say that Several people lately from our Camp positively declared that his son was actually Killed; however Bradford's paper will put y<sup>e</sup> matter quite out of doubt. Spring and fall, I generally take one ounce of the peruvian bark fasting in a morning which is commonly a preventative. by the blessing of god, against Spring or Fall fever. An ounce makes just 12 doses for me. Jaeky Ewings now at our Tea Table is hearty and well and left his brothers Jesse and the Doctor in the Same happy Situation at the Camp. Michael Hoofnagle called on us just now too: he will give you any news he might bring from Tyeonderoga &c.

I take particular notice of the dangerous Situation You are in on account of the Indians and if I did not know that the Gentlemen Commissioners fully understood the business they went upon, I would humbly advise them to turn their backs upon ffort Pitt and make the best of their way home again without a moment's delay.

---

at night

Your affectionate, but poor afflicted Mammy and Miss Patty join with me in Love to Your Self wishing you health and happiness, & that you have had good Success in your business & will make a Safe return to your family.

We hear that the Justices of the Peace shall be for the future chosen by the Freemen of the City and County respectively that is to say two persons shall be chosen for each Ward Township or District as y<sup>e</sup> Law



shall hereafter direct and their names shall be returned to the President and Council who Shall Commissionate one of them for seven years except ill behaviour but shall be allowed to take no fees nor any Salary except Such as a future Legislature may grant in consideration of Expenses

in the morning

necessarily incurred by their journeying to and attending on public Courts. It is also said that there can be no necessity for, nor use in establishing offices of Profit but if any man is called into public Service to the prejudice of his private affairs, he has a right to expect a reasonable compensation for his Services & when ever any office, through increase of Fees, otherwise becomes so profitable as to occasion others to petition for it, the Profits ought to be and shall be lessened by the Legislature.

This Letter has been doing at several times, you will excuse me. I have been very busy about M<sup>r</sup> Hamiltons ground rent. Your wife, who will write by Michael, and all the family are well. M<sup>r</sup> Slough & M<sup>r</sup> Atlee return their Compliments Inclosed are the News Papers I am Dear M<sup>r</sup> Yeates

Your affectionate &

Loving Father

Edw<sup>d</sup> Shippen

LETTER OF EDWARD BURD TO JASPER YEATES:

This interesting letter contains some account of the great distress which the treason of Gen. Arnold caused his wife, the sympathy of Gen. Washington for her, as well as the criticism of others. Arnold was unworthy of the loyalty of his wife to him.

Philadelphia Oct. 5<sup>th</sup> 1780

Dear Sir

I received both your late Letters & wrote you a long Letter in Answer but many Circumstances having since happened I shall not send it. The family has been in the deepest Distress & how long it may continue I cannot foresee. If M<sup>r</sup>s Arnold should be sent off to her base Husband It will be a heart breaking Thing I am not without hopes that she will be permitted to stay. General Washington certifies "that he has every Reason to believe she is innocent, & Requests all persons to treat her with that Humanity & Tenderness due to her Sex & Virtues." This Testimony I am in hopes will serve her. The popular clamor is high, a Letter from André found among her papers in the year 1779 has been construed into the beginning of a Correspondence since improved to this horrid Issue. The family say there has been no other Letter received by her either before or since & it is an Offer of Services in procuring & sending her some Millinery from New York to which Task he says he was very well qualified by the Experience that he had in Contriv'g the Meschianza Dresses. This Offer it is said never was accepted, M<sup>r</sup>s Arnold having been before supplied with every Thing of the kind by General Arnold who it seems procured it from New York. But the Letter is an unfortunate one coming from the very Man who I will not say corrupted Arnold (because I believe him capable of the worst actions a Man can commit) but who was connected with him in the horrid Plots. The Impossibility of so delicate & timorous a Girl as poor Peggy in being in the least privy or concerned in so bold & adventurous a plan is great & it is impossible she should be engaged in such a wicked one. General Arnold came up to her before he went off & told her that an accident had happened which obliged him to go into New York. She instantly sunk motionless on the Bed where he left her; She continued without any Signs of Life for an hour & ahalf & People coming into her Room



brought her to herself. She then fell into Hysterick fits in which she continued for a longtime & afterward grew frantick, called the people about her Murderers, said they wanted to murder her Child—inquired for General Washington said she knew he would protect her. He went up to her she was told it was General Washington No says she He is a Murderer too, he is not General Washington. The tender Heart of the Chief could not support the Scene he was obliged to leave her: in this State she was a considerable time & at last her Spirits being quite exhausted she fell into a kind of Stupor from which she is not yet recovered & has not shed a tear for 6 days past; the Consequences of these violent Transitions from one kind of Grief to another I am a trifle apprehensive of.

Application has been made to Council for Permission to M<sup>r</sup> Arnold to remain among us & I am in hopes their Disposition is rather favorable to the Request. They sympathize in M<sup>r</sup> Shippen's Distress & will take no Step without first giving him Notice of it.

When General Washington received Arnold's impudent Letter he threw it from him with Indignation saying, "Wretch, did he think I would treat M<sup>r</sup> Arnold with Humanity for his sake, no, she is far above him & Every Tenderness in my Power shall be shown to her."

\* \* \* \* \*

7<sup>th</sup> Oct. I have just received your last Letter & did not doubt that you would feel at the horrid News for the Distress of the family. Peggy is possessed of so many Accomplishments both of body & Mind, that her fate seems peculiarly unfortunate. A Girl of the most refined feelings, of the most affectionate Disposition & doatingly fond of her Husband must be affected in a very extraordinary manner upon such an unhappy Event. She keeps her Room & is almost continually on the Bed. Her Peace of Mind seems to me intirely destroyed. There is also a Letter of hers to General Arnold found among his Papers giving an Account of her being at a Concert of the Ministers in which she is free in her Observations upon several of the Ladies there & which has given them much offence. I do not know who the Ladies are but that kind of writing or speech is not commendable, but it seems rather hard that those observations which are intended merely for the Eye of a Husband should be made publick & criticised upon with severity.

\* \* \* \* \*

Edward Burd.

LOUISIANA PURCHASE. The Hon. S. G. Tucker, writing to Fulwar Skipwith, Esq., from Williamsburg, Virginia, December 23, 1803, states:

"Your notice of the Treaty with France as it respects the extent of the Cession comprehended under the name of Louisiana, did not reach me until after I had concluded a short pamphlet on the subject, for want of some other Occupation, whilst I was at Mr. Coalters. I shall send Mr. Monroe the only copy I have to spare, with a request that he will transmit it to you, if any opportunity of doing so should offer. The Federalists, with their usual consistency, have endeavoured to render that acquisition despicable in the Eyes of the public, which six months before was beyond all price. These Gentlemen will not agree to accept any Boon peaceably. Like those Banditti who always murder when they rob, they are above living by honest means."

### Queries.

MEDICAL GRADUATES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—Biographical information is asked, or the source whence it can be had, of the following medical graduates of the University of Pennsylvania, for the Alumni Catalogue now preparing. Information may be sent to Ewing Jordan, M.D., 1510 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Penna.





## CLASS OF 1845.

Armstrong, Spencer D. C.	Va.	McDowell, Wm. J.	Ohio
Banister, Thos. Yelverton	Va.	McElroy, Zenas Collins	Ohio
Bastida, Jos. S.	Cuba	McGinniss, Robert Hedding	Ohio
Beaumont, John	La.	McLaurin, Hugh C.	Miss.
Blackwell, Clayton	N. J.	McRae, Wm. P.	Ala.
Blount, James Warren	N. C.	Manning, Joseph F.	N. C.
Bradley, B. Warburton	S. C.	Moore, Cornelius Godwin	
Brent, Arthur Lee	Va.	Cotton	N. C.
Bronaugh, John Mitchell	D. C.	Moore, John M.	N. C.
Brown, Wm. Howard	Mo.	Myers, John Gray Blount	S. C.
Butler, Peiree Mason	S. C.	Naylor, John S.	Va.
Caldwell, Groves	Ala.	Neill, Sigismund S.	Va.
Case, Douglass	Ohio	Nelson, James	Va.
Clark, Arthur	England	Newton, Robert	Pa.
Clarke, Hiram Opie	Ky.	Nicholson, Jos.	Va.
Cluff, Peter Palmer	Mo.	Owings, Thos. W.	Ky.
Coe, Alfred B.	N. Y.	Patterson, Wm. F.	Pa.
Colgin, George J.	Ala.	Peace, Pleasant P.	N. C.
Cook, Chas.	N. J.	Pender, Joshua	N. C.
Cooper, Wm. D.	Va.	Pieree, Alexander B.	N. C.
Davis, Hugh Johnston	N. C.	Quarles, David W.	Ky.
Dusenbery, James Lawrence	N. C.	Reamer, Francis C.	Pa.
Edwards, Lewis Allison	D. C.	Reese, Wm. Woodward	N. Y.
Emison, Samuel S.	Ky.	Reeves, Thomas	N. J.
Evans, Stephen B.	N. C.	Robertson, James E.	Va.
Fisler, Israel	Pa.	Sale, Thos. Joyes	Ky.
Flagg, Samuel	Mass.	Seawell, Henry	N. C.
Fox, Benj. F.	Fla.	Seibert, John	Md.
Gannaway, John	Tenn.	Shaifer, Stephen Pillsworth	Miss.
Gibson, Wm. J.	Ga.	Shelton, James	Va.
Gray, Wm.	Va.	Seldener, Richard R.	Pa.
Grice, Samuel D.	Va.	Skinner, Chas. H.	N. C.
Grimshaw, Arthur H.	Pa.	Smith, Charles	Md.
Grymes, Robert Page	Va.	Smith, Newton L.	Ala.
Gurley, John W.	Va.	Smith, Peter	Tenn.
Harding, Wm.	Va.	Smith, Stark B.	N. C.
Harris, Alfred W.	Tenn.	Stone, Robert King	D. C.
Hart, Franklin	N. C.	Stringfellow, John Henry	Va.
Hart, Jos. Sackett	Pa.	Tait or Tate, Wm. C.	Miss.
Heartwell, Chas. P.	Va.	Talbird, Thos.	S. C.
Henderson, George W.	Ala.	Thompson, Lucien M.	Pa.
Hooks, John James	N. C.	Thorp, Timothy	Ala.
Howard, Henry A.	N. C.	Upshur, Hampden Sydney	
Howell, James C.	Ga.	Stith	Va.
Humphreys, Samuel Coburn	Miss.	Walker, Horace	Va.
Hurd, Francis Parkman	N. H.	Warren, Michael S., Jr.	Va.
Hutchings, John W.	N. C.	Warriner, Justin B.	Pa.
James, Daniel A.	Miss.	Wilkinson, Wm. B.	Ala.
Johnston, Wm. L.	N. C.	Williams, Lemuel A.	Va.
Lane, Edward M.	Miss.	Williamson, Francis A.	Ohio
Leake, Ephraim F.	N. J.	Wilson, James W.	Va.
Leary, Wm. James	N. C.	Wilson, Samuel W.	Ga.
Leonard, Thos. King	Fla.	Wilson, Thos. E.	Va.
Livingood, John Tryon	Pa.	Wolf, Winfield	Ala.
Lowther, Samuel J.	N. C.	Woollen, Chas. W.	N. C.
McConkey, Samuel A.	Va.	Yates, Levi S.	N. C.



## Book Notices.

**EIGHTY-FIVE YEARS OF BANKING IN WILKES-BARRÉ.** By Osear J. Harvey, A.M. Wilkes-Barré, Penna., 1915. 98 pages. Illustrated.

This is a brief narrative of the origin, growth and present status of the Wyoming National Bank of Wilkes-Barré, the oldest existing bank in Northeastern Pennsylvania, which has ever been conducted to develop local mercantile and manufacturing interests, and by judicious management has successfully withstood the vicissitudes incident to hard times and civil war. Successively nine presidents, Benjamin Dorrance, Garrick Mallery, George M. Hollenback, W. S. Ross, Ziba Bennett, Charles Dorrance, Sheldon Reynolds, George S. Bennett and Andrew H. McClintock, well known in the financial circles of Philadelphia, New York and Boston, have managed its affairs, and the first cashier, Edward Lynch, devoted thirty-four years to the interests of the bank. Biographical sketches of the officers have been prepared.

**YEAR BOOK OF THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY, 1916.** Edited by Barr Ferree. New York, 1916. 8vo, pp. 256. Illustrated.

This issue of the Year Book of the Pennsylvania Society in New York is in nowise inferior in merit and variety of material to those of previous years. Director Ferree has collected much interesting data, liberally illustrated it, and his "Kalendar for Pennsylvania, 1915," is a handy reference that will be appreciated by the resident and non-resident members of the Society who are interested in the welfare of their home state.

**THE NATIONAL ROAD IN MAPS AND PICTURES.** By Robert Bruce. Clinton, N. Y., 1916. 4to, 96 pages. Illustrated. Price, \$1.00.

The old National Road from Baltimore to Wheeling is one of the historic thoroughfares of the United States, and for many years was a vital factor in the life, politics and industry of the country. Mr. Bruce has been a close student of his subject and has spared neither time nor pains to bring out the physical features and the history and legends that center about the old turnpike. The descriptive text is supplemented with a wealth of illustrations which will be appreciated by the reader.

**FILIBUSTERS AND FINANCIERS. THE STORY OF WILLIAM WALKER AND HIS ASSOCIATES.** By William O. Scroggs, Ph.D. New York. The Macmillan Co., 1916. 8vo, pp. 408. Illustrated. Price \$2.50.

This timely work on the filibustering activities of William Walker, "The Grey-eyed Man of Destiny," who for a decade or more was a constant irritant to the governments on both sides of the Atlantic, supplies data which have heretofore been treated by American historians in a meager manner and in many cases actually misleading. The part played in Walker's career and in Central American politics by American financiers; the designs of Walker upon Cuba; his utter repudiation of the annexation of his conquests to the United States; the appeals of Central American governments to the leading European powers for deliverance from the filibusters; the thinly veiled machinations of Great Britain, Spain and France against these adventurers, are some of the facts hitherto ignored, which is sought to set forth in their true light in this work. Although Walker had been given a fairly liberal education, he was not fitted for the task of regenerating Central America, but with a broader knowledge of human nature and a more ample endowment of common sense, he might have succeeded—his failure was productive of evil consequences to all concerned. The illustrations and maps are helpful to the reader.



A THOUSAND YEARS OF RUSSIAN HISTORY. By Sonia E. Howe. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Co. Svo, pp. 432. Illustrated.

The object of this book is to supply in some measure information regarding certain historical and economic facts, which are a puzzle to many readers. For centuries the Russian Empire grew by immigration and colonization, and it is only since the sixteenth century that expansion has come by means of conquest. In the course of the ten and a half centuries of her existence, Russia's political center has shifted three times, and each change represents distinct phases of development and periods with very definite characteristics. This development has not been one of continuous growth; it was interrupted by a great calamity, the Mongol invasion, from which it has taken centuries to recover. The aim in this history is to convey general impressions of the various stages passed through by Russia in the course of her evolution and to give sketches of the lives of those rulers who have stamped their era with the mark of their personality. The text is copiously illustrated and the maps illustrate the gradual shifting of power from Kiev to St. Petersburg, as well as Russia's territorial expansion in Europe.

NATIONALITY IN MODERN HISTORY. By J. Holland Rose, Litt.D. New York, 1916. The Macmillan Co. pp. 202. Price \$1.25.

This series of ten lectures are studies on the varied manifestations of nationality among the chief European nations. Dr. Rose, one of the ablest of modern historians, has supplied, in effect, the background of the conflict in Europe, contributing largely to a clearer understanding of those factors which made for war. Beginning with a discussion of the dawn of the national idea, he takes up in turn the growth of that idea in France, Germany, Spain, Italy, and the Slavic kingdoms, concluding with a consideration of the German theory of the State, Nationality and Militarism, Nationality since 1885 and Internationalism. Most of his conclusions, he assures us, have not been modified by the present war.

THE GREAT REVIVAL IN THE WEST 1797-1805. By Catharine C. Cleveland. University of Chicago Press, 1916. pp. 216. Maps. Price \$1.00 net.

The interest and value of this work lies in the historical research and great industry which Miss Cleveland has bestowed on her subjects, and while this great revival in the West was only one of the many religious movements of the people in the early days of our country, it was the most important of them all. The religious condition of the West prior to 1800, its general social and economic conditions; the revival leaders, their teachings and methods; the spread of the revival and its culmination; the phenomena of the revival, characterized by marked emotional features, and the results of the revival on the moral tone of the region affected, are treated with judgment and talent. The appendixes and bibliography are most acceptable. Miss Cleveland has certainly succeeded in producing a work which is creditable both to herself and to the university under whose auspices it is issued.



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WHO BUILT THE FIRST UNITED STATES  
NAVY?

BY COLONEL HENRY H. HUMPHREYS, U. S. A., RETIRED.  
(Great-Grandson of Joshua Humphreys.)

[In this sketch of Joshua Humphreys, the designer and builder of the first navy of the United States, are incorporated copies of original letters and documents which will set at rest for all time, the claims of others for that distinguished honor. The principles of the construction of the frigate "Old Ironsides" and her five sister ships, in spite of the derisive term applied to them of "fir built frigates," victorious in combat, caused other nations to conform to them, and are not obsolete in our navy to-day. We are indebted to the courtesy of *The Journal of American History*, for the privilege of reprinting Col. Humphreys's article, which it illustrated with photographic copies of original letters and documents.]

Daniel, the grandfather of Joshua Humphreys, Welsh by birth, in religion a Quaker, came to the Province of Pennsylvania in the year 1682, settling near Philadelphia. He married Hannah Wynne, daughter of Doctor Thomas Wynne, first Speaker of the Provincial Assembly of that Province.

Among the many papers in possession of the family, is one yellow with age, but the writing legible, dated the 27th day of the fifth month of the year 1683, and issued from the Quarterly Meeting of the Society of Friends at Merionethshire, Wales, signed by sixteen members,





who vouch for the orderly walkings of one Elizabeth Humphreys, widow of Samuel Humphreys, and her four children, who intend to remove to Pennsylvania in America and join her son, Daniel. That paper describes the widow in this manner: "As to herself, the said Elizabeth is a woman worthy of our recommendation, for an honest faithful woman, that has been serviceable in her place, and praiseworthy in her conversations among us." The children, Benjamin, Lydia, Amy and Gobitha, are mentioned as being educated, and as "children of honest parents and whom we have known as tender Plants, growing in that work, the knowledge of which is the truth and grace of God." Her son, Daniel, is mentioned as "already gone into Penn., about twelve months since." Daniel had by his wife sons and daughters, one of whom, Joshua, married Sarah, daughter of Edward and Eleanor Williams of Blockley, September 11, 1742, and had among other children, one named Joshua, the designer of "Old Ironsides" and her five sister ships.

Joshua Humphreys was born June 17, 1751, in the township of Merion, now Haverford, in the County of Delaware, Pennsylvania. At fourteen years of age his parents moved to Philadelphia, where he was apprenticed to a shipbuilder, Jonathan Penrose, "a gentleman of the highest respectability." Mr. Penrose dying before the apprenticeship had expired, Mrs. Penrose gave him his time. A vessel was then on the stocks. The owner requested the "young apprentice" to finish her which was done to his satisfaction.

Before reaching twenty-one years he entered into business with a cousin, John Wharton of Philadelphia, building several ships. Soon afterwards he received an appointment "at the Continental shipyard," to build a frigate of certain dimensions, the *Randolph*, but according to his views of what would be correct.

He was also commissioned by "the Committee of



Safety of Philadelphia" to build a galley, the first armed vessel built in the Revolution; and he was employed by the "Marine Committee" to fit out a fleet of war vessels, which sailed in 1776, under Commodore Ezek Hopkins.

Joshua, who had married Mary David, of Welsh parentage, was disowned by Friends because of giving aid in the Revolution to the Colonies against Great Britain. While Congress was debating whether a national navy should be built or not, a letter, dated January 6, 1793, addressed to Robert Morris, was written by Joshua Humphreys, then an experienced shipbuilder, wherein he set forth the provisions which should govern the construction of a class of vessels not hitherto in existence.

Southwark, Jan'y 6. 1793

Robert Morris Esq.

Sir

From the present appearance of affairs, I believe it is time this country was possessed of a Navy; but as that is yet to be raised, I have ventured a few ideas on that subject.

Ships that compose the European navys are generally distinguished by their rates; but as the situations & depth of Water of our coasts & Harbours are different in some degree from those in Europe, & as our Navy must for a considerable time be inferior in number we are to consider what size Ships will be most formidable and be an over match for those of an enemy, such Frigates as in blowing weather as would be an over match for double deck Ships, & in light winds, to evade coming to action, or double deck Ships as would be an overmatch for common double deck Ships, and in blowing weather superior to Ships of three Decks, or in calm weather or light winds to outsail them. Ships built on these principles will render those of an Enemy in a degree useless, or require a greater number before they dare attack our Ships.

Frigates I suppose will be the first object and none ought to be built less than 150 feet keel to carry 28, 32 pounders or 30, 24 pounders on the main gun deck & 12 pounders on the quarter deck. Those ships should have scantling equal to 74<sup>a</sup> and I believe may be built of Red cedar & Live Oak for about twenty four pounds @ Ton Carpenters tonage including Carpenters bill, smith, including Anchors, Joyners, Boat-builders, Painters, Plumbers, Carvers, Coopers, Block makers,



Mast makers, Riggers & Rigging, sail makers & sail cloth, two suits, & chandlers bill.

As such Ships will cost a large sum of money they should be built of the best materials that could possibly be procured, the beams for their decks should be of the best Carolina pine & the lower Futtocks & Knees if possible of Live Oak. The greatest care should be taken in the construction of such Ships, and particularly all the timbers should be Framed and bolted together before they are raised.

Frigates built to carry 12 or 18 pounders in my opinion will not answer the expectations contemplated from them, for if we should be obliged to take a part in the present European War, or at a future day we should be dragged into a War with any powers of the old continent, especially great Britain, they having such a number of Ships of that Size, that it would be an equal chance by equal combat that we loose our Ships and more particularly from the Algeriens, who have Ships & some of much greater force. Several questions will arise, whether will one large or two small Frigates contribute most to the protection of our trade or which will cost the least sum of money, or whether two small ones are as able to engage a double deck ship as one large one. For my part I am decidedly of opinion, the large ones will answer best.

I am very Respectfully

Joshua Humphreys.

It is needless to say, those views, being sound, were accepted by the Government. Drafts and moulds of the proposed frigates were directed to be prepared and sent to selected cities for their building.

General Knox's compliments to M<sup>r</sup> Humphreys—and will be happy to have a conference with him at the War-office any time before three o'clock this day, if it will be convenient to M<sup>r</sup> Humphreys—

Thursday

Feb. 3<sup>d</sup> 1794

Joshua Humphreys, accepting the foregoing invitation of General Knox, relates the subjects under discussion. "I attended; the subject under consideration was the construction of a navy, whereat I set forth the principles on which I recommended frigates should be built, as expressed in a letter which I had addressed to Hon. Robert Morris. The act of March 27th, 1794,



was discussed.” Resuming, he says: “Shortly after the passage of this act I received a letter of which the following is a copy.”

War Department  
April 12 1794

Sir

I request that you would please immediately to prepare the models for the frame of the frigates proposed by you in your letter of this date and also that you would please to prepare an accurate draft, and models of the same, the latter to have the frame accurately described—

I am

Sir

Your obed<sup>t</sup> Servant  
H. Knox.

M<sup>r</sup> Joshua Humphreys

Resuming, he states: “I have mislaid the copy of my letter to Genl. Knox of the 12th April, 1794, to which the preceding letter from him to me of same date replies. This must account for its omission immediately preceding his. It in effect propounds to construct the frigates on the same principles as set forth in my letter to Hon. Robert Morris of the 6. of January 1793, & propounds models for the construction of the frigates in conformity thereto, which were adopted; & the frigates with the exception of the *Chesapeake*, built thereon. On the 21st and 28th of June, 1794, I received instructions as follows:”

War Department  
June 21<sup>st</sup> 1794.

Sir,

The building for making the moulds being so essential no time should be lost in putting it in a train of instant execution. It ought to be framed so that if no further use should be required for it that it may be sold to the best advantage. I request that you would after negotiating with several of the most eminent carpenters for the erection of this building engage with the cheapest and also contract for the materials and I will arrange payment in the course of a few days—

I am

Sir

Your humble Servant  
H. Knox.

M<sup>r</sup> Joshua Humphreys—





War Department, June 28 1794

Sir,

You are appointed the Constructor or Master Builder of a Forty-four Gun Ship, to be built in the port of Philadelphia at the rate of compensation of Two thousand dollars per annum.

This compensation is to be considered as commencing on the first of May last, in consideration of your incessant application to the public interests in adjusting the principles of the Ships, drawing of drafts and making models &c—

I am Sir,

with esteem

Your obed<sup>t</sup>-Serv<sup>t</sup>.

H. Knox.

Secy of War.

M<sup>r</sup> Joshua Humphreys

Humphreys writes: "The frigate then built by me, the *United States*, was frequently visited during the progress of her building by President Washington, who expressed deep interest in all that related to her, & the intended navy."

Arlington House Nov<sup>r</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> 1844My D<sup>r</sup> Col<sup>o</sup> Humphreys—

Your letter of the 31<sup>st</sup> ult<sup>o</sup> has been too long unanswered.—I have been *badgered* as a witness at Court in a great Will-Case for most of last week, & my agent here being sick, I have been unable till now to attend to my correspondence.

I have a perfect recollection of the events attending the origin, or first organization of our present Naval Establishment, that has grown so great & glorious, from very small beginnings.—When the three Frigates viz, *United States*, *Constitution*, & *Constellation* were first ordered to be built, we had neither Secretary of the Navy, or Naval Bureau of any sort. The matter was entrusted to General Knox, then Secretary of War. Knox being bred rather in the medical than maritime line, sought the best advice touching the construction & armament of the Vessels, that was within his reach. Joshua Humphreys having acquired distinction as a Naval Architect from his having built the *Randolph* Frigate, and other Men of War during the Revolution, & residing at the then seat of Government (Philadelphia) was at once consulted ere the size & armament of the Frigates was determined upon.—With wonderful sagacity Humphreys at once declared, that inasmuch as we could have but few vessels for many years to come to cope with the maritime powers of Europe, *it behooved us to have those few of a superior order, both as to*



their size, construction, & weight of metal, & thus started for the first time in the world, the idea that the armament of the two larger frigates should be 24 pounders.—The idea of 24\* to a single deck man of war was unheard of till this moment, & created no little surprise & opposition. Humphreys persisted, & gave such excellent & forcible reasons for his plan, that the same was adopted by the Government in all its extent. *Let Victory tell the rest!*

I well remember visiting with Washington the *United States Frigate* at Southwark, when her Keel was laid, & stem & stern-post only up. The Chief expressed his admiration at the great size of the Vessel that was to be. Commodore Barry was present, & Mr Humphreys explained to the President, several of his cabinet, and other persons who were present, the great principle which he had originated & was now by consent of the authorities putting into successful practice, all of which met with Washington's approbation, & he expressed himself on his return in his coach, much gratified with all he had seen & heard in this, his *First visit to an American Navy Yard*.—

Surely my D<sup>r</sup>Sir, the grandson of a Patriot of the Days of Trial, & one who has "done the State great service," cannot be an unsuccessful applicant for the bounty of Government, for so long as the ensign of victory continues to float o'er the famed "*Old Wagon*" will the worth & services of Joshua Humphreys be "freshly remembered."—

With many recollections of the happy days of Juvenility, & with great regard & esteem.

Believe me my D<sup>r</sup>Sir

Faithfully yrs

George W P Custis.

Col<sup>o</sup> Humphreys.—

Further instructions were received July 24, 1794.

War department

July 24<sup>th</sup> 1794

Sir,

I request that you would have the moulds for the frigates prepared with all possible dispatch for the purpose of being transported to the following places—to wit

Norfolk .....	44	GunShip..to be addressed to William Pennock Agent
Baltimore .....	36	.....d°.....
New York.....	44	.....d°.....John Blagge
Boston.....	44	.....d°.....Henry Jackson
Portsmouth, New Hampshire.....	} 36	.....d°.....Jacob Mead



Mr Fox who is under your direction  
will also apply himself closely to  
this business—

I am  
Sir  
Your obed<sup>t</sup> Servant  
H. Knox.

Mr Joshua Humphreys  
Constructor of the Navy  
of the United States

Phil<sup>a</sup> July 25, 1797

Sir

I rec<sup>d</sup> your letter of yesterday purporting the Sec<sup>r</sup> of War,  
"being very desirous that the frigate *Constellation* should be  
"launched in the Safest manner and with as little expense to  
"the United States as possible and judging that your advice  
"may be necessary to assist Mr Stoddard in performing that  
"service, desires me &c"

I have waited on him. It is with pleasure & with alacrity  
I shall always receive and obey while in the service of the  
United States any orders of the Secretary of War, but, Sir,  
I cannot receive hereafter or attend to any directions from  
you, altho directed by the Sec<sup>r</sup> of War—while you style your-  
self Naval Constructor, you must know, that my station in the  
service of the United States require no directions from a *Naval*  
*Constructor*, you also know that *I am at the head of that De-*  
*partment*—and when you direct a letter to me let it be done in  
Style as *Clerk of the Marine Department*." Whenever the Sec-  
retary deems my services no longer necessary, you may then  
to other persons assume such title as your Vanity may  
suggest—

Mr Josiah Fox  
Clerk in the Marine Department  
War Office

I am &c  
J. H—

As to the title, "Constructor of the Navy of the United States," the correspondence does not show it was withdrawn during the continuance in office of Joshua Humphreys as such. From the instructions contained in the letter of July 24, 1794, Mr. Fox was not independent of his chief. From him, he received general or special directions to carry out. Possibly Mr. Fox offered suggestions in the building of the frigates which, being considered feasible, were accepted by his chief and carried out, but that Mr. Fox did build the frigates is rejected *in toto*. In all business estab-



lishments one head is responsible for the success or failure of the work, not the subordinate. Blame for this or that failure cannot be shifted from the shoulders of the chief, unless the subordinate did not carry out the orders received from the head.

Our frigates of forty-four and thirty-six guns in single combat were always victorious with the exception of one, the *Chesapeake*. Why was that? It is believed her loss is attributable to the following reasons.

First, there was violation of the Act of Congress of March 27, 1794, which prescribed the number of frigates, four to carry each forty-four guns, and two frigates each to carry thirty-six guns. Consequently there were three of each class. Secondly, there was radical departure in the *Chesapeake's* construction upon a new plan, differing from the one sent, which failure will be explained further on. Third, there was the loss of eight guns, quite an important factor in combat. Why should not Mr. Fox be held responsible for her loss?

Humphreys, resuming, states: "I had also to provide rough moulds & instructions to Mr. Morgan, who was sent to Georgia to cut timber for the frigates. After the drafts, moulds & instructions were completed & forwarded to the different agents as directed in Genl. Knox's letter, it was found there was not any person at Norfolk supposed to be capable of building a frigate. Mr. Fox was appointed to build her. Before he arrived at Norfolk, the keel had been spliced & laid for the 44 gun ship to be built there. The keel was afterwards cut to that of a 36 gun ship, on a new draft drawn by Mr. Fox, differing from the one I had forwarded. By what authority the alteration was made I never could ascertain. The ship so built was the *Chesapeake*. The duties of naval constructor were performed by me, & I was in correspondence with several secretaries of the department, from my appointment





in May 1794, throughout the Washington Administration, the whole period of the elder Mr. Adams' term, & for a short time under that of Mr. Jefferson. On the 29th of January, 1800, I received an order from the secretary of the navy to examine the ports of New London, Newport, Boston, Portsmouth, N. H., Portland & Wicasset in Casco Bay, for the purpose of selecting the most suitable place for a dockyard. This I performed, & duly reported upon. I was also directed the purchase the navy yard at Philadelphia & to lay out one at Washington. These things were ordered as I understood, because the elder Mr. Adams, the President of the United States, was aware of Mr. Jefferson's hostility to an efficient navy, & was resolved to secure all these points before he went out of office. On the 13th of August, 1801, I received a letter from the secretary of the navy, from which I insert the following:'

Navy dept

13th Aug<sup>t</sup> 1801

Sir

I have received your letters of the 10th & 11th inst—I consider the employment of a Clerk to the Navy yard as very proper, Be pleased therefore to continue that employment—And you may continue to employ a Master workman on the repairs of the *Constellation* as long as you find the same necessary—

With respect to providing the articles for the repairs of the *Constellation*, you certainly must be the best judge not only of what may be wanting but of the fitness of the articles offered—You will therefore continue to purchase them, giving orders on Mr Harrison for payment—

The Frigate *Constitution* has been examined & found to be considerably decayed particularly the ends of her Beams—She is now under orders for a thorough repair—

Thanking you for your suggestion on this & other subjects which will receive due attention, and soliciting a continuance of your observations on whatever points you may deem proper or conducive to the improvement of our Navy

I am Sir

Very respectfully

Y<sup>r</sup> Mo. ob<sup>t</sup> Sr<sup>t</sup>

Joshua Humphreys Esq<sup>r</sup>

R<sup>t</sup> Smith



Humphreys, continuing, states: "A short time afterwards brought me the following letter dated October 24th, 1801:"

Navy Dep  
26<sup>th</sup> Oct 1801

Sir

As it is not intended that either of the 74's shall be commenced until all the timber is duly prepared & properly seasoned, the station which you hold, as Navy Constructor, has become unnecessary, and I am under the necessity, though very reluctantly, of informing you that your services will be dispensed with after the 1<sup>st</sup> of November next up to which period you will be pleased to make out your account and transmit it to the Accountant for settlement.

You will I trust be duly sensible how very painful it is to me to make to you this unpleasant communication—and be persuaded Sir my sensibility is increased by considerations resulting from a knowledge of your worth—and the uniformly good & useful character you have sustained since you have been in the employ of this Department—But it is hoped that should your services be hereafter required, that you will not withhold them.

I have the Honor to be with great respect  
Sir, your mo ob Ser.

Joshua Humphreys Esq  
Phila.

R<sup>t</sup> Smith

P.S. You will be pleased to deliver to Mr. George Harrison all the public property of what nature soever pertaining to the Navy in your possession or under your controul, of which you will render to him a complete inventory, and transmit a duplicate inventory, with Mr. Harrison's receipt for the same to this department.

R<sup>t</sup> Smith

In the year 1836 a letter addressed by Joshua Humphreys to Josiah Barker, naval constructor at Charlestown Navy Yard, Boston, Massachusetts, thanks him for a cane made from some timber taken from the *Constitution* when first repaired there.

"Harve township, Delaware county, Pa.:

"Dear Sir—

"On my son Samuel's return from Boston, he presented me with a very handsome walking cane, made



out of a part of the frigate *Constitution* (Old Ironsides), which was taken out of her while under your repairs. This cane is of double value to me on account of its having been taken from one of the frigates I constructed in the year 1794, forty-two years ago, under the administration of the ever memorable Washington, and General Knox, his then Secretary of War. The five frigates, the *United States*, the *President* and *Constitution*, forty-fours; the *Constellation* and *Congress*, thirty-sixes, were all built by the drafts and molds sent on by me to the different posts where they were to be built.

“The molds and drafts for the *Chesapeake* were also sent on by me to Mr. Pennock, navy agent at Norfolk, for a forty-four, the same size as the large frigates, and the keel laid. But as there was no person there who understood the drafts and molds, a Josiah Fox, an Englishman, who was in the mold loft with me, who copied some of the drafts that were sent out from here to these different builders, was sent to build her, but instead of conforming to the drafts and instructions from me, he curtailed the dimensions of that ship from a forty-four to a thirty-six; but by whose authority the alterations were made I was never able to find out. This ship always spoke for herself as well as the others did. Old fellows like myself like to tell what they did in their younger days, and I will say to you that I built the first frigate (*Randolph*), and fitted out the first fleet under Commodore Hopkins, that sailed under the *United States*, in the year 1776. The great mark of attention you have shown me in sending me so beautiful a present has made me proud, although in my eighty-sixth year of age, a time of life when I ought to be more humble. The cane I shall leave as a talisman to my grandson and namesake, son of my son Samuel, that, should he ever come into action he will recollect the bravery of the officers of Old Ironsides. Should you



ever come this way I should be most glad to see you, and spend some time with us. I live in Haverford township, Delaware county, Pa., seven miles west of Schuylkill bridge.

I am with very great respect, yours, etc.,  
Joshua Humphreys”

These ships, commanded by gallant captains, manned by good crews, their fine sailing qualities, magnificent fighting, the universal successes which attended them in all their encounters with English and French vessels of war caused the United States to be respected abroad. Their peculiar lines and build created a revolution in all naval vessels which were subsequently built by foreign nations. Whether this Government has in its possession a model of the ships is a matter of which the writer has no positive knowledge, but the family had at its country place, Pont Reading, Pennsylvania, a model of some size of a ship in wood, fashioned by the hands of Joshua Humphreys. This model hung in the mould-loft of the navy yard in Philadelphia, before its abandonment. It was sent to the family by the then chief naval constructor of the United States, Mr. John Lenthall. The model was subsequently presented to Independence Hall at Philadelphia, where it is displayed. On the back of the board to which the model is attached will be found this: “J. H. fecit 1777.”

The construction of the frigate *United States*, built by Joshua Humphreys, is typical of her five sister ships with the exception of the *Chesapeake*.

The drafts and moulds for the six frigates were closely modeled after the best French practice of that time and resembled a razeed 74 gun-ship of the line, following closely that curious feature called the “tumble home,” an inward curving of the sides above the water line, which secured the much desired load line beam without corresponding bulk above board.





Below their water line, their lines were sharp, clean and clear, cutting the water like a rapier, which in the hands of a skillful fencer glides without effort into the body of the opponent.

Of the six frigates but two remain: the *Constitution* at the Boston Navy Yard, and the *Constellation* at Newport, Rhode Island, used as a receiving ship. The *President*, under command of John Rodgers, had the honor of firing the first shot in the war with England. When under Decatur, in the spring of 1814, near New York, she encountered four English frigates which attacked her and after a terrific contest she was captured and taken to London, England, where she is to this day exhibited as a trophy. The *United States* won renown in action, being classed with the *Constitution* and *Constellation*. Long ago she was condemned and broken up. The *Congress*, bearing an honorable part in the war of 1812, was blown up in Hampton Roads, Virginia, in the engagement with the Confederate ram *Merrimac*, March, 1862. The *Chesapeake* under Lawrence in the encounter with the *Shannon* was captured.

The following points should be noted in the construction of the frigates. Of the *Constitution*.—"Her model & armament were copied by England, & before the naval war of 1812 had closed, as it was imperative to build something that could overtake her." (See pages 2 and 3, chap. I, "The Frigate Constitution.") It was important in constructing the frigates to have their decks as far as practicable from eight to nine feet above the water line with a steady platform, and in that respect our frigates were superior to the English, ship for ship. Our sailors were handy in all kinds of work; quick to repair any damage to the ship; apt in gunnery, and improvising sights for guns. The frigates were heavily sparred. The hardness of the timber and weight, with the planking, was an advantage. The frigates could go into action in weather which rolled



the gun ports of the ordinary frigate and line of battleship under water. It is said that Nelson remarked on Commodore Dale's squadron, then in the Mediterranean, "There is in the handling of those transatlantic ships a nucleus of trouble for the Navy of Great Britain." (See page 23, chapter I, "The Constitution.")

Can the advocates for other claimants to the building of the first American Navy produce a letter with this address, "Constructor of the Navy of the United States"? Can they produce any letter showing the plans of their clients for the construction of our navy were approved and ordered built by the authorities then in power in preference to those of Joshua Humphreys? Can they show, if their clients had plans, why those of Joshua Humphreys were accepted, and not theirs? Can they show that the duties as related in this article were not performed by Joshua Humphreys, but by them? Why were the plans of Joshua Humphreys accepted and no notice made of other plans? If their clients designed, moulded, built the first navy of the United States, why do not writers on that subject mention their names? Excepting the name of Joshua Humphreys, as the designer and builder of the navy, no other names are mentioned. Such could not have come from design.

The advocate for one claimant states: "he introduced into the service the improved mode of drafting the ships of war & likewise the manner of making the moulds & taking bevellings of the timber, & he has reason to believe he was the first person who ever directed putting together a stern frame from moulds of war before it was raised in the United States." The party states he arrived at Dumfries, Virginia, October 9, 1793.

In connection with the above claim re-read the letter of January 6th, 1793, wherein is stated: "The greatest



care should be taken in the construction of such ships and particularly all her timbers should be framed and bolted together before they raised." The views just called to the reader's attention antedate the arrival of that claimant in this country over nine months.

Attention is invited to two letters from Mr. Timothy Pickering, Secretary of War, to Mr. Fox, dated May 12, 1795; also to one from Ben Stoddard, likewise Secretary of that department, of August 1, 1798, which letters are printed on page 106, of *The Journal of American History*, First Quarter of the year 1908; also to photographic copies of letters from Humphreys' correspondence, dated August 20th, 1827; also to the letter of Humphreys to Secretary Pickering, on learning from Mr. Fox of that letter.

At this time Col' Pickering acted as Secretary at War & appointed Fox to build the 44 gun Frigate at that place, & stated in his appointment that he Fox had a principal share in constructing the other Frigates. On Fox shewing me his appointment I asked him how he could receive such Instructions without informing the secretary that they were not correct as to his having anything to do with the construction of those Ships. In consequence I wrote Col' Pickering 5. June 1795 informing him that Fox had nothing to do with planing or constructing the Drafts or Models of the Frigates but the Copying of them &c.

The three Ships being built by the safe draft and instructions by me—while he was performing that business I was preparing the Drafts for the 36 gun Frigates.

All the Builders were improperly called Naval Constructors, altho none of them had anything to do with drafting or constructing the Frigates, but myself—

After the moulds in the Mould loft was finished for the Six Frigates, I set M<sup>r</sup> Fox to make four copies of the four large Frigates one to be sent to each yard where the Frigates were to be built, I examined & compared them with the original drafts drawn by myself, & certified them to be correct, before they were sent on; whether he or M<sup>r</sup> Doughty copied the drafts of the 36 gun Frigates, I have now forgotten. After all the Drafts were completed, I recommended Fox to General Knox for a clerk in his office, as he would be more capable of explaining any matters on naval matters or Architect, than any person he could employ, accordingly he was taken into office.



Exactly at what time Fox was taken into the service I do not know But it must have been soon after I received the letter from Gen<sup>l</sup> Knox to prepare the drafts and Models. Fox was considered a first-rate draftsman and his being late from one of the Kings yards in England, he was considered a great acquisition to us, I gave him directions to prepare a draft for the 44 gun Ships, with Instructions in what manner to draw it; but instead of conforming to the instructions I gave him, he drew a draft according to his own opinion, which was so foreign from my Ideas that I set it aside and drew another myself, by which the *U. States*, the *President & Constitution*, were built; I then set Fox to lay down the Ships in the Mould Loft, making moulds for cutting timber by, & other setts for the master builders in the different yards

(Signed.) Jos<sup>s</sup> Humphreys

Hon. Secy at  
War

Sir

Permit me to observe, on seeing your instructions to M<sup>r</sup> Fox, that soon after the commencement of building, I was directed to prepare a Draught and Model for them, the Model was presented to the late Sec<sup>y</sup> at War and is now in your office, in order to make them the most perfect ships the best Shipwrights of this port were called in to give their opinion on the Model, which they did candidly, I was then directed to make such alterations in the formation of the Frigates body as was conformable to the General Ideas M<sup>r</sup> Fox appointed under me to carry the Same into effect; accordingly I directed him to prepare a draught agreeably to the direction I had rec<sup>d</sup> but I conceived he did not strictly conform to those directions in the drawing of the draught, which induced me immediately to set about drawing myself, & I produced those the Frigates are to be built by without M<sup>r</sup> Fox's advice or assistance, but conformable to the directions I had rec<sup>d</sup>. While I was drawing the draught of the 36 gun Frigate and making out the dimensions and Size of Scantling and Mode of putting the timber together & fastening it M<sup>r</sup> Fox was laying down the 44 Gun Ships in the mould loft—when that was finished M<sup>r</sup> Fox and M<sup>r</sup> Doughty went to copying the Draughts to be sent to the different builders for the 44 Gun ships & while they were about that business I was laying down the 36 Gun Ships in the Mould loft. These are facts I conceive had not come to your knowledge and I hope you will not consider it improper in me to State them to you at this time, and altho it is so, yet I do not wish to take from M<sup>r</sup> Fox or lessen his merit, or even give the most distant hint of his want of capability in this business, on the other hand I





think there are few men in this country equally qualified & he is well informed and his judgment

Hon. Secy. at  
War

I am Sir with much esteem & respect  
(Signed.) Jos<sup>a</sup> Humphreys

Sir

With deference I would submit the propriety of Mr Fox calling at Baltimore with a letter of Introduction in case they should want information on any point respecting the Moulds or putting the frames together

The Hon Secy.  
at War

I am respectfully  
(Signed.) Jos<sup>a</sup> Humphreys

Attention is directed to the same Number of *The Journal of American History*, where, on page 108, third paragraph from the top, it is said that the "State Department applied to Fox by permission of the Secretary of war to draft and direct the building of a frigate to carry 36 guns for the Dey of Algiers."

In connection with the above, there are herewith submitted copies of letters dated July 19, August 11, September 1, 2 and 25; and November 6 and 10, of the year 1797. These letters pertain to the drafts, building, and equipment of a frigate, brig, and schooner for the Dey of Algiers.

July 19, 1797

Dimensions of a Brig to carry 18 Guns—on the main gun deck for the Dey of Algiers.

75 Keel

27 feet Beam

12 feet hold

5 feet tight Waist fitted with a gang way—with a long warter deck and forecastle—to have a tight quarter deck and forecastle, to have a light sparr or orlope deck to be laid by the Carpenter to be fitted with a head and foot, other decorations as may be hereafter directed, to be launched and finished to cleats including Coppering Reems, Chiping Watering Pitch Tarr, Turpentine Rosin Tallows for Launching, and all chandlery, stores for the Hull and Launching dinner, to be fitted in a complete manner as a Vessell of War and to be built agreeable to the directions of such superintendant as may be hereafter appointed



—and to be launched—on or before the 15<sup>th</sup> of November next—  
or the shortest possible time—

---

Dimensions of a schooner to carry 14 Guns on the Main gun  
deck for the Dey of Algiers—

62 feet Keel

23 feet Beam

11 feet Hold

4 feet 3 In<sup>s</sup> solid waist—to have a quarter deck—or round  
house as may be hereafter directed—& completed as above  
described—

Form of a Letter for the Secretary of State for the different  
builders in Philadelphia—dated July 19<sup>th</sup> 1797.

“Enclosed I send you the dimensions of two Vessels with  
the number of guns each are to carry you will please to con-  
sider these dimensions, the proportions with each other and how  
these dimensions are calculated to carry the number of guns  
annexed to each as well as how their sizes are adopted to  
the class of shipping mentioned. If those dimensions should  
not accord with your Ideas, you will please to state such as  
will with your reasons why they do not—you will please to  
enclose sealed, your terms as soon as possible for building these  
Vessels agreeable to the dimensions including—the articles men-  
tioned and also your terms for any Sized Vessels you may think  
better to be adopted, including all after bills as before  
mentioned”—

Navy Yard, Aug<sup>t</sup> 11, 1797

Sir

I have considered the purport of your letter of yesterday. In  
Colo<sup>l</sup> Hackets proposials for building a Frigate for the Use  
of the Dey of Algiers, he enclosed his terms with the number  
of tons the ship would contain—or he was willing to take the  
N<sup>o</sup> of Tons the ship would produce by the Philadelphia or  
Boston mode of measurement; The Secretary accepted of the  
proposials, he was satisfied with the number of Tons set forth  
in the proposials, because it was agreeably to the mode now in  
practice in this Port. After maturely considering those matters  
I am clearly of opinion Colo<sup>l</sup> Hacket intended & would have  
Contracted for the N<sup>o</sup> of Tons set forth in his proposials or  
the mode now in practice in this port, which amounts to the  
same thing. I am therefore Clearly of opinion M<sup>r</sup> Hacket  
should not charge more tons than are mentioned in his pro-  
posials—

With respect to the Head & Gallerys, he was to be allowed  
a reasonable compeusation, but the price he has charged appears  
to me to be too high, and in order to ascertain the amount  
thereof I have stated the account in detail—



1 piece for Cutwater end & Chock .....	30	Rim of Galley .....	20
1 piece for Lacing .....	5	Stock .....	16
4 d° for Chock .....	29	Keel for secy Galley ....	8
2 Main head Rails .....	12	finishings .....	15
2 Middle Rails .....	3	Freey work .....	2
8 timber .....	20		<hr/>
After Knee .....	5	Workmanship .....	61
1 Gress piece .....	2	Am <sup>t</sup> of Galleys .....	\$161
Pointers & Brackets .....	4	Am <sup>t</sup> of head .....	232
Grating .....	10		<hr/>
Supporters & trailboards	5	Total am <sup>t</sup> of Head &	
	<hr/>	Galleys .....	\$393.
	116		<hr/>
Workmanship .....	116		
Am <sup>t</sup> of head .....	\$232		

Oliver Wolcot Esquire

Dimensions of Masts & Spars for a schooner of 62 feet length  
23 feet Beam 10½ feet hold & 40 feet waist—

Main Mast..76 feet head..7 feet topmast..34 head..11 feet  
Fore Mast ..70 feet.....8 d° .....37 d°...13 d°

Fore Cross jack yard....35 feet Arm....12 inches

d° topl. yard .....24 d° .....12 d°

d° Top G yard .....17 d° ..... 9 d°

Cross jack yard .....32 d° .....12 d°

Main topl. yard .....22 d° ..... 9 d°

M T. G .....d° .....15 d° ..... 6 d°

Fore Gaff 24 feet. Main Gaff 20 feet.

Bowsprit 21 feet outboard

Jibb boom 23 feet—

Main Boom 10 feet over the stern

Steerage & Booms & yards as is usual according to the  
General rule.—

The dimentions of the Masts & Sparrs I wish you to shew  
to Cap<sup>t</sup> OBrien that he may be satisfied therewith or that  
he may have an opportunity of making such alterations as he  
may think will best suit the Business they are intended for.

It is not necessary now to  
determine the length of }  
heavy Booms or yards }

J H

I did not expect you to de-  
pend alltogether on OBrien  
as he knew in what Manner  
they will best suit, I  
thought it was best to have  
his Opinion if that cannot



be had you shall not want

Mine

No French Calibres

Tench Francis Esq.

Navy Yard, Sept. 2, 1797

Richard OBrien Esq<sup>r</sup>

Sir

I wish you to determine about the cealing and all other matters ralitive to the Algerien Vessels that I have stated to you. I will thank you to forward this business with all possible dispatch.

Y<sup>rs</sup> &c

An Estimate of the Quanty & size of Copper, Nails, bolts, & Spikes for the Brig—

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 830 feet of one inch & eight bolts   | } The sizes here mentioned are the sizes of the Augres the bolts will be a little larger but are called as mentioned. |
| 283 feet of one inch & quarter   |   |
| 64 feet of inch bolts  |   |
| 125 feet of 7/8 inch   |   |
| 1100 d° of 3/4 ....  | } But bolts to be cast with a head and point  |
| 72 d° Composition 3/4  |   |
| 1200 eight inch Spikes   |   |
| 400 seven inch d°  |   |
| 200 Six inch d°  |   |
| 1100 Sheets of copper 3-9 long by 14 inches wide of average thinner than the Frigates of the patent sheathing copper |   |
| 115,000 Copper sheathing Nails of a size less than the Frigates  |   |

Dimentions of Masts and Sparrs for a Brig of 75 feet Keel  
27 feet Beam 11 1/2 feet hold & 4 1/2 between Waist

- |                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| Fore Mast....56.8....head 8.3      | yard 48 feet arm 2.3                   |
| Topmast ....36 .....               | 5 topsl.y <sup>d</sup> 36 d° ..... 2.3 |
| Top gal <sup>t</sup> Mast 29 ..... | 10 T G. d° 25 d° ..... 1.              |
|                                    | Royal 20 ..... 1                       |
| Main Mast ...73 feet head 8 ...    | yard 42 ..... 1.8                      |
| Topmast .....33 d° ....            | 4.9..... 33 ..... 2                    |
| Top G mast ...27 d° ....           | 9 ..... 22 ..... 1                     |
|                                    | Royal 17 .....                         |

- |                               |  |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Main Boom 12 feet over Stern  | } Fore top 13 1/2 feet<br>Main top 12 feet |
| Gaff ——— 30 feet long         |  |
| Bowsprit 27 feet Outside Bows |  |
| Jibb boom 29 feet             |  |

[torn] & yards & Booms as is usual according to the general rule





Haverford Township, Humphreys' Mills,  
at the Nine Mile Stone on the Haverford  
Road—Sept<sup>r</sup> 25<sup>th</sup>, 1797

Sir

I was in hopes of soon returning to the city, and untill yesterday was very sanguine of having both Vessels compleated to sail before the river closed this season, but the unfavorable report of the Contagion, and the number of Deaths in the vicinity of the yard, will prevent for the present, my return there, the number is much greater than in the year 93 I know of no family that has escaped. The Clerk of the yard was taken sick in the Counting House and is now dead. M<sup>r</sup> Hutton is driving on the small vessel very fast, she will be all compleatly timbered this week and will begin to put on the plank and wales, if he is fortunate enough to continue healthy she will be soon compleated. The Stem & Stern of the Brig will be raised tomorrow, she will progress as fast as possible under the present calamity. I have engaged the stuff for the gun carriages, which will be cut immediately and piled up to season.

M<sup>r</sup> Francis, nor myself, have a copy of M<sup>r</sup> Hutton's proposals; it will be necessary for one of us to be possessed of them, in order to know, at what time M<sup>r</sup> Hutton is to receive payment, although I know very near the Sum and time, yet I may be mistaken. I have drawn two orders, on M<sup>r</sup> Francis for five hundred Dollars each, on account of his first payment, the first was paid before I left the City, the last I am not advised of, but have no doubt of its being paid.

I received a letter from Cap<sup>t</sup> OBrien, dated Baltimore 11<sup>th</sup> inst: wherein he states his being extremely ill of a fever. Any commands you may please to give, will be immediately sent to me, if they should be left at the Buck Tavern kept by McAilley on the turn pike road near the eight mile stone.

I am with great respect

Yours &c

The Hble  
Timothy Pickering

Joshua Humphreys

Haverford, Humphreys Mills

Sep<sup>t</sup> 25 1797

Sir

Finding by a letter from M<sup>r</sup> OBrien that he lays extremely ill at Baltimore, and not knowing whether you have received any instructions from him respecting the Anchors and Cables I enclose you a list of them that will in my opinion be necessary for the two vessels. I did intend to have gone to the yard today expecting from the reports of last week, I could have gone with safety but yesterday's report being so unfavourable, I shall de-



cline it; I have now given up all hopes of having the brig finished this fall. I shall inform the Secretary of it. I have engaged the gun carriage stuff. Gaskill who was to cut the plank for you is dead of the fever—but I expect the person who was with him will see it cut, perhaps it would be best to write about it—

			. 75 feet keel for tonnage		
			27 Beam		
			11½ feet hold		
Brgt for Algiers					
3 Anchors	.... 15Ct	.... 3 Cables	12 Inch	.. 120 fathom	
1 Stream d°	.. 6 d°	.... 1 d°	6 d°	.. d°	
1 Kedge	..... 3 d°	.... 1 d°	4 d°	.. d°	
1 d°	.....112 lb				
1 Grapple	.... 28 lb				
Schooner					
3 Anchors	.... 11Ct	.... 3 Cables	10 Inch	.. 120 fathom	
1 d°	.... 3½ d°	.... 1 d°	4	.. d°	
1 Kedge	..... 1 d°				
1 Grapple	.... 21 lb				
Tench Francis Esquire					J. H.

Navy Yard Nov. 6 1797

Sir

The Beams of the schooner are all in & the upper work planked, I have had the Beams plained and beaded and shall have all under the deck made neat.

I will thank you to let me know as soon as possible how much I shall have the Orlope deck laid below the gun deck, and what accomodations will be necessary and in what manner will most accord with their Ideas in this I wish you to be very particular and plain as soon as I receive your instructions on this head I shall agree with the joyners as no time is to be lost if she is to be sent out this season.—If you will recollect I laid several matters before you relative to the fitting those Vessels, which I wished your Opinion on; if they were for our service I should not be at so great a Loss in fitting them.

I hope I shall here from you by the return of the post.

I am with Respect

Richard OBrien Esquire

J. H.

Navy Yard Nov. 10 1797

Dear Sir

On very mature deliberations, and with the advise and assistance of M<sup>r</sup> John Downen, an old experienced sailman, as well as from comparative calculations; I am induced to differ with Cap<sup>t</sup> OBrien with respect to the length of the schooner masts, as well as from a former dimention I sent you, and while the difference is not very great yet if I should conform to his dimentions and the masts prove too short, as I believe they



will it will be a difficult matter to remedy, but if they are made to my directions and prove too long they may be cutt with little expence and altho you have desired me to proceed, I cannot, without consulting you, having before received Cap<sup>t</sup> O'Brien's Opinion which differs from my own.

Main mast not less than 76 feet nor the fore mast less than 72 feet.

Enclosed you have Mr Downen's bill for the sail cloth wanting for the schooner, as well as a statement of what cloth he has on hand some of which is difficult to be procured elsewhere. I have not made any agreement with him about the sails, he informs me there is a regulated price with the sail makers as to their charges.

Yesterday Mr De Costa and myself went on board a Armed Brig at Mr Willings wharf and found she was armed with English & French four pounders, four & half feet long, what length we have concluded would answer for the schooner of which size he is now preparing a draft. He observes if those guns are to be cast in sand, it will take four months to compleat them, but if moulded in clay they may be done in two; he wishes you to require the founder immediately to procure a good moulder in Clay, he thinks there is one may be had from Hughs works. I wish you to take those matters seriously into consideration and let me here from you soon, I shall meet you at any time & place you may appoint.

Tench Francis Esquire

J. H.

Navy Yard Sep<sup>t</sup> 6 1797

Mr Tho<sup>s</sup> Truxton

Sir

I received your favour of the 27<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> this day. I hope before you receive this you will have the Frigate safe in the water—altho I know this must be a very busy time with you, I cannot help calling on you for an indent of the sizes length and number of cables & the w<sup>t</sup> of Anchors for two vessels of war for Algiers, one of 75 feet 27 feet Beam 11½ feet hold & 4½ feet tight waist to carry 18 Six pounders for a Brig<sup>t</sup>, and one of 62 feet keel 23 feet Beam 10½ feet hold & 4 feet solid or tight waist to carry 16 Guns four pounders for a schooner. I will thank you to state what spare sail Riggins, what quantity of small arms and of all kind of stores, in fact I wish you to state everything necessary to aquipt them for vessels of war in the most complete manner, I should not have troubled you on this subject if I had been competent to the business, and knowing of no persons who have made it their study but yourself, I could not feel confidence in applying to any other person.

Wishing you health and success in Launching I remain &c.

J. H.



Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt, before a meeting of the Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers, held in New York, December 10 and 11, 1914, addressed that body on "Our First Frigates: Some Unpublished Facts About Their Construction." Accompanying the printed address are drawings, illustrating, first, the body plan of the frigates *Constitution*, *United States*, *Constellation* and *Congress*; elevation and one-half breadth of the *Constellation*; ditto for the *Constitution* and *United States*. These copied drawings are taken from the originals of Joshua Humphreys on file in the Navy Department of the United States.

This article treats of the Act of Congress, dated March 27, 1794, which created a navy for the United States of America and none other. It does not treat of the navy of the United Colonies, or its captains commanding their vessels of war.

The following citation of eminent works of value give to but one person the title of "Father of the American Navy," he of whom we have written: Appleton's *Cyclopedia of American Biography*, Volume 3, page 313; Lamb's *Biographical Dictionary of the United States*, Volume 4, page 239; Scharf and Westcott's *History of Philadelphia*, published in 1884; Simpson's *Lives of Eminent Philadelphians*, published in 1859, page 587; Edward S. Maclay's *History of the Navy, 1775 to 1803*, two Volumes, 1890, page 159, Volume 1; *New International Encyclopedia*, 1907; *The Frigate Constitution*, published in the year 1890, chapter 2, page 33; *Battles of the British Navy from the year 1000 to the year 1840*, by Joseph Allen, Esq., of Greenwich Hospital, London, England, pages 369, 370, 371.

From the last authority cited is taken the following: "The American Navy insignificant, yet as a whole was composed of large & heavy frigates. Describes a 44 gun frigate; for many years their actual force re-





mained a mystery & would probably have never been accurately determined but for praiseworthy patriotic research & inquisitiveness of the late Mr. James. The added four feet to the extreme breadth of the *President* (one of the six frigates built upon the plan of Joshua Humphreys), makes her a larger ship than the generality of British 74s, her yards are square, her masts as stout as theirs. Some idea may be formed of the size & formidable appearance of the American 44 gun frigate. In scantlings also, that which the American acknowledges to be the slightest built of the frigates (the *President*) is at least equal to a British 74 of the largest class." Mr. James proceeds to prove his case and is successful, winding up with this conclusion: "In fact the American gun frigates were as they were aptly named by British Officers, line of battle ships in disguise."

Mr. Upham, the biographer of Timothy Pickering, late Secretary of War, in Volume 3, page 154, quotes a letter from that Secretary, dated March 14, 1795, which is addressed to President Washington, and here condensed. The letter states, the carved work for the frigates should be relative to their names; but a single carver here competent (probably W. Rush, marine sculptor), for the work of the frigates building at Philadelphia, Baltimore and Norfolk; the captains with Mr. Humphreys (Joshua), represent the necessity for an early designation of the names of the frigates; submits to Washington twenty-one selected names in which those of the *United States*, *Constitution*, *Constellation*, *President* and *Congress* appear. In reports of the Secretary of War in January and June, 1797, the names of the first three frigates mentioned above are applied to them. (See American State Papers, Naval Affairs, Volume 1, pages 25 and 31.) In the Journals of the United States Senate and House of Representatives for those years those names are used in proceedings



relative to the Navy. From the above-mentioned letter, it is assumed President Washington approved the names of the first three frigates, and probably those for the other two.

Authority for the above is a letter in possession of the writer of the present article, received from the Congressional Library, Washington, D. C., dated February 23, 1915.



## JOURNAL OF REV. JOHN SHARPE.

[Manuscript Division of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.]

(Continued from page 297.)

*January 1, 1771.*—New Years day at Church.

2.—I and my wife went over to our Uncle freemans.

4.—Mr Freeman &amp; I went out a shooting.

5.—My wife and I returned at York D. G<sup>r</sup>, rain.7.—A. M. M<sup>r</sup> Vesey preached S<sup>t</sup> Jo. 8.12. I p. m. S<sup>t</sup> Math. 2.2.28.—M<sup>r</sup> Vesey abroad I preached Isai. 5.4.

30.—King Charles Martyrdom I read a Homily.

31.—D<sup>r</sup> Thomas buried.*February 2.*—purification day.5.—We walked to y<sup>e</sup> ffort & suped at M<sup>rs</sup> Weems.

6.—Queens birthday. at night at McLannans.

10.—At the Fort.

11.—M<sup>r</sup> Vesey preached Heb. 11.5. I p. m. S<sup>t</sup> Matthew 16.24.

13.—Wind N. W.—I married Crannel.

14.—The Gov<sup>r</sup> returned from New Jersey. *Ash Wednesday.*

15.—I dined at the ffort.

20.—D<sup>r</sup> Innes came.

21.—prayers. Capt Shelley buried.

22.—Capt Lawrie buried

23.—N. W. &amp; cold—I dined at the ffort.

25.—M<sup>r</sup> Vesey preached a. m. I Pet. 2.21. I p. m. Col. 1.14. The Gov<sup>r</sup> here.26.—I was at the Fort. M<sup>r</sup> Willox in Town.28.—At prayers at the ffort w<sup>t</sup> McKenzy & Stuart at night w<sup>t</sup> them at McKlannans*March 1.*—I did not go out till night.



2.—We were mustered. I took a Vomit w<sup>c</sup> worked well D. G.

5.—I dined at the Fort.

6.—The Gov<sup>r</sup> went up to see the palatines.

8.—Queen's proclamation I read the office appointed in the fort.

10.—My wife had a great deliverance Blessed be God Amen.

13.—I took up the bond—I was security for M<sup>r</sup> Bradford to y<sup>e</sup> Church 40£.

16.—The Gov<sup>r</sup> returned.

17.—I went to the Fort. Coll. Graham &c dined here.

18.—I preached aboard the Feversham Eccl. 8.11. read prayers p. m.

19.—rode up w<sup>t</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> paston &c to flat bush.

23.—at the ffort at night w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Bret at Swifts.

25.—Lady day. M<sup>r</sup> Vesey preached A. M. Math. 25.10. I p. m. Math. 26.75.

28.—at night went to y<sup>e</sup> ffort, it snowed hard in the morning.

30.—*Good Friday*.—I preached Romans 5<sup>th</sup> 8<sup>th</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Chalotta went up to Albany—wind at South.

*Aprile 1. Easter day.* M<sup>r</sup> Vesey preached Acts. 10.40-41. a full communion I preached p. m. S<sup>t</sup> Math. 16.21.

5.—at y<sup>e</sup> ffort all day.

6.—walked out at night w<sup>t</sup> major Schuyler.

7.—I recd m<sup>r</sup> Brets money.

9-10.—Hot weather.

15.—M<sup>r</sup> Vesey preached a. m. Ro. 6. I p. m. S<sup>t</sup> Jo. 10.14. M<sup>r</sup> Livingston came from Albany. I was w<sup>t</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Weems at the ffort.

16.—The Enterprize man of warr from Virg<sup>a</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Haliday came Miss<sup>ry</sup> for E Jersey.

17.—The packet boat came in I had sev<sup>n</sup> Letters.

18.—At prayers, dined at the ffort at night w<sup>t</sup> Coll Heathcote & D<sup>r</sup> Johnston at McKlan.





20.—At Study all day. M<sup>r</sup> May & Haliday here.

21.—p. m. at the ffort—Christned two children Jn<sup>o</sup> Moore &c.

22.—M<sup>r</sup> Halyday preached both parts of the day.

23.—S<sup>t</sup> Georges day. I preached the first Sermon in the Chappel of her Majesties Fort. psl. 93.6. latter p<sup>t</sup> of the Verse.

24.—dined at the ffort w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Mckenzy at night at Me lan's.

27.—At Reigniers at night w<sup>t</sup> D<sup>r</sup> Innes.

28.—at M<sup>r</sup> Bradford Sons funeral, at night at Cap<sup>t</sup> Weems.

May 1.—S<sup>t</sup> Philip & Jacob. I read prayers at the ffort p. m. w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Bondet w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Q ane pacquet came.

5.—at Study—

8.—I married John Mcfarling & Janet W<sup>m</sup>son.

9.—Walked out early at night w<sup>t</sup> D<sup>r</sup> Johnston Vaughan & Haliday at Harris.

10.—Assension day I preached S<sup>t</sup> Luke 24.51. My wife & I dined at y<sup>e</sup> fort.

11.—At prayers in Church. D<sup>r</sup> Lilken dyed.

16.—at prayers. Gov<sup>r</sup> went up to Albany.

24.—Rainy Coll Heathcote dined here.

25.—Rain'd. at Cap<sup>t</sup> pastons & Cap<sup>t</sup> Scots.

27.—Trinity Sunday. I preached in the Chappel Eecl. 12.13.

28.—M<sup>r</sup> Falkner here.

29.—Restoran of the Royal ffamily prayers in the ffort. I went over to Flat bus w<sup>t</sup> M.

June 1.—I went over in the morning & walked to flatbush. very hot.

3.—We went to Church at Buswick from thence I & my wife to N. Town.

4.—To Jamaica—To hempstead, To Jamaica again lay at M<sup>r</sup> Clows's.

5.—Election of Representatives. went to Flatbush at night.



6.—p. m. went to Gravesend to gather Strawberries.

7.—Returned to York Deo Gratias Sister Charlotte also retur. from Albany.

8.—A Very hott day, prayers at the ffort, bottled 7 doz. Cyder.

15.—aboard Cap<sup>t</sup> pastons ship the Gov<sup>r</sup> came back from Albany.

17.—I read prayers in the Fort set out w<sup>t</sup> the Gov<sup>r</sup> for N London.

18.—morning wind ENE great rain at 10 went ashore to Fairfield dined at M<sup>r</sup> Edwards & rode to Stratford & went aboard again at 10 at night.

19.—arrived at N London lodged at M<sup>r</sup> Arnolds.

20.—arrived Coll Nicholson. we dined at Capt Preston's w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> & Council.

21.—in the morning Coll Dudley in the province Galley and Coll Cranston p. m. The Congress. The Gov<sup>r</sup> dined at Coll Saltonstals. I dined wt M<sup>r</sup> Woodbridge & some of the council at Capt Christophers.

22.—I dined at y<sup>s</sup> Gov<sup>rs</sup> Lodging w<sup>t</sup> — &c.

23.—in the morning went the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Boston & Road Island and the Gen<sup>l</sup> w<sup>t</sup> us p. m.

24.—Wind N. E. blowed hard and rained. towards night calm. we came to anchor at y<sup>e</sup> point of Cowneck.

25.—At 5 in y<sup>e</sup> morning we took the barge & came to Kingsbury. thence in Coach to New York Deo Gratias.

27.—Mr Bondet in Town at night w<sup>t</sup> him at Chardevins.

28.—M<sup>r</sup> Glencross buried.

*July 1.*—I preached in y<sup>e</sup> Fort. Matth. 11<sup>th</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> p. m. w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup>.

3.—prayers. The Gov<sup>r</sup> went down & Gen<sup>l</sup>.

6.—Set out w<sup>t</sup> my wife in M<sup>r</sup> Howards boat came to M<sup>r</sup> McKenzys 9 at night.

8.—I preached on Statten Island.



10.—Mr McKenzie & his wife I & mine at Stuarts I stayed all night.

11.—came to y<sup>e</sup> N. Side took boat for Y. run aground & got ashore.

13.—waited on y<sup>e</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> he went down to Amboy.

15.—preached psl. 121.1.2 in y<sup>e</sup> Chappel & adminred y<sup>e</sup> Saert—rain.

16.—The Gov<sup>r</sup> ret at night.

17.—The Reg<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> town drawn out I dined at Cap<sup>t</sup> Weems's.

18.—At the ffort.

21.—payed the Carpenters of the Chappel £52 by Mr Byerly.

24.—Walked out w<sup>t</sup> the French ambassadors. at night w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>m</sup> at Chardivins.

29.—At Trinity Ch. Mr Haliday preached. Dr Innes here at night.

31.—The city drawn out in arms. at night suped w<sup>t</sup> Mr Bondet at Mr Neau's.

*August 1.*—It rained very much at night I walked out.

5.—I was Sick and could not go to Church till p. m. the Gen<sup>l</sup> came from Boston.

9.—The Governour & Gen<sup>l</sup> went up.

11.—I made ready for the Expedition.

12.—We set out in John Vaness as the 3<sup>d</sup> bell rung to y<sup>e</sup> English Church w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> wind fair.

13.—We had the wind fair but much rain arrived at 12 at night at Albany D. G. I was Sick. In this Voyage God was graciously pleased to deliver me from the misfortune of crushing a child to death Glory to his name for ever Amen.

26.—Mr Barclay preached.

27.—The Indians recd their presents and gave in the number of their fighting men to be sent on y<sup>e</sup> Expedition Viz.



1 Castle of the Mohogs Timondoroge . . .	107
2 Castle of the Mohoks Teonondoge . . . .	48
Shevenoes . . . . .	26
Senekes . . . . .	182
Coyowgoes . . . . .	127
Oneydes . . . . .	93
Onondagoes . . . . .	99
	682

28.—Cap<sup>t</sup> paston went down.

29.—The Gov<sup>r</sup> went down.

30.—The Gen<sup>l</sup> set out for y<sup>e</sup> Camp and we lay at half moon.

31.—We arrived in the Camp abt. 10.

September 2.—Read prayers to y<sup>e</sup> Reg<sup>ts</sup> of Coll Schuyler & y<sup>e</sup> Q<sup>t</sup> fforces.

3.—Coll Schuylers Reg<sup>t</sup> marched & y<sup>e</sup> Connecticut forces.

4.—Coll Weems w<sup>t</sup> four Companys.

5.—Three Companys more. I came down to Albany D. G. rain.

6.—Cap<sup>t</sup> Symes &c went back.

9.—I preached a. m. & p. m. Is 5.4. L<sup>t</sup> Selwyn dyed. Express from Boston.

10.—Rain. Selwyn buried.

11.—fair day p. m. at night Cousin Livingston here.

12.—I set out again for the Camp God willing.

13.—lay at Stillwater.

14.—Rode to Sarachtoga Swimed over & arrived at fort nicholson abt. 9.

15.—Sick in the night.

17-18.—Sick.

19.—I came away in a Canoe to Stillwater that night.

20.—morning met a Canoe sent for me at D. Kettlens in which I came to Albany.

25.—Suped at M<sup>r</sup> Mayors.





26.—At Church, at night came on board the Sloop for New York.

27.—lay in the overSlaght went ashore at Capt Doves.

28.—lay in the overSlaght.

29.—came under sail. *S<sup>t</sup> Michaels day.*

30.—Fair wind went ashore in the Highlands fair wind all night.

*October 1.*—Arrived at New York w<sup>t</sup> my wife in good health about six a'clock in the morning. Glory be to thee O God.

3.—dined in the ffort by invitation.

5.—Visited at Mad<sup>m</sup> Hydes & M<sup>rs</sup> Depeysters Mr. Veseys.

6.—The Gov<sup>r</sup> went up to Albany at night sup'd at Mad<sup>m</sup> Weem's.

8.—My wife's Birthday. I reed the money of M<sup>r</sup> Yeates.

10.—at prayers in the fort.

12.—at prayers in y<sup>e</sup> fort. My lady here at night blowed hard storm.

14.—I preached a. m. in Trinity Ch. S<sup>t</sup> Matth. 11.28.

15.—The mayors Solemnity M<sup>r</sup> Vesey preached Prov. . . . The Gov<sup>r</sup> returns.

17.—I read prayers in the fort, the Soldiers arrived.

18.—*S<sup>t</sup> Lukes day.* at Church—night at Cap<sup>t</sup> Weems.

28. Preached in the Fort S<sup>t</sup> Luke 16<sup>th</sup> 31. M<sup>rs</sup> Barclay went up.

31.—At prayers in the fort.

*November 1.*—*All Saints day,* prayers in the ffort.

2.—Annivers. Nupt. company here at night.

6.—Took physic. this day came in a flagg of Truce from Cape Britton w<sup>t</sup> 49 men Saved out of the wrecks of the Feversham and the three transports bound for Canada. at night came M<sup>r</sup> Evans and M<sup>r</sup> Talbot.

10.—dined at the ffort.



14.—prayers in the ffort.

16.—Coll Quarry came.

17.—M<sup>r</sup> Talbot & M<sup>r</sup> Evans went over.

18.—M<sup>r</sup> Marston preached in the Chappel Rom. 8.18.

19.—M<sup>r</sup> Talbot & M<sup>r</sup> Evans came back I was w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>m</sup> at Swifts.

26.—Snowed hard officers returned from Albany.

27.—Answer of assembly proclaimed, at night at Byerlys w<sup>t</sup> Harrison.

29.—at night I Christened two children—M<sup>r</sup> Bridge suped here.

December 2.—M<sup>r</sup> Marston preached S<sup>t</sup> Math. 10.41.

21.—S<sup>t</sup> Thomas's day. Prayers. very cold M<sup>r</sup> Henderson came.

25.—Christmas day. I preached S<sup>t</sup> Luke 2.10.11. at prayer p. m. in Church.

26.—S<sup>t</sup> Stephen's day. prayers in the ffort went out in a slae.

28.—Innocents day.—dined in the ffort. Suped at night w<sup>t</sup> Coll Weems.

31.—went a slaeing w<sup>t</sup> my wife.

Lord pardon the sins of this and all former years and give me grace to spend the remaining part of my days in thy fau'r for J. X<sup>t</sup>. Amen!

January 1, 1712.—Circumcision. at prayers—Suped at M<sup>r</sup> Jamisons. reed Bills of his Excy for £80 ster. to Soulice 120£ New York money.

5.—At the ffort w<sup>t</sup> Coll Heathcote & Coll Morris.

9.—Gov<sup>r</sup> dined at M<sup>r</sup> Jamison.

12.—W<sup>t</sup> Coll. Morris Jamison Regnier Lyel at Chardevins.

13.—Read prayers twice but too late for Sermon.

15.—Out a slaeing w<sup>t</sup> my wife at night at the fort M<sup>r</sup> D'P.—thawed.

18.—post from Albany, at night w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Lyel & Weems at Chardevins.

19.—went out in my Slae broke near Harlem. Storm rain—at y<sup>e</sup> fort.



20.—preached Heb. 2.3. p. m. prayers rain. at M<sup>r</sup> Bradfords.

21.—Buried M<sup>r</sup> Vertue. Visited Smyth Vernam Gordon.

22.—writing all day, at night w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Lyel & M<sup>r</sup> Jamison at Harris's.

23.—at prayers—p. m. w<sup>t</sup> Judge Milward at Coll Weems.

24.—At harris's w<sup>t</sup> Lowman Capt Matthews & old Carter.

25.—*S<sup>t</sup> Pauls day.* at night marry'd Hynds. at Harris's w<sup>t</sup> L. & R.

26.—Gov<sup>r</sup> & My Lady here at night.

29.—At Vendue of pastons things. at night at Harris's w<sup>t</sup> the committee of Council.

*February 1.*—M<sup>r</sup> Bondet & I at dinner S<sup>t</sup> Clare arrived at night w<sup>t</sup> him at McLannans.

2.—*Purification.* at prayers p. m. M<sup>rs</sup> Selyn's funeral (at M<sup>r</sup> Neaus).

3.—I read prayers. M<sup>r</sup> St Clare preached. p. m. Christned the Child of Smith Davis.

9.—M<sup>r</sup> Jamain buried.

11.—Snow in the morning went w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Bondet to get Contributions.

13.—dined in the ffort, at night at the fighting cocks.

15.—at night w<sup>t</sup> the Clergy at McKlan's till 6 next morning.

17.—M<sup>r</sup> Marston preached for me S<sup>t</sup> Math. 5.5. a very cold day, at night w<sup>t</sup> D<sup>r</sup> Innes at Mad<sup>m</sup> Hamiltons.

18.—Dined here the Clergy &c. at night at M<sup>r</sup> Lyels w<sup>t</sup> D<sup>r</sup> Innes McKensy &c.

19.—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Byerlys at night M<sup>r</sup> McKenzy & I at the ffort after at y<sup>e</sup> fighting cocks.

20.—prayers. dined at M<sup>r</sup> Regniers afterwards at McKlannans w<sup>t</sup> the Clergy.

23.—a very rainy & stormy day. My Lady & M<sup>rs</sup> Johnston here, at night at Vaughans.



26.—at night at the fighting cocks w<sup>t</sup> Vaughan S<sup>t</sup>Clare Beys &c.

March 1.—at the fort, at night at M<sup>r</sup> Bradfords.

4.—*Shrovetuesday*, p. m. walked w<sup>t</sup> Neau & Marston after at y<sup>e</sup> fighting cocks.

9.—abt 4 oclock my wife was delivered by D<sup>r</sup> Staats of a dead Son Glory to God.

14.—I christned the Child of Jn<sup>o</sup> Mefarlan Marg<sup>t</sup> buried a child of Stanley. Snowed much.

17.—The Gov<sup>r</sup> my Lady & M<sup>rs</sup> Hyde here.

19.—I read prayers, at night reed a letter from M<sup>r</sup> Bondet, p. m. at y<sup>e</sup> fort w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Neau.

31.—Rainy Stormy day. at y<sup>e</sup> fort at Judge Milwards p<sup>d</sup> him.

Aprile 6.—I preached S<sup>t</sup> Math. 26.75. In the night abt 2 the Negroes set fire to a house and being armed designed to murder all y<sup>t</sup> came to quench it—in this Massacre many suffered.

7.—Several negroes apprehended.

8.—A L<sup>t</sup> Corbet buried.

9.—Eight funerals of the murdered.

11.—one negro belonging to Hooghlandt hung in chains.

12.—One negro rackd. Another burned.

16.—7 negroes hanged & 2 burnt.

17.—Men of warr came in.

21.—5 negroes Executed, w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Neau & his B<sup>r</sup> at Chardevins.

23.—*S<sup>t</sup> Georges day*, my wife at Ch; D. G. We removed into our own house.

27.—I preached psl. 16.11. Michael Harden buried.

May 3.—M<sup>r</sup> Barclay & his wife arrived from Albany.

12.—Din'd at the fort p. m. w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Barclay & Thomson Chaplain of the Severn.

13.—at night w<sup>t</sup> the Clergy at Swifts.

14.—a meeting of the Clergy, dined at the fort, p. m. at my house.





15.—The meeting held they all dined w<sup>t</sup> me McKenzy came they adjourned.

16.—Went out in the Coach.

18.—M<sup>r</sup> Thomson preached for me. Eph. 4<sup>th</sup> 2.3.

19.—M<sup>r</sup> ffreeman, Barelay, falkner, Thomson dined w<sup>t</sup> me.

21.—preached a thanksgiving sermon psl. 116.15.

25.—I preached S<sup>t</sup> Luke 13.7., p. m. married John Hayt & tace Bradford.

*June 1.*—M<sup>r</sup> Barelay preached for me. I Cor. 13.4.5.6.7.

2.—I went abt Subscrip'ns for M<sup>r</sup> Marston, at night w<sup>h</sup>in at y<sup>e</sup> cross keys.

3.—M<sup>r</sup> Marston went away. I married Morris Edwards & Marg<sup>t</sup> Hues.

9.—M<sup>r</sup> Barelay read prayers. I buried Tho: Stuarts child.

11.—S<sup>t</sup> Barnabas. I read prayers, negroes pardoned.

13.—dined at D<sup>r</sup> Johnstons, at night M<sup>r</sup> Barelay went away.

16.—I recd of M<sup>r</sup> Clarke 48£.

19.—D<sup>r</sup> Johnston here p. m.

29.—I preached Math. 5.34., p. m. w<sup>t</sup> his Excy at M<sup>r</sup> Neau's School.

*July 4.*—I came to Town w<sup>t</sup> my wife. p<sup>d</sup> for o<sup>r</sup> Countrey Lodging £1.17.0.

5.—The Gov<sup>r</sup> went up to Albany.

7.—at Mad<sup>m</sup> Hamiltons, M<sup>r</sup> Neaus at the ffort buried Tho: the Skipper.

9.—went out in Mad<sup>m</sup> Hamiltons Shese to Bass bowary.

12.—The Gov<sup>r</sup> came back from Albany. Garlington from Virg<sup>a</sup>.

15.—I dined at the ffort. very sick of a fever at night.

16.—A Muster. I read prayers, dined at M<sup>r</sup> Neau's.



I was out in the morning in the Shaese with my wife M<sup>rs</sup> Morris &c.

30.—prayers: p. m. I rid out to Bassbowary where M<sup>r</sup> Falkner &c were fishing.

*August 1.*—prayers. it rains hard.

12.—w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Neau visited y<sup>e</sup> sick, walked in y<sup>e</sup> common to Chardevins.

21.—D<sup>r</sup> Gaudeneau dyed—walked to M<sup>r</sup> ffalkners. very hott.

22.—Men in Arms, prayers, D<sup>r</sup> Gaudeneau buried, hott.

24.—Preached 2 Cor. 5.2. at the Christning of M<sup>r</sup> Wilemans child.

28.—My Lady brought to bed of a daughter.

*September 5.*—visited M<sup>r</sup> Neau's Brother & prayed w<sup>t</sup> him.

28.—Preached in the Chappel S<sup>t</sup> John. 11.21.22. Many people at Church.

*October 5.*—preached p. m., bap<sup>t</sup> a Negro.

13.—Her Maties ship Sorlinges arrived.

14.—W<sup>t</sup> the Clergy at M<sup>r</sup> Veseys.

20.—at night w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> McKenzy &c at Harris's lay w<sup>t</sup> him.

25.—p. m. visited Mad<sup>m</sup> Hamilton.

30.—rain, at M<sup>r</sup> Vernams w<sup>t</sup> some Clergy at Supper.

*November 4.*—M<sup>r</sup> Neau & I went to Statten Island lay at Stuarts.

6.—M<sup>r</sup> Talbot came we dined & went to Stuarts all night.

7.—We set out & came to y<sup>e</sup> N. Side.

8.—rain, N. E., went aboard at 3 p. m. & were lost in a fog, arrived ab<sup>t</sup> 1.

15.—Coll Morris went out of Town.

18.—W<sup>t</sup> Coll. Livingston at the fighting cocks. Dined w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> DLancey.

22.—His Excy came we went to N. R.



24.—We dined at M<sup>r</sup> Bondets came to Westchester y<sup>n</sup> to Coll. Morris's.

25.—His Excy came over I walked to y<sup>ork</sup>.

26.—At night at the fighting cocks.

28.—N. E. Storm wind & snow in the night, the weathercock of y<sup>e</sup> E Ch: blown down.

29.—Storm & rain my horse killed by the fall of the Stable.

*December 1.*—At night at the Cross keys w<sup>t</sup> Coll Morris.

2.—W<sup>t</sup> Coll Weems & Arnold.

8.—At Mad<sup>m</sup> Hamiltons & the fighting Cocks.

11.—M<sup>r</sup> McKenzy in Town w<sup>t</sup> Coll Graham & Beys.

15.—at night at y<sup>e</sup> fighting Cocks.

19.—Visited w<sup>t</sup> him M<sup>r</sup> de lancy at night at fighting cocks.

23.—prayers, I walked p. m. w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Neau to M<sup>rs</sup> De Bruner after at Cap<sup>t</sup> Hamiltons.

25.—Christmass day preached Isaiah 9.6. 17 Communicants.

28.—preached Gal. 4.45. Christned a palatines child, a negro & a white child.

29.—Visited M<sup>r</sup> Roux. his wife dyed, suped at M<sup>r</sup> Neaus w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Dudlie.

31.—At the funeral of M<sup>r</sup> Roux wife buried. This year is ended Lord forgive the sins of this & all former years of my life and grant me grace to lead the rest of my day in thy fear & to thy Glory thro J. X<sup>t</sup> o<sup>r</sup> Lord, Amen!

*January 1, 1713.*—prayers, visited at night at y<sup>e</sup> cocks.

2.—prayers at night at M<sup>rs</sup> D'Peysters y<sup>n</sup> w<sup>t</sup> uncle ffreeman.

3.—Walked out, overtook by M<sup>r</sup> Clark, walked to Greenwich.

11.—Preached Rom: 8.28., Bap<sup>t</sup> Stanleys child.



19.—Snowed hard, preached S<sup>t</sup>Jo. 3<sup>d</sup>.19., at M<sup>r</sup> Riggs at y<sup>e</sup> fort to Supper.

20.—Rained, walked out w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Secry near Greenwich y<sup>a</sup> to cocks.

*February 9.*—M<sup>r</sup> Freeman in Town, at night at the fighting cocks.

12.—M<sup>r</sup> freeman went out of town at night, I was late at y<sup>e</sup> fighting cocks.

13.—I rode out in a Slae of M<sup>r</sup> Levy at night at Harris's.

14.—dined at the fort., p. m. w<sup>t</sup> Coll Graham at his Lodging.

17.—at night M<sup>rs</sup> Clark brought to bed.

18.—Ashwednesday I was out in a slae w<sup>t</sup> Sister & Cousin.

21.—To M<sup>r</sup> Neau's. A soldier killed another.

23.—Funeral of M<sup>r</sup> Nisbet, at night to M<sup>r</sup> Neaus w<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Bondet.

24.—dined at Swifts w<sup>t</sup> some of the Clergy & there late.

25.—a Stormy day. Suped at M<sup>r</sup> Neaus, w<sup>t</sup> Clergy at Swifts.

26.—M<sup>r</sup> McKary & Haliday came, Clergy dined at y<sup>e</sup> fort at night w<sup>t</sup> Coll Graham.

27.—D<sup>r</sup> Innes came, we dined & suped togeht & entred on business, adjourned.

*March 1.*—M<sup>r</sup> Haliday preached. 3 baptisms. at Secry Clks.

3.—Convention of the Clergy at the City Hall.

5.—Convention ended.

7.—M<sup>r</sup> McKenzie went away, I Christned M<sup>r</sup> Clarks daughter.

8.—*Queens accession.* I preached I Tim. 2., 1.2.—bap<sup>t</sup> 2 negroes.





## THE FIRST EDITION OF "HAIL COLUMBIA"!

BY O. G. SONNECK.

In the April 1910 number of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY Mr. Charles Henry Hart had an article called "Hail Columbia and its First Publication. A critical inquiry." It was followed in the January, 1912 number by a supplemental note, headed "The First Edition of Hail Columbia."

Mr. Hart's critical inquiry was prompted by the statement in my essay on the history of "Hail Columbia" that "no copy of this original edition of 'Hail Columbia' has come to light" *i.e.* of the edition advertised in *Porcupine's Gazette*, Phila., Friday, April 27, 1798 as to be published on the following Monday, April 30, at B. Carr's Musical Repository, "ornamented with a very elegant Portrait of the President."

John Adams was then President and quite naturally I inferred that Carr was to publish the "New Federal Song," as Joseph Hopkinson's text of "Hail Columbia" adapted to Philip Phile's President's March originally was called, with the portrait of John Adams. Mr. Hart, however, adduced strong evidence that it was Carr who, though without his imprint, published "The Favorite New Federal Song Adapted to the President's March" not with the portrait of John Adams but with an oval profile to left bust portrait by an unknown etcher after Joseph Wright with inscription on ribbon beneath bust "G. Washington." The portrait is not engraved on the plate but is a separate print mounted in the blank center-space of the title and above the curved and engraved quotation of the first line of fourth stanza in Jos. Hopkinson's poem, "Behold the Chief who now Commands." Mr. Hart also drew at-



tention to the fact that the same portrait (of course, without the quotation) had been used in December 1797 for "The Battle of Trenton, A Sonata" and was used again in 1798 for the song "New Yankee Doodle," both pieces issued with the joint imprint of J. Hewitt, New York, and B. Carr, Philadelphia. Mr. Hart held that the edition of the "New Federal Song" with the Washington portrait and the quotation was the first and earlier than one with engraved American eagle in place of mounted portrait and quotation which edition Mr. Louis C. Elson, the owner of a supposedly unique copy in turn had claimed to be the first edition of "Hail Columbia."

To Mr. Hart's findings I wish to add some remarks which occurred to me after the Library of Congress, too, had acquired a copy of the American eagle issue.

Mr. Hart identified the oval portrait used as number 157 in his Catalogue of the Engraved Portraits of Washington. Inasmuch as this number 157 shows "over head, to left, a female Victory. . . On extreme left, a whole-length figure of Goddess of Liberty. . . At base, drum with Eagle. . .", the oval portrait must have been secured by utilizing the whole print number 157 only in part. That this was the procedure appears from the same portrait as mounted on our copy of "New Yankee Doodle": it plainly shows traces of the paraphernalia enumerated above.

Comparison of our American Eagle issue with the practically exact size facsimile of the portrait issue of "The Favorite New Federal Song" in Mr. Hart's article discloses further facts.

1. *The music plates used in both issues are identical in every respect, inclusive of distance-measurements of the lettering in the title but exclusive of course of the American eagle. With this exception the copies of the song extant represent impressions from the same plates.*



2. When mounting the oval portrait in the blank space left between the words "New/Song" and "Adapted/President's" and above the words "Behold the Chief," etc., in the title it became necessary to let the portrait protrude as much as one centimeter on the music sheet beyond the impression of the upper margin of the music plate. (This is the simple explanation of a puzzle which will mystify all who fail—as I did for some time—to notice that the impression of the upper plate margin is visible even in Mr. Hart's facsimile. Unless one notices this marginal impression one may easily be led to argue that the distance-measurements in the title in both issues of the song are different, that two different plates were used and that therefore the two issues represent two different editions.)

3. Examination of our copy of the issue of "The Favorite New Federal Song," with the engraved American eagle with clouds broken by sunrays in the background, by Prof. Rich. A. Rice of the Prints Division of the Library of Congress, convinced him that the American eagle, etc., was engraved after the surrounding words had been engraved, principally for the reason that a few of the cloud lines clearly run through the line of flourish of the word "Adapted" in the title. This in itself, of course, does not argue that the American eagle was added to the plate later on for a second issue of the song but it does argue this: if the American eagle had been engraved on the plate at the time the song was first published—thereby establishing the issue with the American eagle as the first and earlier than the one with the Washington portrait—then its later erasure from the plate to make place in a later issue for a substituted mounted portrait of George Washington would have left visible traces even in a facsimile. Since no such traces appear Prof. Rice agrees with me that the American eagle did not origi-



nally form part of the plate, that the space was left vacant and that the American eagle was added noticeably later, carefully utilizing the available space for the design but with the *lapsus stili* noted above.

Against all this might be adduced the fact that Carr advertised the piece in *Porcupine's Gazette* for Friday, April 27, 1798 as "On Monday afternoon will be published" and in *Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser* for Wednesday, May 2, 1798 as "just published" ". . . ornamented with a very elegant portrait of the President." The President was then John Adams. This fact would call for *his* portrait, not that of George Washington. No copy of "The Favorite New Federal Song" with the portrait of John Adams has come to light, whereas Mr. Hart has shown that the song exists with the portrait of George Washington mounted above the engraved words "Behold the chief who now commands." This is a quotation from the fourth and last stanza of Jos. Hopkinson's poem and the stanza runs:

Behold the Chief who now commands  
Once more to serve his country stands  
The rock on which the storm will beat  
The rock on which the storm will beat  
But arm'd in virtue firm and true  
His hopes are fix'd on Heav'n and you  
When hope was sinking in dismay  
And clouds obscur'd Columbia's day  
His steady mind from echanges free  
Resolved on Death or Liberty  
Firm, United, let us be, etc.

Lines second to end would have no meaning unless they refer to George Washington. They would seem to imply that also the first line refers to George Washington. Now, in April and May 1798 President John Adams was *ex officio* the Commander-in-Chief of the American forces, not George Washington. The latter was not nominated Commander-in-Chief by John Adams until July 2, 1798. (The nomination was confirmed by the Senate on July 3.) Consequently, so





the argument would probably continue, July 2 or 3, 1798, would be the earliest possible date of issue of "The Favorite New Federal Song" with the words "Behold the Chief who now commands" joined to a portrait of George Washington.

And this is about as far as an attempted argument in favor of the priority of the American eagle issue as the first issue of "Hail Columbia" would get in this direction. It is blocked by the fact that Joseph Hopkinson wrote the line "Behold the Chief," etc., in April, 1798, when it could have applied only to John Adams and by the counter-argument that, for the reasons stated above, the issue without the American eagle is prior to one with the eagle. Therefore the argument would prove only that the issue with the portrait of George Washington was not published before July 3, 1798, that the issue with the American eagle instead of the portrait was published still later, and that—inasmuch as the song was published by May 2, 1798, with "a very elegant portrait of the President"—*both these issues were preceded by one with the portrait of John Adams, of which issue no copy has come to light!*

Into this curious dilemma those are driven who, like Mr. Hart, interpret the line "Behold the Chief who now commands" as addressed by Joseph Hopkinson to George Washington. With this anachronistic interpretation Mr. Hart and others are ungracious enough to credit Judge Hopkinson with a rather poor knowledge of the Constitutional prerogatives of the Presidents of the United States. However, Mr. Hart is mistaken if he seems to think that the first two lines of the fourth stanza are applicable to George Washington only. His quotation

*Behold the Chief, who now Commands  
Once more to serve his country stands*

without the third ("The rock on which the storm will beat") is faulty and forced; it leaves the third line



dropped off in mid-air. Furthermore, we know from contemporary evidence—*Aurora*, April 27, 1798—that the Anti-Federalists looked on the song (which Jos. Hopkinson had intended as a non-partisan song) as "the vilest adulation to the anglo-monarchical party and the two Presidents," *i.e.* the only two our country had so far had, George Washington and John Adams. Now Hopkinson's first two stanzas ("Hail Columbia—happy land" and "Immortal patriots, rise once more") are wholly impersonal. The third ("Sound, sound the trump of Fame / Let Washington's great name") deals with the first President. That leaves only the fourth stanza for John Adams, if the impression of vilest adulation of *two* Presidents could be created. It is but necessary to read this extract from an editorial report in *Porcupine's Gazette*, April 28, 1798, on the political enthusiasm created by Mr. Fox's singing of "Hail Columbia" on April 27, at the New Theatre as it had on occasion of the *première* of the song on April 25 and to combine with it the editorial political remarks about the President's recent letter to Congress to know that indeed at least the first line of the fourth stanza was considered a direct reference to John Adams:

"but no sooner were the words

*Behold the Chief who now commands,*

pronounced, than the house shook to its very centre; the song and the whole were drowned in the enthusiastic peals of applause, and were obliged to stop and begin again and again, in order to gain a hearing."

That Jos. Hopkinson referred with that line to the only "Chief" of whom he could possibly say in April 1798 "who *now* commands," namely John Adams, must be clear from all this internal and external evidence. But Gilbert Fox, to whose lot it fell to "create" on April 25, 1798 "Hail Columbia" as the French would say, must



have been also the first interpreter to query the *address* of all the other lines in the last stanza. Did they, too, refer to John Adams or do they with the second line "Once more to serve his Country stands" suddenly turn back to George Washington, just as if the author in his flights of fancy had tried in vain to emerge for more than a few seconds from under the shadow of the first President?

Hopkinson's commas in his autograph text at the Pennsylvania Historical Society afford us little help:

*Behold the Chief, who now commands,  
Once more to serve his country stands,  
The rock on which the Storm will beat.*

*Porcupine's Gazette*, the first newspaper to print the poem (in the issue for April 28, 1798) improved on this feeble interpunctuation, though not settling the case of Adams *versus* Washington:

Behold the Chief who now commands,  
Once more to serve his country, stands  
The Rock on which the Storm will beat

I realize that the normal interpretation of lines second and third, especially with *Porcupine's* interpunctuation, would be "George Washington who stands ready once more to serve his country as the rock," etc. Yet I believe that it is not the interpretation desired by Joseph Hopkinson. I suspect that it is merely the case of a very minor poet endeavoring to cram too much historical and patriotic symbolism into a few lines without the power of unequivocal, contrasting statement.

It is inconceivable that a man like Joseph Hopkinson can have referred to any but the actual President as "the Chief who now commands." It is equally inconceivable that, after having devoted one whole stanza, the third, to George Washington, he should have turned by way of poetic contrast to John Adams only to the



extent of one line and have succumbed to "Washington's great name" again for the rest of the poem. Hence, we may feel morally certain that the *plan* of his *whole* last stanza was a reference to President John Adams. This conclusion in nowise interferes with the fact that the plan miscarried by way of misleading phraseology, mixed metaphors, etc., with the result that without further analysis and without remembering the constitutional prerogatives of a President, in matters military, almost any reader would see in the fourth stanza a direct reference to George Washington. Perhaps Hopkinson's idea was (with a modicum of that poetic license which disregards chronology) to symbolize in the abstract and impersonally the President of the United States as ready to serve his country again as the rock, etc. Perhaps unconsciously he voiced an anticipation that John Adams would step aside in favor of George Washington as the Commander-in-Chief of our military forces. Perhaps the association of "The President's March" with its memories of George Washington exercised too much pressure on his mind. Whatever the cause, the threads of imagination of our poet became twisted and by using the words "*once more* to serve his country" he inevitably switched the attention of the reader from the *de facto* "Chief" John Adams to George Washington.

And Benjamin Carr, the first publisher of "The Favorite New Federal Song" that within a few days became known as "Hail Columbia"? Who can tell why a music publisher (of the eighteenth century, of course) did this or that? When he advertised the song with a portrait of the President, he knew full well that John Adams was the President and not George Washington. But perhaps no suitable engraved portrait of John Adams was available to him for his purposes; perhaps he really held the erroneous belief (pardonable enough in a music publisher comparatively





"lately from London") that George Washington was still the Commander-in-Chief of the American forces and ready to serve his country against France as he had against England; perhaps it was a better business proposition after all to twist the facts a little and to sell the song with a picture of George Washington rather than that of John Adams; perhaps—but enough of conjectures. The unalterable fact is, whatever its explanation, that B. Carr published "The Favorite New Federal Song" with a portrait of George Washington and the quotation "Behold the Chief who now commands."

To sum up, the history of the first edition of "Hail Columbia" would appear to be this: Joseph Hopkinson wrote it in April 1798 as a non-partisan song for the benefit of Gilbert Fox who sang it at the New Theatre, Philadelphia, for the first time on April 25, 1798. It was advertised as to be published on April 30, 1798 and on May 2, 1798 was advertised as published in Philadelphia at the Musical Repository of B. Carr. It was published, though without Carr's imprint, as "The favorite new Federal Song Adapted to the President's March" composed by Philip Phile. The engraver of the music plates so spaced the title as to leave space in the center for the insertion of "a very elegant portrait of the President" as advertised by Carr. Instead of John Adams' portrait, however, a profile to left bust portrait of George Washington engraved after Joseph Wright appears to have been used. It was mounted above the engraved quotation from Hopkinson's text "Behold the Chief who now commands." Either because his supply of prints was not equal to the demand for the "favorite" song or because he wished to rectify his mistake in calling Washington the "Chief" or because of some other reason B. Carr appears to have substituted sometime later (probably in 1798) on the same plate for the mounted



portrait of George Washington and the quotation from Hopkinson's text the design of an American eagle with American shield in beak and clouds in the background broken by sunrays neatly engraved in the available space in the center of the title. This, then, would be the second issue of the first edition; whereas the issue with the Washington portrait would be the first issue of the first edition, *unless, after all, a genuine copy of "The favorite new Federal Song" should be discovered not with George Washington's portrait but with that of John Adams*, as Carr's advertisements would imply. In that case the issue with Adams' portrait would be the first and its date would be April 30 or May 1, 1798. The issue with George Washington's portrait would then be the second and the line "Behold the Chief who now commands" would point to July 3, 1798, the date of Washington's appointment as Commander-in-Chief in the threatened war with France, as the earliest date of publication and the issue with the substituted American eagle would be the third, though probably still of the year 1798.



PENNSYLVANIA MARRIAGE LICENSES,  
1762-1768.

(Continued from page 334.)

1766.

*January.*

- 8: Isaac Wikoff—Martha Cox  
John Vandyke—Martha Huston  
11: John Dickinson—Sarah McGloughlin  
16: Edward Brannum—Marg<sup>t</sup> Collins  
18: James Collins—Eleanor McDonnell  
22: William Maynard—Ann Corsen  
25: Dan<sup>l</sup> Wright—Esther Stackhouse  
27: W<sup>m</sup> Baker—Sarah Neave  
Sam McBean—Mary Flemming  
30: Jn<sup>o</sup> Shellingberg—Mary Cookson

*February.*

- 3: Elias Vandelip—Elizabeth Murray  
6: John Shepard—Eleanor Creen  
8: James Faries—Eliz. Stevens  
12: William Smith—Eliz. Garrigues  
15: Thomas Haley—Marg<sup>t</sup> Connaway  
18: Christ<sup>r</sup> Byerly—Eliz. Clymer  
22: Adam Warburton—Eliz. Perry  
28: Jacob Seicken—Catherine Starr  
Charles Jervis—Elizabeth Boor

*March.*

- 10: Mich<sup>l</sup> Clogg—Catherine Woodcock  
12: James McNier—Martha Keith  
15: James Penrose—Sarah Biddle  
17: William Norris—Ann Aubrey  
18: William Nichols—Jane Moreland  
Benjamin Davis—Mary Neiss  
Walter Willet—Martha Harding



- 20: David Cather—Mary Caldwell
- 24: Andrew Ashton—Rachel Thomas
- 25: Anth<sup>r</sup> Wayne—Mary Penrose
- 26: Jonathan Hanson—Marg<sup>t</sup> Miller  
     John Snow—Mary Buffington  
     John Folwell—Elizabeth Billew  
     John Power—Deborah Meyers  
     Peter Adams—Mary Rick
- 27: William Martin—Ann Leadbetter
- 29: Rob<sup>t</sup> Miller—Mary Barclay  
     Jesse Roe—Rachel Crispin  
     Amos Strickland—Mary Harding
- 31: John Hammel—Mary Kelly

*April.*

- 3: Samuel Penrose—Ann Fleeson
- 7: John McGibbon—Mary Burrows  
     George Armstrong—Martha Turner  
     Daniel Phile—Elizabeth Evans
- 8: Derrick Kuyper—Elizabeth Helm
- 9: John Phillips—Rebecca Pyewell  
     Thomas Francis—Hannah Martin
- 10: Alex<sup>r</sup> Mitchell—Mary Greenlaw  
     William Ogilby—Sarah Davis  
     Christ<sup>r</sup> Keigher—Mary Schaffer
- 11: Philip Lloyd—Hannah Templin
- 12: Arch<sup>d</sup> Thompson—Sarah Hayes  
     George Conser—Sarah Wolfganger
- 14: John Wigton—Marg<sup>t</sup> Cochran
- 15: Jn<sup>o</sup> Taylor—Ann Redgrave
- 16: John Cook—Mary Robinson
- 17: Samuel Taylor—Mary Bankson  
     Henry Alexander—Hester Rush
- 23: Rob<sup>t</sup> Allison—Marg<sup>t</sup> Thompson
- 26: Simon Armstrong—Jane Armstrong
- 28: John Coleston—Elizabeth Wentz
- 29: Abraham Anderson—Hannah Price
- 30: Rob<sup>t</sup> Stiles—Marg<sup>t</sup> Smallwood

*May.*

- 1: Jacob Massholder—Margaret Meyer
- 2: Job Thomas—Rebecca Bait





- 7: George McAlhaney—Sophia Davis  
 8: Joseph Thompson—Sarah Hawkins  
 10: George Featherhead—Hannah Sturgis  
 12: W<sup>m</sup> Richards—Jane Baird  
     Albert Meyer—Barbara Strumbrey  
 14: William Ross—Martha Stowe  
 15: Jn<sup>o</sup> Henderson—Sarah Litle  
 17: Samuel Powel—Elizabeth Needom  
 19: Thomas Barton—Patience Eldridge  
     Isaac Farr—Mary Musgrove  
 21: Roger Bowman—Margaret Johnson  
 23: John Lancaster—Eliz. Abrams  
     Peter Butler—Ann Nell  
     Benjamin Korster—Mary Fisher  
 26: Jacob Mouser—Catherine Shedaker  
     David Loggan—Sarah Belangee  
     Isaac Quigley—Jane Coleman  
 27: John Cummings—Eleanor Thompso:  
 29: Abram Ferguson—Sarah Harrison  
 30: Francis Ruth—Elizabeth Taylor

*June.*

- 2: Andrew McGlone—Frances Morris  
 4: Arch<sup>d</sup> Thompson—Hannah Bartholomew  
     W<sup>m</sup> Preston—Elizabeth Scott  
 5: Philip Benezet—Sarah Aries  
 10: Dan<sup>l</sup> McPherson—Marg<sup>t</sup> Cails  
     Benj. Whitaker—Dilley Snowden  
 11: Sam. McKinstry—Martha Evans  
 12: Owen McCarty—Eliz. Dorsey  
     Rob<sup>t</sup> Brewton—Eleanor Foy  
 14: John James—Edith Eaton  
     Ja<sup>s</sup> Sutter—Catherine Smith  
     Walter Motley—Mary Pawling  
     John Palmer—Tacy Roberts  
 16: Dan<sup>l</sup> Buxton—Catherine Fling  
     James Kendall—Sarah Randell  
 18: Sam Prior—Eliz. Gilbert  
 19: John Brown—Ann Sears  
 20: William Neely—Eliz. Thompson  
     Geo. Harding—Mary Nelson  
 21: William Biles—Hannah Kirkbride  
 27: W<sup>m</sup> McEwen—Rebecca Bruce



*July.*

- 3: Ezekiah Hutchinson—Eleanor Miller
- 9: Cha<sup>s</sup> Tennant—Catherine Galbreath
- 12: David Houlton—Mary Blanch  
W<sup>m</sup> Boggs—Sarah McIntire
- 19: John Shaw—Agnes Ferguson
- 21: W<sup>m</sup> Fullerton—Mary Skillman
- 23: Alex<sup>t</sup> Guy—Ann Davis
- 24: Joshua Comly—Catherine Willet
- 26: Geo. Syng—Hannah Hance
- 29: Cornelius Conolly—Hannah Collins
- 30: Philip Clime—Mary White

*August.*

- 4: John Smith—Deborah Waggoner
- 5: Edward Hunt—Ann Watson  
Ernst Mange—Mary Sommer  
David Crawford—Lydia Lloyd  
Henry Buck—Elizabeth Kirts
- 6: Alex McIntosh—Ann Shields
- 7: Joseph Norris—Hannah Wood  
Mich<sup>l</sup> Davenport—Mary Cammel
- 8: John Gill—Sarah Hazell
- 11: Sam<sup>l</sup> Cheeseman—Sarah Tennent
- 13: John Edwards—Margaret Brown  
Edward Williams—Abigail Lloyd  
Jehu Wood—Mary Kimsey
- 15: Tho<sup>s</sup> Shortle—Jane Mitchell
- 16: R<sup>d</sup> Sinnett—Mary Shinn
- 18: Alexander S<sup>t</sup> Clair—Elizabeth Cammel  
Jacob Hill—Mary Anderson  
Hiram Gihon—Sarah Delany
- 19: Thomas Castle—Margaret Honeygroat
- 21: David Kinsey—Gaynor Bartholomew

*September.*

- 1: John Preston—Catherine Cammel
- 2: John Thompson—Ruth Legit  
John Calder—Judah Huston  
George Fullerton—Marg<sup>t</sup> Blair  
John McGouisk—Ann Cary



- 3: William Evitt—Eliz. Palmer  
 John Boyd—Sarah Miller  
 Robert Dill—Margaret Stall  
 William McIntosh—Jane Morrison
- 4: W<sup>m</sup> Jones—Jane Recney  
 Christopher Bumberry—Mary Stoops
- 5: John Moreton—Sarah Midwinter
- 6: Henry Dickson—Rebecca Robinet
- 9: Henry Robinson—Rebecca Garrigues  
 Alex. McMich<sup>l</sup>—Margaret Johnson
- 10: Robert Smith—Sarah Tucker
- 11: Caspar Weest—Mary Bacer  
 Bodo Otto—Maria Paris
- 13: John Crosby—Eliz. Culin  
 William Dunn—Bridget Wigmire
- 16: William Logan—Marg<sup>t</sup> Sterling  
 Dan<sup>l</sup> Darrel—Martha Sutton
- 17: Tho<sup>s</sup> Tomkin—Eliz. Collister
- 20: Jos Patton—Marg<sup>t</sup> Meyer
- 25: W<sup>m</sup> Furnis—Marg<sup>t</sup> Holmes  
 Anth<sup>r</sup> Martin—Mary Paine
- 27: Nich<sup>s</sup> Vandegrift—Abigail Ward
- 29: Jn<sup>o</sup> King—Mary Turner
- 30: Persifor Frazer—Mary Worrel Taylor

*October.*

- 1: Baltzer Cole—Elizabeth Reily  
 Ja<sup>s</sup> Fitzsimmons—Ann Beard  
 Joel Zane—Hester Scull
- 4: W<sup>m</sup> Price—Rebecca Jobs
- 6: Henry Louttit—Jane Mouret
- 8: Patrick Lesley—Mary Dyer  
 Nich<sup>s</sup> Vallance—Mary Williamson
- 9: Law. Brant—Cath. Bidel  
 Sam. Jackson—Sarah Vote
- 10: Farlan McFarlan—Eliz. Wood
- 14: Neal Leviston—Cath. McMullen
- 15: Caleb Hewes—Deborah Potts
- 16: Jn<sup>o</sup> Willday—Susanna Montgomery
- 20: W<sup>m</sup> Ismaster—Mary Stinson  
 Duncan McMullen—Catherine Montgomery
- 21: Humphry Robinson—Mary Cockle



- 22: Hugh Stevenson—Rebecca Craig  
Geo: Tallman—Mary Chambers  
Herman Vausant—Catherine Hogeland  
23: Arthur Gordon—Susanna Decony  
25: Tho<sup>s</sup> Mason—Pracilla Sysom  
29: Abraham Tuley—Hannah Slicer  
30: Adam Gilbert—Mary Zienining  
Isaac Leseone—Hannah Noarth  
31: John Iwyer—Mary Riall

*November.*

- 1: Joseph Perkins—Elizabeth Clare  
Levin Hall—Christiana Hopman  
Morts OBrian—Elizabeth Bacon  
3: W<sup>m</sup> McIlvaine—Margaret Cross  
Jacob Snyder—Eliz. Sickle  
4: John Davis—Mary Cornog  
Hugh Nevin—Sarah Todd  
5: Paul McCarty—Kissander Williams  
6: Fred: Lauderbrun—Eleanor Thompson  
W<sup>m</sup> Chambers—Henrietta Cozens  
10: John Lamburgh—Sarah Mentzer  
11: Francis Senner—Mary Harding  
12: Joseph Vanpelt—Charity Bennet  
13: Will Craig—Jane Barclay  
Thomas Thompson—Eliz. Maxwell  
17: Luke Sheild—Rebecca Robinson  
18: Joseph Ornado—Catherine Menele  
25: Fred. Stuber—Elizabeth Cook  
26: Seth Matlack—Mary Shute  
27: George Clark—Ann Sutor  
Will. Todd—Ann Rambo  
John Pennell—Cath. Baton  
Thomas Jones—Ann Murnix  
Magnus Carr—Isabella Sutor  
28: Samuel Boone—Jane Hughes  
Hugh Boden—Jane Kelso

*December.*

- 1: John David—Deborah Williams  
John Haas—Barbara Heilman  
John Cahill—Catherine Smith





- 1: Rich<sup>d</sup> Porter—Catherine Thecker  
William Smith—Elizabeth Mourning  
Jacob Creig—Susanna Baltzer
- 2: Rob<sup>t</sup> Allison—Rachel Gunning  
Rich<sup>d</sup> Lyndall—Susannah Townsend  
Joseph Burns—Jane Lowns  
Joseph Lewis—Eleanor Taylor  
James Calhoun—Elizabeth Wilson
- 4: Matthew Hughes—Jane Rogers
- 6: Thomas Craven—Eleanor Huff
- 8: John Tufft—Martha Gauff  
Tho<sup>s</sup> Guy—Ann Anthony  
Benjamin Devo—Cath. Walker
- 9: John Leise—Wilhelmina Atherholdt
- 10: Thomas Wakefield—Elizabeth Willard  
John Coleman—Martha Long
- 11: Peter Warner—Mary Eve Roadt
- 15: Arent Scuyler—Jane Prawl
- 16: John Murray—Hannah Lindley
- 17: Gilbert Brown—Jane McMullen
- 18: James Wood—Chlotilde Haggerty  
Jennings Stevenson—Sarah Alexander  
John Andrew—Ann Sharpless  
Sam Laughlin—Mary Hall  
Edward Callen—Jane McIlroy
- 19: Michael McCall—Hannah Row
- 20: John Ramsey—Elenor Henderson
- 22: Solomon McFarlan—Eve McFarlan
- 24: Henry Faber—Mary Stulberger  
Thomas Mitchener—Ann Billew  
Thomas Bawldin—Eliz. Kemp  
Thomas Wall—Mary Dowthaitt
- 31: Thomas Procter—Mary Fox  
Thomas Inkester—Mary Geer

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*January.*

- 1: William Oates—Mary Tufft  
James Inglis—Mary January
- 3: W<sup>m</sup> Bralsford—Sarah Brown
- 8: Jacob Sutor—Cath. Helm
- 10: James Alexander—Mary Thompson  
David Potts—Mary Aris



- 13: George Ord—Rebecca Lindmire  
 14: Sam. Caruthers—Eliz. Elliot  
 Alexander Bartram—Jane Martin  
 15: Joseph Ledru—Mary Wormley  
 17: John Hitchcock—Sarah Thomas  
 19: Peter Schriver—Mary Hinsman  
 20: Jacob Lobb—Mary Dougherty  
 21: Tho<sup>s</sup> Reed—Mary Malaren  
 George Marshall—Hannah Collings  
 Evan Evans—Hannah Simcocks  
 24: Joseph Worthington—Mary Carver  
 27: Thomas Walker—Martha Dickson  
 29: W<sup>m</sup> Pitt—Susannah Hillegas

*February.*

- 2: James Beaty—Catherine Smith  
 Frederick Dushong—Marg<sup>t</sup> Keplering  
 3: Rich<sup>d</sup> Clayton—Eliz. Sands  
 4: Jn<sup>o</sup> Heathcoat—Eliz. Cox  
 Jacob Hansberger—Cath. Peel  
 Roger Merryweather—Martha Heatherington  
 11: Tho<sup>s</sup> Reed—Jane Hill  
 16: Rich<sup>d</sup> Doyle—Sarah Barton  
 William Turner—Susannah Nice  
 17: Cornelius Rute—Mary Wiseman  
 18: John Chrystie—Mary Paine  
 19: Henry Seckel—Christiana Lauderback  
 20: Geo. McKay—Mary Camel  
 22: Jn<sup>o</sup> Lockhart—Margaret Allen  
 25: James Huston—Eliz. Killgore  
 27: Jn<sup>o</sup> Burnet—Jane McDowel  
 28: John Hennessy—Mary Boulter  
 Abraham Gregory—Eliz. Scott

*March.*

- 2: John Steward—Mary Jackson  
 4: Mathew Law—Margaret Snodgrass  
 5: Jos. Watkins—Mary Parker  
 Jacob Johnson—Hannah Thomas  
 9: W<sup>m</sup> Jones—Eliz. Gray  
 Dan'l Robertson—Mary McGloachlon  
 10: Jn<sup>o</sup> Pickworth—Martha Holland  
 Stephen Watts—Frances Assheton



- 12: Jn<sup>o</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Hoffman—Mary Wormly  
Moses Crawford—Jane Jamison
- 13: David Edwards—Mary Evans  
William Gardiner—Sarah Hatton
- 18: Isaac Delavau—Hannah Grovian  
Adam Stricker—Eliz. Sommers
- 20: Will. Buchanon—Rachel Harman
- 21: Jacob Roberts—Mary Gill
- 23: Joseph Jones—Sarah Barton
- 24: Wenden Zerban—Catherine Bacon  
Sam<sup>l</sup> Kirk—Mahittable Done  
Jn<sup>o</sup> Johnson—Susannah Ashton
- 25: William Moore—Eliz. Cox
- 26: Rob<sup>t</sup> Hardy—Martha Cowgill
- 27: Joseph Kay—Judith Lippincot  
Jasper Polson—Agnes White
- 28: John Briton—Eleanor Waters  
Rich<sup>d</sup> West—Sarah Hammon  
William Carnercross—Ann Wigmore
- 30: Ja<sup>s</sup> Parkison—Ann Junkin  
Thomas Tressa—Elizabeth Singleton

*April.*

- 1: William Bourk—Elizabeth Tomkins  
James Vansandt—Susannah Scull
- 2: John Sowder—Eleanor Piniard  
Isaac Ashton—Rebecca Powel  
Aaron Hall—Hannah Hallowell
- 9: Tho<sup>s</sup> Ramsey—Mary Hall
- 10: Patrick Brady—Mary Davidson  
William Williams—Lucy Fisher
- 15: John Wing—Sarah Hubbs  
Henry Forst—Sophia Susanna Izelorin
- 16: Rob<sup>t</sup> Hanbest—Ann Thomas
- 18: Rob<sup>t</sup> Jamison—Hannah Baird
- 20: Joseph Bell—Rebecca Worrell  
John Kimble—Mary Chalmers
- 22: William Connell—Sarah Richards
- 23: John White—Elizabeth Metz
- 24: Jn<sup>o</sup> Murray—Mary McCoy
- 25: James Miller—Elizabeth Chappel  
Isaac Garner—Eliz. Fletcher
- 27: W<sup>m</sup> Hartley—Elizabeth Legg



- 28: Christopher Young—Rebecca Heissel  
29: Ebenezer Turner—Ann Estleck

*May.*

- 4: Thomas Evans—Elizabeth Moore  
Hudson Burr—Phoebe Lippincott  
Ernst Schlosser—Mary Herman  
6: Geo. Bell—Hannah Davis  
Tho<sup>s</sup> Sutor—Bridget Hunt  
7: Neal McIntire—Jane Floyd  
8: William James—Ann Morris  
9: Caleb Ash—Rebecca Lowns  
11: Joseph Volans—Mary Shearcross  
12: David Brown—Elizabeth Higgins  
13: Cha<sup>s</sup> Davies—Hannah Levy  
14: John Kidd—Sarah Hill  
15: John Cumming—Marg<sup>t</sup> McPherson  
John Wallis—Jane Wallis  
16: Rich<sup>d</sup> Hughes—Hannah Aburn  
18: Benj. Wynkoop—Sarah Woodrop Sims  
21: George May—Deborah Cornman  
22: Dan<sup>l</sup> Cornog—Sarah Jones  
25: Anth<sup>y</sup> Noble—Sarah Baick  
26: Elijah Anderson—Mary West  
28: William Cummins—Cath. Jones  
Rob<sup>t</sup> Russel—Susannah Morris

*June.*

- 1: John Studham—Ann Ford  
5: John Quainter—Susannah Miller  
6: George Hudson—Rebecca Clement  
George Smith—Affa Drake  
8: William Watson—Patience Adams  
9: Jacob Kilpack—Elizabeth Cressmore  
10: John Comly—Mary Hellings  
11: John Hughes Jun<sup>r</sup>—Marg<sup>t</sup> Paschall  
Aaron Kemble—Hannah Eastlack  
12: Barny Campbell—Mary Butler  
13: Joseph Johns—Ann Maers  
15: John McCarty—Margaret Green  
17: Isaac Hunt—Mary Shewell





- 20: George Hogeland—Mary Winecoop  
 25: James Dougherty—Mary Wilson  
 Thomas Middleton—Elizabeth Jenkins  
 26: W<sup>m</sup> McClay—Mary Flemming  
 27: Joseph Pearson—Mary Tuckniss  
 George Thompson—Ruth Price  
 29: Jn<sup>o</sup> McNeal—Rachel Howey  
 W<sup>m</sup> Daverau—Rose Hanlan

*July.*

- 2: John Menge—Catherine Wolfin  
 3: William Watkins—Ann Fisher  
 4: Adam Allyn—Ann Scott  
 8: William Hawkins—Eliz. Creddock  
 9: William Smith—Anna Zeh  
 11: Thomas Lee—Marg<sup>t</sup> Gunning  
 14: Philemon Dickinson—Mary Cadwalader  
 Thomas Lusk—Mary McKinzey  
 16: Adam Alberry—Elizabeth Mouse  
 22: W<sup>m</sup> Murfin—Elizabeth Brooks  
 John Martin—Mary Raine  
 23: John Wills—Esther Spear  
 24: Tho<sup>s</sup> Martin—Rebecca Morrison  
 25: Thomas Magrah—Hannah Doyle  
 27: Jacob Binder—Mary Wisebaugh  
 Aaron Leadlie—Susannah Jordan  
 29: David Bealort—Mary Tultz

*August.*

- 1: Joseph Delavau—Mary Dougherty  
 3: Ralph Walmsly—Sarah Swinney  
 Mich<sup>l</sup> Harbert—Ellis Richards  
 5: Tho<sup>s</sup> Jones—Jane Smith  
 Mungrel Peters—Mary Evans  
 6: Dan<sup>l</sup> Sutherland—Eliz. Roxborough  
 Philip Ross—Mary Read  
 8: Edward McCarty—Ann McGuire  
 10: Thomas Church—Martha Lane  
 Edw<sup>d</sup> Jones—Maria Sarah Riffin  
 11: W<sup>m</sup> Gabb—Elizabeth Moore  
 12: Jacob Lowry—Newill Quicksall



- 15: Anth<sup>r</sup> Hammond—Marg<sup>t</sup> Flin  
 Rich<sup>d</sup> Campain—Eliz. Bizzey  
 Sam<sup>l</sup> Hawke—Mary Main
- 17: Edm<sup>d</sup> Beach—Eliz. Osburn  
 Sebastian Heiler—Eliz. Pillager  
 James McCrakin—Eliz. Murray  
 Rob<sup>t</sup> Montgomery—Doreus Armitage
- 18: William Maris—Mary Nice
- 20: William Hunter—Frances Hamilton  
 John Murray—Sarah Rankin  
 John Clement—Jane Hervey
- 22: Bowyer Brooke—Hannah Reese  
 William Robinson—Eliz. Taylor
- 25: Christian Fred Post—Margaret Miller  
 Dan<sup>l</sup> Hathorn—Eliz. Willson
- 26: Charles Read—Ann Branin  
 James Forrester—Jeminine Corssen
- 27: Arthur Barker—Sarah Smith
- 29: Henry McBride—Mary Ellis  
 August Hammerly—Mary Mulloy
- 31: Edward Ireland—Mary Cheeseman

*September.*

- 1: Jonathan Montgomery—Elizabeth Hawkins  
 Robert Conolly—Ann McMullan
- 3: Thomas Mills—Eleanor Rowland
- 4: John Kelly—Rachel Aaron  
 William Cowan—Susannah Kite
- 5: Elias Boys—Martha Scull  
 Dan<sup>l</sup> Cozens—Eliz. Shivers
- 12: Joseph (a Negro man)—Seren Thompson  
 Negro woman)
- 14: Joseph Griffith—Sarah Bishop
- 17: Sam Boyce—Mary Granville
- 19: Enoch Wells—Catherine Umstead
- 23: Abram Yocom—Rebecca Harris  
 W<sup>m</sup> Shroudy—Ann Salisbury  
 The Rev<sup>d</sup> Samuel Blair—Susannah Shippen
- 24: Christ<sup>r</sup> Honey—Catherine Stein  
 Joseph Holloway—Mary Jones
- 26: Tho<sup>s</sup> Crippen—Eliz. Midwinter  
 Edward Spence—Abigail Shippen
- 29: Frederick Martin—Mary Miller



*October.*

- 1: John Baker—Elizabeth Roberts  
 3: John Fromberger—Hannah Coat  
 7: John Pine—Rachel Burrow  
 8: Rob<sup>t</sup> Martin—Mary Crowley  
 10: Ja<sup>s</sup> Houston—Cath. Quig  
 15: Abram Robinson—Sarah Penrose  
 19: Ja<sup>s</sup> McClear—Jane Sinclair  
 Abel Cox—Ann Cunningham  
 Elliot Duncan—Jane McGruger  
 William Whitton—Arody Hammitt  
 22: Patrick Lundy—Mary Kime  
 23: John Nice—Margaret Coffin  
 Nicholas Kyser—Anna Paul  
 24: John Hoff—Ruth Williams  
 Jacob Otto—Mary Whitehead  
 27: Jenkin Jones—Ann Ewer  
 Henry Deshong—Catherine Fite  
 28: Thomas Shields—Lydia Morris  
 John Fling—Phebe Fitzgerrald  
 Thomas Kennety—Dianna Piercal  
 31: John Barry—Mary Clary  
 Jn<sup>o</sup> Waters Martindale—Roxas Catherine Child  
 John Hay—Rosannah Clime

*November.*

- 3: Thomas Banks—Frances Lovekin  
 4: John Ferguson—Ann Bevan  
 5: Martin Benhart—Catherine Hines  
 6: George Caton—Mary Hines  
 7: Thomas Skillman—Mary Finney  
 10: Christ<sup>t</sup> Hillburn—Mary Vansickle  
 11: Francis Illingworth—Rachel Cox  
 Robert McBane—Rebecca Neb  
 12: Samuel Wilson—Ann Clark  
 Jonathan Biles—Laetitia Galbraith  
 James Montgomery—Mary Bowes  
 Jacob Duffield—Mary Addis  
 Thomas Wood—Mary Hughes  
 14: Thomas Assheton—Hannah Flower  
 17: Aaron Robson—Jane Young



- 19: Sam' Green—Mary Dickson  
Jonathan Frump—Ann Wellden
- 21: Joseph Saunders—Jane Iszard
- 26: Dan' Murphy—Sarah Humphreys
- 27: Will. Johnson—Mary Moore
- 28: Joseph Drew—Marg<sup>t</sup> May  
Matthias Pennyard—Dorcus Swinney

*December.*

- 1: William Bartram—Mary Fisher
- 2: Thomas Thornborough—Martha Stevenson
- 8: Henry Antis—Sophia Snyder  
Geo. Douglass—Elizabeth Howel
- 9: Sam. Yardly—Han<sup>h</sup> Williamson  
Ja<sup>s</sup> McGeshan—Mary Stenson
- 10: Henry Kerr—Mary James  
Ja<sup>s</sup> Cochran—Elizabeth Faries  
Ja<sup>s</sup> Warden—Rebecca McTingley
- 11: Barzillai Haines—Hannah Young  
Jn<sup>o</sup> Room—Elizabeth Orin
- 12: Elias Thomas—Elizabeth Howell  
Jedediah Allen—Ruth Nicholson
- 14: Peter Parker—Elizabeth Price
- 15: W<sup>m</sup> Osborne—Sarah Bowde  
Tho<sup>s</sup> Jamison—Jane Long
- 16: Jacob Sewery—Elizabeth McCarty
- 17: Jacob Stager—Eliz. Tickleson  
William Davis—Mary Griffith  
William Niles—Hannah Goodman
- 22: William Christy—Ann Langdon  
Daniel Billew—Pricilla Wood
- 23: Thomas Olson—Mary Wood
- 24: Abel Lippincott—Catherine Hudson  
James Clements—Eliz. Smith  
Alex<sup>r</sup> Power—Mary Butterworth
- 26: Elias Barton—Ann Blair
- 28: James Channel—Hester Bankson
- 29: Job Briggs—Hannah Bishop  
John Duffield—Mary Budden
- 30: John Read—Agnes Jones  
John Mitchell—Mary Pearson
- 31: William Snowden—Ann Maugridge





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*January.*

- 6: Andrew Hamilton—Abigail Franks  
Benjamin Alison—Sarah Chambers  
Sam<sup>l</sup> Breese—Elizabeth Anderson
- 7: John McCarston—Rachel Lawrence
- 9: John North—Elizabeth Hughes  
Will<sup>m</sup> Forbes—Mary Bevan  
Joseph Thomas—Jane Grier  
Dan<sup>l</sup> Billew—Rebecca Vansant
- 12: Hugh Stewart—Ruth Leonard  
Alexander Searshill—Mary Ritche  
George Weed—Eliz<sup>th</sup> Dickinson
- 13: Will Harper—Sarah Philips  
Dan<sup>l</sup> Meredith—Mary Brown
- 14: Daniel Neal—Margaret Brown
- 18: William Sheed—Isabella Waddel
- 20: Joseph Scott—Hannah Lee
- 21: Enoch Hughes—Bathsheba Marshall
- 22: John Umsted—Catherine Miller
- 23: Phineas Paxton—Susannah Shaw  
Patrick Robertson—Mary McPherson  
James Fullerton—Ann Brustrum
- 25: Daniel Burkhart—Elizabeth Mock
- 26: John Bender—Catherine Ampmaning  
Cha<sup>s</sup> Lindsay—Jane Ekins
- 28: Rich<sup>d</sup> Watson—Eliz. Hillings  
Joseph Clark—Mary Durrey

*February.*

- 3: Archibald McCoomb—Mary Hutchison
- 4: John Pearson—Hannah White  
John McIlvane—Catherine Dennis
- 8: Edw<sup>d</sup> Jones—Elizabeth Davis
- 9: Davison Filson—Agnes Boggs
- 11: Hugh Ferguson—Ann Gibbs
- 13: James Hood—Rachel Ashmead
- 15: James Thompson—Sarah Falconer
- 16: Joseph Dean—Hannah Boyte
- 17: John Matthews—Hannah North
- 18: Joseph Derry—Hannah Greenway
- 19: Elisha Marks—Sarah Smith



- 20: Daniel Gorton—Mary Steward  
 Samuel How—Ann Yocom  
 Jonathan Williams—Elizab. Tew  
 22: John Schneider—Juliana Feyring  
 24: Jacob Dowdishle—Barbara Taylor  
 27: John Ferguson—Eliz. McGill  
 Edw<sup>d</sup> Sanders—Frances Moore

*March.*

- 1: Henry Moore—Hannah May  
 2: Thomas Seal—Mary Meglone  
 3: James Davis—Marg<sup>t</sup> Miller  
 Thomas Patterson—Mary Brockden  
 Wollaston Redman—Catherine Clark  
 4: Conrad Shultz—Catherine Kurtz  
 5: Robert Norris—Marg<sup>t</sup> Long  
 Jn<sup>o</sup> Marshall—Hannah Baldwin  
 7: R<sup>d</sup> Mason—Letitia Tannagh  
 Jn<sup>o</sup> Vance—Martha Farmer  
 Tho<sup>s</sup> Bulger—Leah Harvey  
 8: Henry Haines—Eliz<sup>th</sup> Thomas  
 9: Levi Hollingsworth—Hannah Paschall  
 James Allen—Elizabeth Lawrence  
 14: William Edwards—Hannah Hall  
 17: Moore Furman—Sarah White  
 James Willson—Ann Harbert  
 Thomas West—Mary Kitheart  
 John Syme—Sarah Hoops  
 24: Gabriel Simpson—Catherine Farrel  
 Jn<sup>o</sup> Smith—Jane McCaullay  
 George Syng—Elizabeth Bayne  
 26: Nich<sup>s</sup> Bird—Sarah Bell  
 Peter Vanhorn—Precilla Van Buskirk  
 Jacob Swope—Susannah Steinmetz  
 30: Samuel Williams—Esther Sherlock  
 31: Douglass Ivory—Mary Powell

*April.*

- 2: Benjamin Griffey—Margaret Patterson  
 Roger Flahavan—Catherine Swan  
 6: John Shaw—Judith Barry  
 Peter Plankton—Hannah Talkington  
 Josiah Clark—Patience Allen



- 7: Andrew Murray—Charity Humphreys  
 8: Edward Roberts—Alice Rambo  
 9: Isaac Boner—Laetitia Helton  
 11: Jn° Strupe—Rachel Kepharting  
 13: Jn° Altemus—Catherine Hopple  
 14: William Collins—Mary Lurdon  
     Benjamin Paschall—Ann Rudolph  
     John Hanna—Phoebe Wharton  
 16: Benjamin Davis—Catherine Pugh  
     Benj. Mathew—Diana Thomas  
     Jn° Livingston—Ann Hanlan  
 18: Mathias Abel—Jane Elliar  
     Hervey Lewis—Elizabeth Lownes  
     Joseph Wild—Margaret Johnson  
 20: Edward Poole—Mary Hair  
 21: Dan' Badger—Ann Doughty  
 23: Sam' Moon—Martha Ritchey  
 24: Andrew Allen—Sarah Cox  
 25: James Roney—Marg<sup>t</sup> Jamison  
     Joseph Cowperthwait—Susannah Hulings  
     John Winter—Mary Barret  
 26: Jn° Armour—Catherine Swain  
 28: Jn° Brown—Ann Wilson  
 30: William Selly—Johanna Carnelly  
     Rob<sup>t</sup> Cassan—Mary Spencer  
     Jacob Hall—Hermoine Wood

*May.*

- 2: Jn° William Read—Mary Lamany  
 3: Abel Pearson—Mary Bartholomew  
 7: Joseph Huddleston—Marg<sup>t</sup> Thomas  
 9: Jn° Shields—Rebecca McKnight  
 11: Rob<sup>t</sup> Flack—Mary Weir  
 12: Jos. Baker—Martha Neill  
     W<sup>m</sup> Smith—Mary Chandler  
     Andrew Tucker—Sarah Stoops  
 17: Alexand. Wilcocks—Mary Chew  
     Solomon Stainer—Margaret Carter  
 19: Tho<sup>s</sup> Batson—Catherine Jones  
     Hercules Courtney—Mary Shute  
     Robert Bunbury—Mary Iveson  
 21: Rich<sup>d</sup> Coarsen—Rachel Noles  
 23: James Jenkins—Catherine Brown



- 24: Mathias Pennebecker—Mary Custer
- 26: Joseph Nicholson—Hannah Akin
- 27: Abram Nathan—Rachel Wilson
- 28: John Lazelere—Marg<sup>t</sup> Vanhorn  
David Larrew—Sarah Lazelere  
Jas Coffee—Rebecca Winterton
- 30: W<sup>m</sup> Rusk—Susannah Willoughby  
Francis Lewis—Marg<sup>t</sup> Barnet

*June.*

- 2: Francis Hainick—Barbara Wentz
- 3: John McCoy—Mary Yeates  
Rob<sup>t</sup> Mack—Mary Potter
- 6: Tho<sup>s</sup> Morgan—Mary Rittenhouse  
Peter Brusstar—Eliz. Townsend  
James Sanders—Marg<sup>t</sup> Hickman
- 7: Alex<sup>t</sup> Nelson—Mary Warnack
- 8: John Jarman—Mary Bickley  
Lawrence Johnson—Sarah Clark
- 9: Isaac Taylor—Mary Edwards
- 10: Thomas Long—Rachel Morgan  
John Brant—Amelia Turner  
Joseph Prichard—Judith Hughes
- 11: David Worthington—Sarah Williams
- 13: Jonathan Gostelow—Mary Duffield
- 14: William Mann—Rebecca Knight
- 16: John Scott—Martha Renshaw  
Benj. Carpenter—Grace Morgan
- 17: James Dunn—Isabella Jordan  
Wyley Jackson—Eleanor McKoy (McKey)  
Lambert Barns—Elizabeth Hay  
John Stancliff—Elizabeth Dewey
- 21: James Cannon—Jane Brown
- 22: Henry Lewis—Sarah Lewis
- 23: Isaac Powell—Sarah Rush  
Tho<sup>s</sup> Bartow, Jun<sup>r</sup>—Sarah Benezet  
Jn<sup>o</sup> Smith—Elizabeth Rush
- 24: Henry Dawson—Margaret Elliot
- 25: John Rees—Mary Moore  
Rob<sup>t</sup> Slocombe—Mary Quay
- 27: Cha<sup>s</sup> Tomkins—Bridget Sutor
- 29: Jacob Kolb—Ann Yoder





*July.*

- 2: John Lucken—Rachel Edwards  
 7: Henry Gurney—Catherine Ross  
 James Willson—Mary Plumsted  
 George Griffith—Rebecca January  
 9: Jn<sup>o</sup> Knox—Phoebe Delaplaine  
 Robert Pew—Mary Fullerton  
 12: Jacob Roush—Ann Deshler  
 13: David Potter—Mary Mason  
 Alex<sup>r</sup> Hale—Frances Yorkson  
 15: Lewis Ashman—Hannah Cooper  
 John Keen—Rebecca Relin  
 16: Laughland McNeal—Ann Snowden  
 18: Matthew Mason—Mary Kion  
 William Gordon—Barbara Springer  
 20: Jos. Trotter Jun<sup>r</sup>—Sarah Robinson  
 W<sup>m</sup> Koppock—Elizabeth Kenny  
 22: Joshua Groves—Rosanna Beard  
 25: Job Butcher—Mary Shepherd

*August.*

- 1: W<sup>m</sup> Edwards—Mary White  
 Jn<sup>o</sup> Philips—Christiana Bomin  
 2: Edward Gottier—Mary Wells  
 3: Henry Huddleston—Elizabeth Bennet  
 5: Sam<sup>l</sup> Scarsborough—Martha Conyer  
 10: Benj. James—Catherine Gaff  
 11: Jacob Bennet—Hannah Hogeland  
 Jos. Allardice—Eliz. Ashton  
 13: Jn<sup>o</sup> Burrows—Margaret Sherlock  
 15: Sam<sup>l</sup> Beckley—Margaret Coulson  
 17: Sam<sup>l</sup> Davis—Margaret Philips  
 Dan<sup>l</sup> Snyder—Ann Berndollar  
 George Heyl—Dorothy Phyle  
 27: Rich<sup>d</sup> Eavenson—Mary Johnson  
 Dan<sup>l</sup> Green—Mary Chamberlain  
 Nath<sup>l</sup> Vansandt—Hannah Vansandt  
 Enoch Battin—Rebecca Jones  
 29: Jn<sup>o</sup> Bonner—Elizabeth Staddleman

*September.*

- 1: James Sisk—Jane Woggelom  
 6: James Fulton—Sarah Vancourt



- 8: James Skinner—Mary Butler  
W<sup>m</sup> Barnes—Ruth Mott  
Bernard Fearis—Hannah White
- 9: John King—Jane Brown
- 12: Sam<sup>l</sup> Johnson—Martha Dunn
- 13: Rob<sup>t</sup> Deacon—Sarah Shedaker
- 14: Cornelius Brian—Martha Boise  
Tho<sup>s</sup> Murdock—Ann Sterrat
- 16: Rich<sup>d</sup> Rundle—Lucretia Dungen
- 17: Henry Brouse—Ann Craven
- 21: Jona<sup>n</sup> Attmore—Rachel Mason  
Thomas Lawrence Jun<sup>r</sup>—Rebecca Bond  
David Ware—Ann Barber
- 22: Jn<sup>o</sup> Kidd—Ann Spencer
- 23: Jacob Maag—Barbara Stonemetz
- 24: Tho<sup>s</sup> Hilldrup—Mary Ware
- 27: Tho<sup>s</sup> Britton—Catherine Forbes
- 28: Jas Read—Mary Porter
- 29: Arthur Haggin—Cath. Dwyer

*October.*

- 1: R<sup>d</sup> Waddington—Mary Hartley  
Philip Terrapin—Agnes Hare  
James Vansant—Rebecca Comley  
James Dickinson—Eliz<sup>th</sup> Myers
- 4: James Crawford—Ruth Doyle  
Nathan Darling—Esther McCoskry
- 5: Nich<sup>s</sup> Light—Abalan Fryan  
Thomas Maain—Rachel Whitfield
- 7: David Register—Marg<sup>t</sup> Black
- 12: David Crowley—Mary Lamb
- 13: Marshall Edwards—Martha Holmes
- 15: Joseph Robins—Jane Hoops
- 17: John Wilkie—Hannah Adams
- 20: James Sterling—Mary Shaw  
Jn<sup>o</sup> McLaughlan—Ann Lawrence
- 21: William Brooks—Rachel King
- 22: Tho<sup>s</sup> Robinson—Mary Hanson
- 24: W<sup>m</sup> Henly—Hannah Jenkins
- 25: James Jack—Mary Doack  
Samuel Eastlack—Hannah Ellis  
Jn<sup>o</sup> Kostor—Ann Pitt



- 26: Griffith Powell—Hannah Thomas  
 Allen Russell—Mary McCracken  
 27: Rob<sup>t</sup> Lightbody—Mary Logan  
 Mathias Sandham—Rebecca Jackson  
 Tho<sup>s</sup> Camalin—Barbara Russel  
 Edw<sup>d</sup> Batchelor—Frances Henry  
 28: James White—Rebecca Parker  
 29: Hugh Pugh—Mary Cyder  
 W<sup>m</sup> Harrison—Martha Bowlsby  
 Conrad Mauerville—Mary Maxwell  
 31: John Walker—Mary Rouse

*November.*

- 3: Curtis Clay—Margaret Wood  
 George Garland—Ruth Terry  
 4: Woodward Rawley—Marg<sup>t</sup> Phillpot  
 Henry Rutter—Catherine Cline  
 5: Tho<sup>s</sup> Piercy—Mary McClemon  
 7: Peter McIntosh—Isabel Kirkpatrick  
 10: James Robinson—Rachel Higgins  
 12: Will: Hamilton—Martha Barcroft  
 14: Tho<sup>s</sup> Alexander—Cath. Simpson  
 15: Jn<sup>o</sup> Kaps—Susanna Snyder  
 16: Jn<sup>o</sup> Haines—Sarah O'Neal  
 17: Jn<sup>o</sup> Snyder—Marg<sup>t</sup> Shunk  
 21: Cha<sup>s</sup> Jones—Susanna Hill  
 Joseph Kauffman—Barbara Butler  
 John Vance—Mary Wood  
 Rob<sup>t</sup> Fitzgerald—Elizabeth Harris  
 22: George Loura—Elizabeth Rhoads  
 23: Thomas Bradford—Mary Fisher  
 24: Joshua Humphreys—Anne Jones  
 25: Nicholas Hood—Sarah Young  
 26: Patrick Dunn—Ann McKee  
 Samuel Pedrick—Sarah Pedrick  
 John Elliot—Amey Davis  
 28: Christian Young—Carolina Painter  
 29: Alex<sup>r</sup> Mitchell—Jane Cochran  
 William Taylor—Mary Robins

*December.*

- 1: Edw<sup>d</sup> Dulling—Eliz. Masho  
 Nich<sup>s</sup> Devine—Susannah Kearney



- 2: Benj. Ramshaw—Cath. Hutchinson  
Jn<sup>o</sup> Jamison—Martha Greer
- 5: Henry Dominick—Eliz. Welsh  
Dennis Mullan—Martha Porter
- 6: Nathan Matthew—Marg. Butler  
James Ramsay—Honour Lee  
Jonathan Beere—Mary Wilson
- 7: Mich<sup>l</sup> Wild—Rach<sup>l</sup> Bourdmanning  
Ja<sup>s</sup> Allenby—Elizabeth Snow
- 8: Jn<sup>o</sup> Ross—Clementina Crookshank
- 10: Zacharias Andreas—Mary Sinsfelder
- 12: Tho<sup>s</sup> Meyer—Margaret Bloom  
Stephen Aires—Hester Wells
- 13: Alex<sup>r</sup> Gardner—Eliz<sup>th</sup> Hoover
- 15: Arnol Baker—Elizabeth Airs
- 16: David Davis—Catherine Davis
- 21: Derrick Hogeland—Edith Bennet
- 28: Henry Shriver—Margaret George
- 29: Peter Swan—Eliz<sup>th</sup> Taney





LETTERS SELECTED FROM THE FERDINAND  
J. DREER COLLECTION OF MANUSCRIPTS.

*George Washington to Colonel Samuel Miles.*

Head Q<sup>rs</sup> Newburgh  
8<sup>th</sup> July 1782.

Sir,

By the receipt of a M<sup>r</sup> White your Assistant

2 Tureens  
2 Salled Dishes  
29 Dishes of diff' Sizes  
5 doz<sup>n</sup> & 7 Plates—shallow  
2 doz. & 10 Soup D<sup>o</sup>—&  
8 Salts

Were left in his care to be sent to me when ordered; but in lieu thereof, consequent of the order, I have received the following.

2 Tureens  
8 Dishes  
2 Doz & 10 Shallow Plates  
3 Doz. & 7 Soup D<sup>o</sup> (9 more than were left) &  
6 Salts.

The deficiency I expect to receive by the first opportunity—if they are not already on their way—Only two Plates were found broken in the Package that came to hand.

I am Sir

Y<sup>r</sup> Most H<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> Washington

Col<sup>o</sup> Miles



George Washington to Tench Tilghman.

Mount Vernon 17<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 1785.

Dear Sir,

The Baltimore Advertiser of the 12<sup>th</sup> Inst<sup>t</sup> announces the arrival of a Ship at that Port, immediately from China and by an advertisement in the same Paper, I perceive that the Cargo is to be sold by Public Vendue, on the first of Oct<sup>r</sup> next.

At what prices the enumerated articles will sell or the terms proposed can only be known from the experiment; but if the quantity at Market is great, and they should sell as goods have sold by Vendue, bargains may be expected. I therefore take the liberty of requesting the favor of you, in that case, to purchase the several things contained in the enclosed list.

. You will readily perceive, My dear Sir, my purchasing or not, depends entirely upon the prices. If *great bargains* are to be had, I would supply myself agreeably to the list. If the prices do not fall *below* a cheap *retail* sale, I would decline them altogether, or take such articles only (if cheaper than common) as are marked in the Margin of the Invoice.

Before October, if none of these goods are previously sold, and if they are the matter will be ascertained thereby, you will be able to form a judgment of the prices they will command, by Vendue. Upon information of which I will deposit the money in your hands to comply with the terms of the Sale.

Since I began this letter I have been informed that good India Nankeens are selling at Dumfries (not far from me) at 7/6 a p<sup>s</sup>, this Curr<sup>t</sup>. But if my memory has not failed me, I used to import them before the War for about 5/. Ster<sup>rs</sup>. If so, though 50 p C<sup>t</sup> is a small advance upon India Goods, through a British Channel, (with the duties & accumulated charges thereon) yet, quare would not 7/6 be a high price for Nankeens brought immediately from India, exempted from such



duties & Charges? If this is a conjecture founded in fairness, it will give my ideas of the prices of other articles from that Country, & be a government for your conduct therein, at, or before the day appointed for the public Vendue. With the highest esteem and regard

I am—D<sup>r</sup> Sir

Y<sup>r</sup> Affect<sup>e</sup> friend and

Obed<sup>t</sup> H<sup>bl<sup>e</sup></sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

Tench Tilghman Esq.

G<sup>o</sup> Washington

Invoice of Goods to be purchased, by Tench Tilghman Esq<sup>r</sup> on Acc<sup>t</sup> of George Washington, agreeably to the letter accompanying this, of equal date.

A sett of the best Nankin Table China.

Ditto. best Evening China Cups & Saucers.

\*A set of *large* blue & White China

Dishes—say half a doz<sup>n</sup> more or less.

\*1 Doz<sup>n</sup> *small* bowls—blue & white.

\*6 Wash hand Guglets & Basons.

6 large Mugs—or 3 Mugs & 3 Jugs.

A Quart<sup>r</sup> Chest, *best* Hyson Tea.

A Leagure of Battavia Arrack

if a Leagure is not large.

\*About 13 y<sup>ds</sup> of good bla: Paduasoy.

\*A p<sup>s</sup> of fine Muslin—plain.

\*1 p<sup>s</sup> of Silk Handkerchiefs.

12 p<sup>s</sup> of the best Nankeens.

18 p<sup>s</sup> of the second quality—or coarsest kind—for servants.

17<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 1785.

G<sup>o</sup> Washington.

*George Washington to John Francis Mercer.*

D<sup>r</sup> Sir,

Mount Vernon 30<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>r</sup> 1786.

The letter which you dropped for me at Alexandria I have received. If you can make it convenient to lodge the money in the hands of any person at that place, it

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\* With the badge of the Society of the Cincinnati—if to be had.



would oblige me. I lie quite out of the line of opportunities to Annapolis—and to send there on purpose, would cost me  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , or perhaps 5 p C<sup>t</sup> to fetch it.

If M<sup>r</sup> Pine, the Portrait Painter, should still be at Annapolis (which is scarcely to be expected) you would oblige me by paying him Twenty Guineas, and Sixteen dollars; and his receipt for these sums, will be equal to that much of the £200 promised me. If he should have left Annapolis, I will remit the money to him myself.

M<sup>rs</sup> Washington joins me in compliments to M<sup>rs</sup> Mercer—We shall always be glad to see you both at this place on your rout to or from Annapolis. My best respects attend M<sup>r</sup> Spriggs family.

I am—D<sup>r</sup> Sir

Y<sup>r</sup> obed<sup>e</sup> H<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> Washington

*George Washington to Edward Rutledge.*

(Private)

Philadelphia Dec<sup>r</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> 1790

My dear Sir,

I will make no apology for introducing the bearer, Col<sup>o</sup> John Trumbull to your friendship and civilities. You will find him worthy of both.

Y<sup>rs</sup> Affectionately

Edw<sup>d</sup> Rutledge Esq<sup>r</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> Washington

*George Washington to Thomas Johnson.*

Philadelphia July 14<sup>th</sup> 1791.

Dear Sir

Without preface, or apology for propounding the following question to you—at this time—permit me to ask you with frankness, and in the fullness of friendship, whether you will accept of an appointment in the Supreme Judiciary of the United States?

M<sup>r</sup> Rutledge's resignation has occasioned a vacancy





therein which I should be glad to see filled by you. Your answer to this question by the Post (which is the most certain mode of conveying letters) as soon as you can make it convenient, will very much oblige

Dear Sir

Your most Obedient &

Affectionate H<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

The Hon<sup>ble</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> Washington

Tho<sup>s</sup> Johnson Esq<sup>r</sup>

*George Washington to Col. Burgess Ball.*

German Town 24<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1793.

Dear Sir,

I have duly received your letter of the 16<sup>th</sup> Instant, from Leesburgh.

In answer to which, respecting the purchase of Buck Wheat, I send you a Bank note for two hundred dollars; being more disposed to give two & six pence p<sup>r</sup> Bushel in Loudoun than depend upon the purchase here, the uncertainty of getting it round in time. What the Waggonage of it to my house from thence (as fast as it is bought, for that I make a condition, in order that *no disappointment* may happen) will be, I know not; but with a view to place the matter upon an *absolute certainty* I had rather give three & six pence for it, delivered at Mount Vernon, than encounter delay, or trust to contingencies; because, as it forms part of my system of Husbandry for the next year, a derangement of it would be a serious thing; for which reason, a small difference in the price can be no object when placed against the disconcertion of my plans: especially too, as I am persuaded you will purchase, & transport the B Wh<sup>t</sup> for me on the best terms you can.

Four hundred & fifty bushels, or call it 500, is the quantity I shall want; and more money shall be sent to you as soon as I know your prospects, and the expenditures of what is now forwarded. For the reason I



have already assigned, I must encounter *no disappointment*; if therefore your prospects (as you proceed in this business) are not so flattering as those detailed in your letter, inform me of it in time, that I may supply my self from hence before the frost sets in.

The malady with which Philadelp<sup>a</sup> has been sorely afflicted has, it is said, entirely ceased; and all the Citizens are returning to their old habitations again. I took a house in this town when I first arrived here, & shall retain it until Congress get themselves fixed; altho I spend part of my time in the City.

Give my love to M<sup>rs</sup> Ball & Milly and be assured of the sincere esteem and regard with which I am,

Dear Sir

Your Affect<sup>e</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

Col<sup>o</sup> B. Ball

G<sup>o</sup> Washington

*George Washington to David Stuart.*

Mount Vernon 13<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 1798.

Dear Sir,

If you, or M<sup>rs</sup> Stuart could, by indirect means, discover the State of Washington Custis' mind, it would be to be wished. He appears to me to be moped & stupid—says nothing—and is always in some hole or corner excluded from Company. Before he left Annapolis, he wrote to me desiring to know whether he was to return there, or not, that he might pack up accordingly. I answered, that I was astonished at the question! and that it appeared to me that nothing that could be said to him had the least effect, or left an impression beyond the moment. Whether this, by thwarting his views, is the cause of his present behaviour, I know not. Enclosed his letter & my answer, to be returned when read. We are as usual; and unite in best regards for you M<sup>rs</sup> Stuart and the family.

I am—Dear Sir

Y<sup>r</sup> Obed<sup>t</sup> & affect<sup>e</sup>

David Stuart Esq<sup>r</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> Washington.



*General Nathaniel Greene to Major Kearse.*

Westpoint July 28th 1779.

Sir

I am informed a large Magazine is forming at Pompton. This is expressly contrary to General Washingtons orders as it lies expos'd to a sudden movement of the Enemy. You will therefore exert your self to get it on to Mr Holts as fast as it arrives at Pompton, and if you cannot get it on as fast as it comes forward to that place, write to Morris to Mr Lewis not to hasten it on any faster than it can be got forward to the Mouth of the Clove. Let me hear from you on this subject as soon as possible.

I am sir

Your

humble ser<sup>t</sup>

Major Kearse

Nath Greene

A.D.Q.M.G.

Q.M.G.

Suffrans Tavern

*General Nathaniel Greene to Governor*

*Thomas Jefferson.*

N<sup>o</sup> C. High Rockford Feb<sup>y</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> 1781.

Sir

I had the honor of receiving a Letter from your Excellency by Major Maggill, dated the th, ins<sup>t</sup>. It would give me satisfaction to furnish the Gentleman with such intelligence as might be interesting to you, but there is such a necessity for secrecy to forward the operations of an Army that it will be utterly impossible to furnish him with facts in time to make them important. Should any thing turn up at any time, that immediately concerns the policy of Virginia I shall do myself the honor to write to you, or send it through the chanel of Major Maggill as circumstances may be.

We have had an active and difficult campaign so far,



but it has been, as yet, greatly to our advantage. The Enemy have suffered in several little skirmishes, and I do not know that we have met with one disaster. On the Night of the 24th Col<sup>o</sup> McCall surprised a Subalterns Guard at Harts Mill, killed 8 and wounded and took 9 Prisoners. On the 25th Gen<sup>l</sup> Pickens and Lieut. Col<sup>o</sup> Lee routed a Body of near 300 Tories on the Haw River, who were in Arms to join the British Army. They made a most dreadful carnage of them; upwards of 100 were killed, and most of the rest cut to pieces. It has had a very happy effect on those disaffected Persons, of which there are too many in this Country.

I must now take this opportunity of reminding your Excellency of the Cloathing which that part of the Virginia Line that is out here, have been in long expectation of. Many of them are so ragged that it is painful to exact common duty of them. Even those of the last detachment who had short Jackets given them are in a distressed situation, from the Jackets being made so bad. The Shoulders of them were not lyned, and the rubbing of the Musquet has worn them to pieces. I trust your Excellency will make use of every means to furnish them as soon as possible. You cannot be a stranger to the necessity of Troops being well clad to do the necessary duties of Camp.

I have the honor to be with great respect

Your mo: ob<sup>t</sup> h<sup>ble</sup> serv<sup>t</sup>

Governor Jefferson

Nath Greene

*General Nathaniel Greene to Governor Thomas Nelson.*

Head Quarters, high Hills of Santee

July 18th 1781.

Sir

I beg leave to congratulate your Excellency upon your late appointment, which reflects the highest honor upon you as it affords a full display of the confidence

100  
100  
100  
100  
100



of the People in your abilities, zeal, and integrity from their having turned their attention to you alone in the hour of common danger. I have not the honor of your acquaintance, but I beg you to be persuaded that I have the highest respect for your character. It must be confessed you have an arduous task, but I flatter myself you have resources equal to the undertaking.

In civil government it very often happens that the People cannot be brought into measures necessary to promote their true interest, until they are convinced by suffering. The late misfortunes in Virginia I hope will be improved to bring them into measures necessary for their better security. The public calamities have been sometimes increased from improper jealousies and distrusts between the civil and Military. In contemplating your character it affords me peculiar satisfaction that both the Citizen and Soldier are happily united in it; and that you will be no less attentive to one than to the other, which alone can give permanent support to both. The very great respect I have for civil government, and the high estimation I hold the rights of a Citizen, I persuade myself will forever preserve me from any improper conduct respecting either; and where the contrary seems to appear the public safety will be found to be the object of the measure.

The early attention I paid to Virginia in procuring the return of the Marquis de la Fayette, and the force I left under his command I hope will convince your State that I made them the first object of my attention. It is true their sufferings have been considerable, but I flatter myself it will appear to have been unavoidable. The appointment and conduct of the Marquis de la Fayette I persuade myself cannot but meet with your warmest approbation, as it is evident he has done much more than could have been expected from his little force in a Country, the Geography of which was so much against him.



The weak state of your Line in this quarter and the late European intelligence, added to the probable measures the Enemy will take in consequence thereof, render it absolutely necessary that you fill your ranks as soon as possible. As the struggle increases here, necessity will oblige me to call reinforcements from the Northward, and I hope you will be prepared to afford them. I shall transmit you a state of your Line here as soon as possible, that you may have the clearest evidence to lay before the Assembly, to convince them how far short they are of their proportion of Men in the field necessary for the common defence.

I wrote to Governor Jefferson an account of the raising the siege of Ninety Six, and the cause thereof. Since which we have obliged the Enemy to evacuate it, and they are now at Orangeburg. Our distress and sufferings can only be realised by those who have equal difficulties to encounter, and equal hardships to endure. Support the Army and that will support government, but without be assured all will fall together.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect

Your Excellencys

most obedient and

most humble serv<sup>t</sup>

His Excel<sup>r</sup>

Nath Greene

Governor Nelson

*General Edward Hand to Richard Henry Lee, Richard Law and Daniel Roberdeau.*

Fort Pitt 21<sup>st</sup> dec<sup>r</sup> 1777.

Gent<sup>a</sup>

Before the arrival of your favour of the 24<sup>th</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup>— I had gone from this place to Fort Randolph, from whence I did not return untill Yesterday, which prevented my complying with your order sooner. The report of Col. George Morgan's being arrested here



was well founded,—the Express (a Militia Officer) who brought the enclosed Letter from Col. Zack Morgan informed some of his Acquaintance in Town, that the principal People here concerned in the Conspiracy, were Col. Geo. Morgan, Col. John Campbell, Capt. Alex<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Kee & Simon Girty, and that the Reason they were not pointed out in the Letter was, that, I was myself suspected. From this Information I judged it prudent to secure these Persons to prevent their escaping the Punishment they deserved, if Guilty, and to repair myself to where Col. Zack. Morgan was, to sift the affair to the Bottom. Col. Campbell before he had learned my Intention of arresting him, waited on me, and desired Permission to accompany me, which I agreed to, & told Col. George Morgan he might have the same Liberty, which he declined, being then, he said very busie, and remained a Prisoner in his own House. Capt. M<sup>c</sup>Kee was sent for to his Farm House & confined in the same Place, and Simon Girty to the Common Guard House. I was present at the Examination of the greatest Number of the Prisoners, and learned from the Magistrates who examined the whole, that no more than one Man mentioned Col. George Morgan's Name, his Expression was, that he allowed him to be their party, some few of them mentioned Girty's Name, but none of them either Col. Campbell's or Capt. M<sup>c</sup>Kee's, for this Reason on my Return I took off Col. Morgan's Arrest,—Simon Girty was examined before a Civil Magistrate and acquitted, & Capt. M<sup>c</sup>Kee I put on a new parole, after obtaining the old one from the Co<sup>ur</sup>t Court. His Parole I have enclosed to the Board of War, and wait the Direction of Congress as to his future Residence. The remarks made in the enclosed Letter by Capt. Arbuckle, on M<sup>c</sup>Kee's Conduct, tho' coming (in my opinion) from a bad Author, knowing her to have an implacable Hatred to the Woman who



lived with McKee, may yet have some weight with Congress. The same Person was at Fort Randolph, when I left it the 21<sup>st</sup> ult<sup>o</sup>. She assured me that McKee had written Letters to Detroit. I mention these Circumstances to your Honble Committee, as I think them applicable to the present Subject, & by that you may also communicate them to Congress. Col. Geo. Morgan left the place in a few days after my first Arrival here, & did not return untill about the 25<sup>th</sup> of July, he staid untill the Beginning of Oct<sup>r</sup> since when he has been absent. I recollect that the day after he arrived here, in July he told me, he would cross the River to talk with the Indians then waiting to see him, & probably not return that Night. As I had confined the day or two before two Indians, I judged it unsafe, and advised him against it, but he still persisted, early next Morning I understood he lay at Capt. McKees, on his Return told him what I heard, he said it was so, & that he had a Conference with the Shawanee Indians, who was his Interpreter I don't know, Certain it is, that he can't discourse in that or any other Indian Language. Except this part his Conduct may be found exceptionable. I must declare in Justice to him, that every Proceeding of his, that came to my Knowledge, either as Indian Agent, or Commissary, appeared to me, to be that of a Zealous and faithful Serv<sup>t</sup> to the United States. I should have made early mention of his Arrest, but as it is on a groundless Assertion, I wished to have it buried in Oblivion.

I am Gent<sup>m</sup>

With much Respect

Y<sup>r</sup> most Obed<sup>t</sup> Hble Serv<sup>t</sup>

Edw<sup>d</sup> Hand.

To The Honble  
Rich<sup>d</sup> Henry Lee  
Rich<sup>d</sup> Law & Dan<sup>l</sup>  
Roberdeau Esq<sup>rs</sup> }





*General William Heath to Governor John Hancock.*

Headquarters, Continental village,

October 24, 1781.

Sir,

I have this moment received a letter from head quarters in Virginia, dated the 12<sup>th</sup> instant, from which I give you the following particulars, viz.—That on the 6<sup>th</sup> instant the trenches were opened and the approaches carried within 600 yards of the enemy's works without being discovered until day light, and without loss. The 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> were employed in erecting batteries. On the 9<sup>th</sup> two batteries, one on the right and the other on the left were opened. The next morning four others being completed, the whole opened a heavy fire of cannon and mortars, which soon became so warm as to drive the enemy from their guns. Their fire was almost totally silenced, and very little return made afterwards.

The Charron of 44 guns, with one transport, took fire from our shot or shells the evening of the 10<sup>th</sup> and were both consumed. The 11<sup>th</sup> another ship was destroyed in the same manner.

On the night of the 11<sup>th</sup> the second paralel was advanced within less than 400 yards of the enemy's lines. This approach was also effected without annoyance, and the morning of the 12<sup>th</sup> the fatigue men were securely covered while they were completing their work.

The foregoing is from the *best* authority.

This moment we have a report that Lord Cornwallis surrendered with his whole army on the 17<sup>th</sup>. This is said to have come to the governor of Maryland from the count de Grasse who, the report says, had taken all his troops on board, and had gone to sea to meet Admiral Digby—who with twenty-five sail of the line, two or three 50 and two or three of 40 guns, twelve frigates and several fire-ships, with sir Henry Clinton with four or five thousand picked troops, left Sandy



hook the afternoon of the 19<sup>th</sup>. We impatiently wait a confirmation of this momentous news, and also to hear of a decisive naval engagement.

I have the honor to be

With the highest respect,

Your Excellency's

Most obedient servant

W. Heath

His Excellency Governor Hancock.



EXTRACTS FROM THE "BOOK OF PHISICK"  
OF WILLIAM PENN.

[Penn Papers, Manuscript Division Historical Society of Pennsylvania.]

*Too make swollows oyle.*

Take 12 swollows out of the nest, beat so small that you cannot tell what thay bee, then take Lauender Cotten Lauender spicke mother of wine Rosmary strabury Leves and strings and mallows of each one hand full beat every one of these severaly: till it bee almost Like a salve put the swallows and herbs together beat them well together, free them alle untill they bee hott, stur it alwais put it in earthen pot Covered Close 9 days then take a waite the horiness stamp them againe fry it up and strain it and keep it for youre use.

*A Water to recover y<sup>e</sup> Sight.*

This marvellous water following will recover y<sup>e</sup> sight again, with it Constantine y<sup>e</sup> Emperor recovered his sight.

Take 3 drames of Tutia made in very small powder 11 drames of fine sugar, six Ounces of Rose-water as much of pure white Wine mixt altogether, and put it into some clean vessel of glass and being well closed & stoped set in y<sup>e</sup> Sun a Month together, stirring it once every day, then take of y<sup>e</sup> same water 4 or 5 drops in y<sup>e</sup> eyes Mornings & Evenings, thus consuming a certain space it will cause y<sup>e</sup> sight to come again as fair as ever it was; this I know is proved for an excellent water for y<sup>e</sup> eyes, for it cleareth y<sup>m</sup> marveillously. I know one y<sup>t</sup> could not thread a needle without spectacles, w<sup>ch</sup> put not past 2 or 3 drops of y<sup>e</sup> same in her



eyes at night, & y<sup>e</sup> next morning y<sup>e</sup> same party could see to thread a needle w<sup>th</sup>out spectacles.

*for an eye when it is very full of payn.*

Take of Violett leaves a quarter of a handfull, of Daysy roots halfe so many, wash y<sup>m</sup> & dry y<sup>m</sup> very well in a cloath, then stamp y<sup>m</sup> & put to it one spoonful & half of Red rose water & strain it, then take y<sup>e</sup> white of a new layd egg well beaten, throw away y<sup>e</sup> froth, then put y<sup>t</sup> unto y<sup>e</sup> afores<sup>d</sup> with half a quarter of a spoonfull of hony, let this be dropped in y<sup>e</sup> eye morning & evening & twice or thrice a day, & at night lay upon y<sup>e</sup> eye y<sup>e</sup> pap of a rost'd apple or of a rotten apple, & put a little Juice of houseleek amongst it, & a little fine sugar Candy is best, lay y<sup>t</sup> upon y<sup>e</sup> eye 2 or 3 nights; if he be in extream pain, lay a piece of fresh Beef upon his Eye 2 or 3 hours, & so again as you see cause; lay to y<sup>e</sup> neck behind Elder-leaves, & Wood Bettony made hott between 2 tiles sprinkled with a little Vinegar, & strew on good store of beaten pepper, when it is hot lay it in a thin Cloth, & so lay it to y<sup>e</sup> neck night & morning 4 or 5 times, also make blisters behind y<sup>e</sup> ears if you see cause, if there grow a skin upon y<sup>e</sup> eye put in Allum water with Juice of Sallindine, or if it be much y<sup>e</sup> Juyce of Ground Ivy, drop this in twice a day, & y<sup>e</sup> White powder once a day.

*To take away y<sup>e</sup> Webb in y<sup>e</sup> Eyes.*

Take y<sup>e</sup> gall of a hare, & a little Quantity of purifyed Hony, & temper y<sup>m</sup> well together; then take a feather & anoint your Eyes therewith, & you shall find ease.

*To Comfort y<sup>e</sup> Brains, & for y<sup>e</sup> Palsie & for y<sup>e</sup> Giddiness of y<sup>e</sup> head.*

Take Rosemary Flowers, Cloves, Mace, Nutmeggs all in powder, quilt it in a little bagg & sprinkle it with Malmsy, & lay it in y<sup>e</sup> Nod of y<sup>e</sup> Neck.





*For y<sup>e</sup> Eares.*

An old man goeing by water in y<sup>e</sup> winter when it was very cold with wind & snow was taken with grievous pain in his left Ear w<sup>th</sup> was towards y<sup>e</sup> water & y<sup>e</sup> Wind; I was sent for to him; his pain was fixed without heaviness or distention; I perceived by y<sup>e</sup> causes aforegoing y<sup>t</sup> it was a simple distemper proceeding of cold & Wind. First I advised him to take away y<sup>e</sup> outward Cause to beware of wind & cold Air, to keep his chamber, & if he must needs go out of y<sup>e</sup> house, I bid him to stop his Ear w<sup>th</sup> Bombast, then I dropt into his Ear 2 or 3 drops of oyl of Rue and of bitter Almonds mix'd together, & put in a tent of soft Wool dipped therein & stop y<sup>e</sup> Ear with Bombast, & wished him to wear a quilted cap, y<sup>t</sup> no cold Air might come to his Ear, Also I took a red onion rosted a little under y<sup>e</sup> Embers, taking out y<sup>e</sup> middle I filled it with oyl of Iris & so pressed out y<sup>e</sup> mixture, & droped it into y<sup>e</sup> Ear, & with these Remedys y<sup>e</sup> pain ceased.

*To stanch Blood.*

Take y<sup>e</sup> scrapings of y<sup>e</sup> inside of Spanish Leather, & put it in y<sup>e</sup> nose or wound.

*Sr Walltor Raullis Pomatum.*

Take a pound of puer whitt mutton sewett new skinn it and pick it very Clene from blood when you have so dun, shred it very small on a Clene trencher with a Clene knife then putt it into a Clene Cloath, Course, and beat it with a roulling pin  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour then shred it Againe very small then putt it into a gally pott too it a white Lilley Root very Clen washed picked and Dryed, and brused sett this gally pot into skillet of boyling Watter, Couer it Close that none of the Recke nor watter Com out into the gally pot when the suit is melted take it of the fire, and strain it into a white



erthen bason, as you strain it putt into the Cloath 12 oz. of spiermcity and 2 oz. of Camphir Lett the Cloath, through which you straine it, bee fine holland, stur it in the bason 4 houers Lett it not Coull to fast, butt keepe the hott Cloath about the bason, and stur it but besure you stur it butt one way then Drop it out upon a paper, into Cackes, putt into the box: where you putt this sum muske in a paper, it will take away the Ill of the Camphir.

*ffor pain in the eyes.*

Take a white shelled snaile, and prick it and Drop it into youre eyes—two or three times a day.

*Gasken powder given to expell any Infectious Diseses.*

Take Reed Corell pearle, Ambor the black tips of harts horne, the eyes of Crabbs—of each one one oz: the black Clawes of the Crabbs as much as of all the rest that is five ounces.

*Too Bathe in for the Goute.*

Take Dwarfe elder, and Hell house boyle very well, in watter, so Lett the party goe into it warme, and bathe himselfe in it butt Lett him not sweett much, butt hee must keep warme, after it, in his beed.

*ffor the Consumption.*

Take a faire earthen pott, and putt there in a gallan of Clarett wine and then take a Capon well fleshed and not fatt and put into his belly  $\frac{1}{2}$  a handfull of mace, and as much of raisons and Corants then Cover the pot and sett it one the fire, and Lett it boyle till  $\frac{1}{2}$  bee Consumed, then put the Capon in to a mortar with sum of his broth, and bray his bons and all and Lett it boyle, a wallop after pass it through a Jelly bagg: into a Close vessel, then take a goblett full, and put thereto the yeolks of 6 new Laid eggs: the straine taken a way and boyle it well upon the fire, and giue the patient, to



drinke, as hot as thay Can well Drinke it, in the morning first of all more then Luke warm and Likewise before Noone and before thay goe to beed, as hot as thay Can Drink it, and before 3 Capons bee spent thay shall bee well.

*A medison for the Cough.*

Take a handfull or too of new hay that was made before Midsummer and 2 handfulls of bay sallt, boyle them well together in runing watter, and the patients feett bee bathed and washed: and socked therein and thay shall bee well.

*ffor Conuolltion ffets.*

Take yong Callo Crowns or Roocks before any fethers grow, and dry them in an ouen intire and beat them to pouder and giue the patient as much as will Lye one a groat fasting in a spunfull or two of white, wine five or six mornings.

*A Pouder for the Rickets.*

Take young Roocke Livers Dry them to pouder and give the Child as much as will Ly one a 6<sup>d</sup> in a spunfull of bere or broath 3 or 4 mornings then Rest a Littell while and take it againe.

*A Speciall medison for the Cough.*

Take a spunfull of the best oyle ollife too it 2 spunfulls of the best wine viniger, sweeten it with suger Candy; so that it may bee between tart and sweett and Drinke it fasting.

This is found the best thing for stuffing of the Lungs: Cutting the phelegme opening the pipes.

*To Make Coffee.*

Take wator and boyle it but very Littell then haue redy youre Coffee pott that hold a pint a quart with an oz of the pouder in it and brue it with a quart of



water, as you doe burnt wine then Lett it stand in the Coffee pott, with 3 or 4 sprigs of Rosmary: and 20 grains of saffron Desolved it must stand so as too bee scalding hott butt not boyle, you may drinke it in  $\frac{1}{2}$  an houer but if it stand an houre or too its better.

*Too Make oyntment for Scald Heeds.*

Take slices of bacon and fry them then take the grece and set it over the fire, put to it this powder following, take the uper Lether of an old shew, burn it beat it and serce it very fine take the uper shell of an oyster burne it and searce it very fine, take of each of these of each alike  $\frac{1}{2}$  as much brimstone in powder mingle them together and boyle it a while in the bacon grece, then put in the pot for youre use and anoynt the heed twice a day.

*For a Cough William Penn my Husband.*

Take sugar fine Like pouder  $\frac{1}{2}$  a spunfull and drop so many Drops of brandy of the best as by Rouling it, with a knife may Just moysten it like marmolet and lett the party take it going too bed, and in the night if hee wake with Coufing and in the morning, it allso cuers the Augue before the fitt Come, this was told by one that had a Cough many years and it Cuered him.

*Immediate ese for the Colique  
My husband William Penn.*

Take a pint of sack mull it with great slices of ginger in it then take 6 spunfuls and to that put 2 spunfuls of sallett oyle and Drinke it doune, this Clenseth the pas-aige breks the wind and Comforts the spirits, in a Colique fitt to my knoledg groning Like one that is one a Racke, with Immediat sucksess.

*For an Aitch or Bruse.*

Take 6 pound of butter a bottell of black snails 2 handfulls of saige 2 handfulls of the tops of Ros-





mary 2 handfulls of Wormwood fethernod of Lavender Cotton of Cosmary of mint Lavender Camomiell bugoli harbagreec yong elder of each of these above too handfulls a  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a pound of frankinsence, new Cowdung as much as will goe into a great oyster shell and  $\frac{1}{2}$  as much hendung new made youre buter must be well beten from the buter milk neither wash it nor salt it melt the buter over the fire untill it be boyling hott then put in the snails part asunder then put in all the herbs well brused and Lett them boyle together put in your frankinsence Cowdung and hogs dung; keeping it well stured till the butter wax Clere and the herbs well boyled then strain it and Lett it stand till the next day then Clarify it and keep it in an erthen pot or vesell in as Cold a place as you can, too make it have a good sent put in 3 or 4 nutmegs a few Cloves a slice or to of Cinomen when you put in the franckinsence.

*To draw out a thorn.*

Have Alwais by you a snake dryed kepe it Close in a box Clap a pece of it upon the place where the thorn entered and Clap a top of it too keep it in shoumakers wax if you can lay it one as sone as it is done.

*Dorothy Carrots oyntment.*

Take a pound of butter without salt and two handfulls of Rue 2 handfulls of Mary gold Leves one handfull of Cammamiell and a Litell peneryall, melt the butter and putt it in the herbs and Lett them boyle till the herbs feele dry, then strain them through a Canvis bagg into an erthen pot and when it is cold tye it up fast and keepe it so, for use.

*For any spott in y<sup>e</sup> Eye.*

Take of the Scrapings of a Whetstone & Bay salt made very fine & put some of it twice a day in ye Eye.



*For Red hott eyes.*

Take a Clene egg shell, put it full of Juce of singreen, so sett it one embors and Lett it boyle Sturing it till it be Clere so wash youre eys.

*For the Ricketts.*

Take 9 oz of snails boyle them together in a Littell, then take them out of there houses and putt there to a pint of milke, and boyle the milke a quator away, then give the Child of it every day as much as it will eate.



## LETTERS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

[Manuscript Division, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.]

*Benjamin Franklin to Richard Peters, 1754.*Sunday morn<sup>e</sup>

D. Sir,

It was late in the Evening when I came home last Night, or I should have sent you Mr. Smith's Letters, concerning which I shall be glad to talk with you when you have a little Leisure. If you are at liberty to dine where you please to day, I shall be glad of your Company; my Dame being from home, and I quite Master of the House.

Your hum<sup>bl</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

B. Franklin.

*Benjamin Franklin to Thomas Penn, London.*Philad<sup>a</sup> May 30. 1754.

Sir,

M<sup>r</sup> Peters has communicated to me a Paragraph of your Letter of Feb<sup>r</sup> 1. relating to a Plan desired by Sir Everard Fawkener, for the Extension of Correspondence, without any View to present Advantage. Immediately after the Treaty at Albany, M<sup>r</sup> Hunter and I are to proceed on a Journey thro' all the Northern Colonies, to visit all the Post Offices, and see every thing with our own Eyes; after which we may be able to project some Plan of that kind, less imperfect than the best we can at present offer.

I beg Leave to return you my Thanks for your favourable Character of me to Sir Everard, and for the Assurances you are pleas'd to give me of your friendly



Offices. If in any thing I could possibly be serviceable to you, it would give me great Pleasure, as I am, with the sincerest Respect & Esteem, Sir,

Your Hon<sup>rs</sup> most obedient

and most humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

Honble. Tho<sup>s</sup> Penn, Esq<sup>r</sup>

B. Franklin.

*Benjamin Franklin to Gov. Sir Francis Bernard.*

Philad<sup>a</sup> Feb. 21. 1764.

Sir

I ought sooner to have answered yours of the 23<sup>d</sup> past, but the dangerous Riots and Tumults we have lately had here, took up all our Attention.

I hope M<sup>r</sup> Bernard is well with you before this time. As our Navigation was stopt by the Ice, and it was uncertain when our River would be open, and a good Vessel offer for Boston, I thought it might be best for him to proceed by Land, especially as he could have Col. Elliot's Company so great a Part of the Journey. They parted, however, at New York, M<sup>r</sup> Bernard meeting there with Company going in the Packet to Rhode-island.

I have no Receipts for Pickling either Sturgeon or Salmon, but will endeavour to procure you one for Sturgeon. In my Opinion a great deal depends on the kind of Salt to be used. For this I would refer you to Brownrigg's Book where you may find what Salt the Dutch use for their Herrings. There is an alkaline corrosive Quality in common coarse Salt, which must be corrected by some Acid, in the Boiling or Refining of it. The Dutch use Buttermilk, I think, for that purpose. I am, with great Respect,

Your Excell<sup>ys</sup> most obedient

& most humble Servant

B. Franklin.

P. S. I send the Account of my Disbursements,





which if you please may be paid to M<sup>r</sup> Jonathan Williams, Merch<sup>t</sup> Boston, for my Acc<sup>t</sup>.

Governor Bernard

*Benjamin Franklin to General Anthony Wayne.*

Philad<sup>a</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 28. 1776

Dear Sir,

I have received two of your Favours, which were immediately communicated to the Board of War, who are a Committee of Congress appointed to take Care of every thing in that Department, and who will I make no doubt take the necessary Measures for supplying Wants. But as America is new in the Business of Providing for Armies, there must be for a time Deficiencies that are very inconvenient to the Troops, & which Experience only can bring us into the Mode of Preventing I am pleas'd to find your People bear them with a Soldierly Spirit, and I hope they will soon be remedied.

A general Action is every day expected at New York. If the Enemy is beaten, it will probably be decisive as to them; for they can hardly produce such another Armament for another Campaign: But our growing Country can bear considerable Losses, & recover them, so that a Defeat on our part will not by any means occasion our giving up the Cause. Much depends on the Bravery of you who are posted at Ticonderoga. If you prevent the Junction of the two Armies, their Project for the year will be broken, the Credit of the British Arms thro'out Europe and of the Ministry in England will be demolish'd & the Nation grow sick of the Contest.

I am much oblig'd by your Draft of the Situation of our Troops & of the Defences. I pray heartily for your Success, not doubting you will deserve it.

The greatest Unanimity continues in the Congress. The Convention of this Province is sitting, engag'd in



framing a new Government. The greatest Part of our Militia are in New Jersey. Arms & Ammunition are daily arriving, the French Government having resolved to wink at the Supplying of us: So that in another Year our People throughout the Continent will be both better arm'd & better disciplin'd, as most of them will have some Experience of a Camp Life & actual Service.

Present my best Respects to General Gates, and believe me, with sincere Esteem, Dear Sir

Your most obedient

humble Servant

B. Franklin.

Col. Wayne.



SIX LETTERS OF "SIGNERS" in "ACTIVE SERVICE."

(Selected from the Conarroe Collection, Manuscript Division, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

*John Hancock to Thomas Cushing.*

Dear Sir

Philadelphia March 7, 1776.

I wrote you of yesterday's Date by an Express under Cover to General Washington, when I inform'd you every Circumstance that Occurr'd necessary for your Gouernment as to the Ships. I hope soon to hear of your having Rec'd my Letter & the Twenty five thousand Dollars as well as the plans all which I Sent under the Care of Co<sup>m</sup> Bull & that I shall soon have a Rec<sup>t</sup> for the money. I have been oblig'd to Detain M<sup>r</sup> Avery longer than I intended, owing to the urgent Business of Congress & the necessary attendance of the Members in Congress, which has prevented the Meetings of the Marine Committee & of Consequence Retarded their Business, which has Delay'd M<sup>r</sup> Avery. I now inclose you the Dimensions of every thing necessary for your Guidance in matters respecting the Ships & other Appurtenances, what further Occurs to you necessary, let me Know & the Directions shall be transmitted you. I now Beg you will Set every Wheel in Motion, employ every Man that can be usefull in the different Branches, procure every Necessary that can be obtain'd with you, the Deficiencies Acquaint me of, & I will Endeavour to Supply them from hence, in short Exert every Nerve to promote Dispatch, let the heads & Galleries for the Ships be neatly Carv'd & Executed, I leave the Device to you, but by all means let ours be as good, handsome, strong, & as early Completed as any that are building here or in any of the other Colonies, for your Reputation & mine is at stake, & there are not wanting those



who are fond of prejudicing both. I have order'd Two hundred pieces of Duck from New York Set the Sail Makers at work. Iron I hope you will find with you if not let me know as soon as possible, & I will send some, tho' at present there is none to be purchas'd in the City owing to the badness of the Roads.

I send you by M<sup>r</sup> Avery a further Supply of Money in Bills & Dollars, the Bills I took to oblige the Gentlemen, please to Return them immediately to me if not honour'd, & if paid Send me a Receipt for the whole Sum, & Employ the Money in the Service of the Ships for the Publick Acco<sup>t</sup>—The Bills & money as follows, Viz<sup>t</sup>

William Barrell & Jon <sup>a</sup> Miffin Jun <sup>r</sup> Bill on		
Thomas Miffin of this Date for	Dollars	6000
William Barrell on Joseph Barrell d <sup>o</sup> date		1000
Andrew Cabot on Cap <sup>t</sup> George Dodge of } Salem d <sup>o</sup> date }		4000
		<hr/>
The above Bills you will find Inclos'd		11000
In Continental Bills deliver'd to M <sup>r</sup> John Avery		19000
		<hr/>
	Dollars	30000

Do be Carefull to Engage good Blockmakers & let every Article be well Executed.

In writing my several Letters to you previous to this Date, I had not time to take Copies I must therefore Beg at your Leisure you will please to favour me with exact Copies of all together with the first instruction deliver'd you on your leaving Philad<sup>a</sup> this as soon as you can.

I was in hopes of being able to Send you the Dimensions of Rigging &c, but the Comittee are not Ready, however if you are Ready before you hear from me, do not wait, but Employ the best Judges and follow their Advice, I however Inclose you the Estimate of the Report with respect to Cables & Anchors, the other





smaller Cables & Anchors necessary Determine with you if you do not hear timely from me.

I have nothing New to Communicate. Do write me often & give me every Occurrence. I hope you will Send me my Commission as Major General that I may Appear in Character I assure you this Appointm<sup>t</sup> pleases me, I think I know a little of the Duty, & on my Return I will Endeavour under the Direction of your Board to put the Militia upon a Respectable footing, I will not be wanting.

My utmost Exertions shall never be withheld for the Good of my Colony, whenever they can be usefull they shall be Employ'd in that Service however Dangerous, and I Defy Malice itself to Contradict the Sincerity & uprightness of those assertions.

I Beg to be Remembred to all Friends. The Inclos'd Letters I Beg you will order to be Deliver'd, that to M<sup>r</sup> Bant is of Consequence, I therefore Request your particular Care of it.

M<sup>rs</sup> Hancock Joines me in best Respects to your good Lady, & Family & I am very truly, D<sup>r</sup> Sir

Your Real Friend

& hum Sv<sup>t</sup>

Hon<sup>l</sup> Tho<sup>s</sup> Cushing Esq<sup>r</sup>

John Hancock

*William Ellery to William C. Houston.*

D<sup>r</sup> Sir

Yorktown Febr<sup>y</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> 1778.

I received your letter seasonably and have sent its inclosure to M<sup>r</sup> Marchant. I have been under much concern for my good old landlord and his family, but my solicitude is relieved by his appointment to the office of a hospital chaplain in the middle department; an appointment for which he is greatly indebted to our worthy friend President Witherspoon.

When I left Philadelphia I fully expected to have returned to it,—to have spent many useful and pleasant evenings with M<sup>r</sup> Sproat and you, in untying some



metaphysical Knot, in attending to your solution of some mathematical problem or physical question, and catching, by Snatches, some knowledge of the French Language;—but alas!—instead of this pleasure I am condemned to drag through the winter amidst a people who have but one idea, and whose manners are as different from the english as their language.

You, it seems, have leaped out of the frying-pan into the fire of business. What think you of leaping back again? Mr Rush hath resigned, and the office of Dep: Sec: is now vacant. But you are become a parliament man and are immersed in politicks; and perhaps, mounted in the chariot of glory, look down upon so low an office with disregard. Come then a delegate. I should be exceedingly glad to see you here in any shape. I received a letter from Mr Channing a few days ago. He and his family, and mine were well when he wrote. your kind Inquiry after their health, and your wishes to see my spectacles are very obliging. I should rejoice to speak to you and your good lady face to face as a man speaketh to his friend.

We have not taken Rhode-Island yet. Inglorious Expedition. We have lost Philadelphia!—But this would be nothing if avarice and peculation did not rage irresistibly. The Love of country & public virtue are annihilated. If Diogenes were alive, and were to search America with candles, would he find an honest man?—I knew an honest man once in office. Believe me to be his Friend

William Ellery

P. S. Dr Witherspoon }  
will acquaint you with a }  
Resolve of Congress lately }  
passed, which may give }  
some check to the Shoals }  
of Officers who are rioting }  
on the Spoils of the Pub- }  
lick }



*Roger Sherman to Gov. Jonathan Trumbull.*

Sir

Philadelphia April 17<sup>th</sup> 1777.

Congress is desirous if possible to Subdue the Enemy that are in this Country before a reinforcement can arrive, the Smallpox has greatly retarded the recruits Joyning the Army. We had information some time ago that preparations were making to attack the Enemy on Rhode-Island & dislodge them—why it has not been executed we have not been informed—a resolution passed Yesterday recommending to the State of Rhode Island to raise its whole force, to the Massachusetts & Connecticut States, to raise their Militia in the neighbourhood of Rhode Island, to attack the Enemy, & have directed General Washington to order a Suitable continental General officer to Command there—The President has Sent copies of the resolution to the Several States concerned.—Enclosed are resolutions to forward the recruiting Service—& some alterations of the Articles for the government of the Army—The Inclosed News Paper contains a list of Surgeons & Physicians appointed for the Hospitals. Among whom is Doct<sup>r</sup> Phillip Turner; Doct<sup>r</sup> Foster gives him a very good Character in a letter to a member of Congress—Your Hon<sup>r</sup> will have a Copy of the regulations of the Hospitals & the Pay of the persons to be Employed in the public Papers—The pay I think is very high. but Physicians in the Southern States are used to high Pay—

our last Letter from Doct<sup>r</sup> Franklin & M<sup>r</sup> Dean was dated the 6th of February—No Treaty had been then concluded Some probability that France & Spain would make war with Great Britain but nothing certainly determined on—both French and Spainiards favour our cause—Accounts from England are that the Kings Subjects have lost 1,800,000£ by the American Cruisers. That Insurance is at 23 per cent—That the



Ministry intend to bend their force again New England to Extirpate them & enslave the Inhabitants of the Southern States—There has been talk that the Enemy designs to come to this City but I dont think they will attempt it before they are reinforced—I wish Some of the other Delegates of Connecticut would attend Congress, the Confederation will be entered on Next Monday & finished as soon as possible. I write in haste as the Hon<sup>ble</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Collens of Rhode Island by whom I send this waits. I am with great Regard your

Hon<sup>rs</sup> obedient humble Servant

Roger Sherman

Governor Trumbull

*Oliver Wolcott to Gov. Jonathan Trumbull.*

Horseneck July 30<sup>th</sup> 1779.

Sir

I informed your Excell<sup>y</sup> in my last Letter of the—Ins<sup>t</sup> that the Main Body of the Enemy lay from East Chester to near Dobbs Ferry—Yesterday Morning they had orders to march at 5 °Clock, at which time all their Baggage was put up, at 4 °Clock they received Counter Orders I suppose on Account of the badness of the Weather, at 4 °Clock P. M. they were in the same Condition waiting for orders, their shipping are at New York Clinton is at Phillips House Tryon in that Neighborhood. Scarcely any Troops in New York—no Reinforcements came with Cornwallis, the conjectures among the British Officers are very various what their next operations shall be: I conceive that it will not be against West Point; but whether they will be directed here at the Eastward or otherwise can be a matter of Conjecture only—An Officer of very Considerable Rank in the British Army was heard to say, that the Burning Fairfield &c was to induce Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington to divide his Army; what the Chagrin of the Enemy may now produce I will not Conjecture; should





the Enemy move to New York evidently indicating a design to embark, I shall go on to the Eastward leaving the Detachment here.

I have sent to Colonel Mead to come forward with his Regiment as soon as possible—I have given every Information to General Washington. He wrote to me generally that he will afford every Aid to this Quarter Consistent with the general Defence.

There are no Regular Troops in this State but Gen<sup>l</sup> Glovers Brigade at Ridgefield,—I hope that by this Time some of the Regular Troops are directed to move this way, but for this hope have no other reason than that they are wanted—Since writing the Above I have rec<sup>d</sup> a Letter from Gen<sup>l</sup> Heath Observing that in case the Enemy shall move to the Eastward he hopes that succour will be afforded.

I am Sir with great Esteem  
your Excellencys

Most Obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

His Excell<sup>r</sup> Gov. Trumbull.

Oliver Wolcott

*Dr. Benjamin Rush to James Searle.*

Dear Sir.

Before this reaches you you will have heard of the loss of Fort Mifflin on the Delaware after a gallant defence of five weeks. It is impossible to do justice to the Officers & Soldiers who defended it. I was a Witness for one day (last week) of their patience and fortitude under the most complicated dangers & sufferings. Showers of Balls-bombs & carcasses were the smallest part of them. Their breast work was demolished—all their Cannon (except one) were silenced—Their barracks and Block houses were burnt & shattered to pieces so that the whole garrison (500 in number) were reduced to the necessity of lying under the cover of the stone wall (built by M<sup>r</sup> Galloway) on the wet ground without fires or any other covering than a



blanket. Yet under these circumstances did these brave fellows appear cheerful, & declare to the last that they never would yield the Island but to a storm—Which was the case for they were driven at last from it only by the Grape Shot & musquetry of the enemy from One of their Ships. Britain in the height of her glory when she fought for liberty never saw her sons perform more gallant exploits than the ragged Sons of liberty performed who fell in the defence of that Island.

News of every kind from Philad<sup>a</sup> is reflected thr'o so many dense Mediums that it is difficult to know what to communicate for truth to you. All parties agree that the inhabitants suffer greatly from want—that Howe's Army is dispirited—that the timid & doubtful are becoming firm Whigs—M<sup>r</sup> Duche only excepted whose letter shows that his conversion is complete, but to the *Other* side of the question. M<sup>r</sup> Hopkinson has written a spirited letter to him, in which he charges him with a hundred falsehoods especially in that part of the letter which relates to himself, & his conduct about the time of the Declaration of Independence.

My Dear Julia, & the whole family join in Affectionate regards to you & M<sup>rs</sup> Searle with D<sup>r</sup> Sir

Your

[aff]ectionate

Hble

Servant

Princetown

B. Rush

Nov<sup>r</sup> 19, 1777.

*Cæsar Rodney to Col. David Hall.*

Dover April the 20<sup>th</sup> 1781.

Sir

You will find by General Smallwood's letter addressed to me, and sent to you by Captain James Moore for your perusal, the pressing necessity there is for



immediately filling, and Convening at a proper place, the Delaware Regiment so that they may be Marched to the Southward where it is intended they shall Act. As Captain Moor is the Oldest Officer now in this State and belonging to the Regiment, except yourself, I have sent him to you to know whether you mean immediately to take an Active part in this most important business, and inform me of it, so that I may know to whom I am to issue my Orders from time to time as occasion may require—My present orders are that all the Soldiers belonging to the Delaware Regiment, as well those who were formerly inlisted for the War, as those inlisted in virtue of the late Act of Assembly, shall be as soon as possible convened at Christiana Bridge and there wait my orders for Marching agreeably to the Act. Those that hereafter may be got by the recruiting officers for the different Counties are also to be forwarded to the same place without the least delay. I am persuaded that your attachment to the Cause and inclination to discharge your Duty will be sufficient inducements for you immediately to set about this business or commit it to such of your officers as will do it, in which from their former attachment to, and activity in this best of Causes, I may venture to say you cannot go amiss. You will be pleased to let me hear from you by Captain Moore, and believe me to be

Sir your Most

Obed<sup>t</sup> Hum<sup>l</sup> Servant

Coll Hall.

C. Rodney



**Hon. Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker, LL.D.**

It is with deep regret that we announce the death of Hon. Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker, LL.D., President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and Chairman of the Trustees of the Publication Fund, which took place at Pennypacker's Mills on September 2, 1916. He was born April 9, 1843, at Phoenixville, Penna. He was elected an Active Member of the Society March 25, 1872; Councillor, May 26, 1879; Vice-President, May 4, 1885, and President May 14, 1900; also Trustee of the Gilpin Library, April 7, 1887, and Trustee of the Ferdinand J. Dreer Collection of Manuscripts, November 7, 1900. The numerous historical papers and translations which he contributed to the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY are characterized by that thorough research for which he enjoyed so eminent a reputation.

With the degree of Bachelor of Laws, conferred on him by the University of Pennsylvania, he was admitted to practice at the Philadelphia Bar in 1866; the year following was elected President of the Law Academy; in 1887, was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of the United States; from 1889-1902, served as Judge of the Court of Common Pleas No. 2; he was selected a member of the Board of Education in 1886 and served three years. In 1902, he was elected Governor of the Commonwealth, and after his term expired served on the Valley Forge Park Commission, the Pennsylvania State Railroad Commission and the Public Service Commission.

Governor Pennypacker was a Trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, which conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws, as have also Franklin and Marshall College and Muhlenberg College.

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## In Memoriam

### Hon. Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker.

At a stated meeting of the Council of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, held October 23, 1916, the following Minute, presented by Hon. Charlemagne Tower, was adopted:

By the death of The Honorable Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker, on the 2d of September, 1916, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania is called upon not only to mourn the loss of its President but is deprived of one of its oldest members and most devoted friends. For more than forty years his attachment to its interests has proved to be a force constantly exerted toward the growth and development of the Society and the extension of its influence throughout the Commonwealth.

Governor Pennypacker became an active member of The Historical Society on the 25th of March, 1872. He was elected to the office of Councillor in May, 1879, from which time until his death the Council of the Society has enjoyed, in the course of its deliberations, the great benefit of his wide experience and ripe judgment. He was made a Vice-President on the 4th of May, 1885, and was elected President on May 14, 1900.

As the Chief Executive of the State of Pennsylvania, Governor Pennypacker's personality became widely known both in the administrative and the social life of its people; in consequence of which his opinions, publicly expressed on many notable occasions, made an impress on the minds of his fellow-citizens and contributed largely to the formation of the popular sentiment of the time in which he lived.



A man of sturdy character, upright in all his purposes, he was firm in the tenacity with which he held to the convictions that he had formed and to his ideals of justice and right. But, endowed as he was with a highly philosophical power of thought and reason, his criticism of men was tempered with gentleness, while his contact with others was invariably influenced by a natural desire on his part to be kind.

Above all a loyal son of Pennsylvania, he was always ready to render service to his native State in public or in private life, and through his devotion to the cause which he had thus so near at heart,—to the seeking out of facts relating to its early settlement, its laws, its people and its general progress from the landing of William Penn, he turned his thought toward The Historical Society with an interest which grew stronger as the years went by.

It may fairly be said that the welfare of this Society became not only a source of pride to him but one of the chief interests also of his life. He gave proof of this by the valuable historical writings and essays that he contributed in connection with its work, but especially so by the solicitude which he manifested and the conspicuous aid that he rendered to The Society in the erection of the building which it occupies at present and in which its archives are safely preserved.

The Society has lost a faithful benefactor. A foremost citizen of Pennsylvania is gone.

In entering this note upon their minutes, the Council of The Historical Society desire to record the expression of their esteem for Governor Pennypacker as a man and of the respect with which they cherish his memory as a colleague and a friend.

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## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## Notes.

## LIST OF REV. JOHN SHARPE'S COMMUNICANT MEMBERS, 1712.—

In the parchment bound book containing the journal of Rev. John Sharpe, of New York, are numerous entries relating to his congregation, not to be found in the journal, among them, the following list of the names of those communicant members, who participated at the Holy Communion during the year 1712:

1711/2. *Epiphany*: Communicants at the Chappel 14: His Excy & Lady Capt Gordon & his wife Capt Riggs & his wife I and mine Coll Weems Mr Stuart Mr Neau Coll Morris Mr Harrison Mr Marston. Offertory, £4.14.0.

1712. *Easter*: Communicants. His Excy & Lady Mr Marston Mr Willox Coll Weems Mr Riggs & his wife Chief Justice Mr Byerly Mr Wildman. Offertory, £3.13.6.

1712. *White Sunday*: Com. 8. His Excy Coll Riggs & his wife Mr Barclay and his wife, Mr. Buckthorn, Mary a negro. Offertory, £2.0.10½.

1712. *Augt 3*. Communicants 11. His Excy, my Lady, Mr Clarke & his Lady, Coll. Weems, D<sup>r</sup> Johnston, M<sup>r</sup> Harrison, M<sup>rs</sup> Riggs, Mr Neau & D<sup>r</sup> Gaudeneau. Offertory, £3.10.0.

1712. *October 5th*. Communicants 14. His Excy My Lady, Maria y<sup>e</sup> free negrin. M<sup>r</sup> Neau, Mr Harrison, Mr Regnier, Coll Weems, M<sup>rs</sup> Duncan, Capt Symes, M<sup>rs</sup> Willis, M<sup>r</sup> Hyndman, M<sup>rs</sup> Regnier, M<sup>rs</sup> Riggs. Offertory, £2.19.9.

1712. *Decr 25*. Communicants 18. His Excy my Lady, Mr Clk & his, M<sup>r</sup> Riggs & his, Capt Oliver & his, M<sup>rs</sup> Garland, Coll Weems. Mr Regnier & his Lady, Capt Holland, Capt Symes, Mr Wilman John Hodge, Maria. Offertory £3.10.

1713. *March 15th*. Communicants 10. His Excy my Lady, Maria, Coll Weems D<sup>r</sup> Johnston Mr Beys M<sup>rs</sup> Riggs Mr Duprè Mr Marr. Offertory £2.16.0.

## INCIDENTS CONCERNING SIX BRITISH OFFICERS, PRISONERS OF WAR, AT EASTON, PENNA.

Elias Boudinot, Commissary General of Prisoners, Continental Army, while on a visit to New York City in March of 1778, ascertained that three American officers had been confined for six months in the Provost, and on his return to camp, directed Robert L. Hooper, Jr., at Easton, Pa., to confine Lieuts. Van Boskirk and Earle, Dr. Hammel and Commissary Brown, British prisoners of war: "You will, therefore, be pleased to confine those Gentlemen without delay, letting them know the reason of this severity towards them. I earnestly solicited the enlargement of our officers, urging that otherwise I should be reduced to the necessity of this Retaliation, but I was answered that this could not be helped."

In May, Hooper wrote to Boudinot: "I have got them to represent to Gen. Skinner and their friends on Staten Island, that they are in close confinement by your special order, to retaliate for those gentlemen confined in New York. I think if Earle or Buskirk could go in [to New York], they might perhaps effect an exchange, by which our poor fellows in the Provost would be relieved."



Robert L. Hooper, Jr., to Elias Boudinot.

Easton, May 23<sup>d</sup> 1778.

Dear Sir,

When your Letter of the 12<sup>th</sup> Inst. came to my office I was at Camp, which has occasioned the detention of Mess<sup>rs</sup> Earle, Van Buskirk, Doctor Hammil & Commissary Brown—I have now sent them escorted by Peter B. Tearse, Esq<sup>r</sup> Adjutant to the First New York Battalion, who will deliver them to you at M<sup>r</sup> White's Tavern as you was pleased to direct—I rejoice at the enlargement of our worthy Friends—I saw and embraced Magaw & Lennox at Camp, Byles and the whole Corps are gone to Congress to represent their situation—Sure this State will not deny these Brave Sons of Liberty the rank they have so dearly earned in the Service of their Country—I am now to solicit your Interest in favour of a few more unfortunate men taken at Fort Washington—Cap<sup>t</sup> John Dean in Col<sup>o</sup> Rawling's Regiment of the State of Maryland is the Brother of my worthy Friend & Citizen Col<sup>o</sup> Joseph Dean, Lieutenant Isaac Shymer is also a Neighbour of mine—I request you'll be pleased to endeavour to get these Gentlemen Exchanged or Enlarged on parole—Col<sup>o</sup> Peter Kachlein who was taken on Long Island, was a Lieut. Colonel in the Flying Camp—he is a wealthy German has great influence over the Germans and would be very useful to us if he was exchanged. He is now on Parole and at his House near this Town—You'll do essential Service if you can get this man Exchanged—Won't Dikins do for him—

Mess<sup>rs</sup> Brown &c<sup>a</sup> have behaved very well, they don't require any money from me and I think have punctually paid their Debts—

I am very sincerely

Your most hble Servant

R. L. Hooper Jr.

P.S. Lieut. Joseph Martin of the Flying Camp was taken on Long Island; he is a worthy man—be pleased to include him in the number of possible.

R. L. Hooper Jr.

On May 26, Hooper wrote to Boudinot concerning two other British officers:

"Messrs Finch and Hankey were taken at Mud Island, and were for sometime under my care—they were sent by your order to go to Dumfries, but were, under a promise of being exchanged soon, detained by Mr. Peters in Yorktown, but being seen conversing with some privates, prisoners of war, were ordered by Mr. Peters to a room where they were confined for three months. *They were not culpable of any breach of their Parole.* When I was at Yorktown in March Gen. Gates was pleased to deliver them to me and they have since been on their parole at Nazareth, and are still there. Mr. Hankey is the son of a noted banker in London, and a genteel well bred man. They are men of honour, have behaved well, they are prudent and keep out of the way—I must therefore, recommend them to your notice."

Robert L. Hooper, Jr., to Elias Boudinot.

Easton June 13<sup>th</sup> 1778

Dear Sir,

I have sent under the care of M<sup>r</sup> Henry Shouse eleven prisoners of war & List inclosed—they are all that are left of the British prisoners except one, who is too ill to move—Except the three persons that were cutting wood last Fall not one Man has attempted to escape—General Pulaski has enlisted 16 of the British prisoners of War and detains them, & about thirty died since I rec<sup>d</sup> your Orders to Confine them in a close Goal—I am collecting in the Hessians & they shall set out





tomorrow but I think they'll go reluctantly & I think will escape if they can—they wish to stay with us—

Lieutenant Finch and Ensign Hankey are all the Officers under my Care, and they now go to meet you accompanied by Colo: Kachlein, who at my particular request has been so obliging as to escort these Gentlemen—If in procuring Colo: Kachlein's Exchange any security or parole in any way is necessary to set his Character in a better light I will subscribe to any engagement he makes, for I know him to be a Man of Strict Honor, an Honest Man & a True Whig.

I am, D<sup>r</sup> Sir

Your most humb<sup>l</sup>e Serv<sup>t</sup>

R. L. Hooper Jr.

LETTER OF WILLIAM RAKESTRAW TO WILLIAM PENN.

Philad: 11: 3<sup>m</sup> 1702.

Honoured Governour

I have a Story to thee of a poor man that 18 years agoe Bought Land of thee or thy agent and p<sup>d</sup> his ready moneys for it & was promised to have it surveyed & Layd to him at his arrivall here, y<sup>e</sup> man w<sup>th</sup> all expedition comes expecting his bargaine, & applyd himself to the Surveyor Gen<sup>l</sup> w<sup>th</sup> a spetiall letter of request from thy agent P:fford to have his s<sup>d</sup> Lotts & Lands Survey'd & The Surveyor tells a Lye the first word he Speak to him, & Saïd thou should have had a good Lott indeed, but it is all Sould from thee by the Gen<sup>l</sup> him Selve, The poor man w<sup>th</sup> a great family (at his Witts end) could take no better course at this report then to give away all his title to it for a Smale Inconsiderable value supposing y<sup>e</sup> Survey<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> had spok true, to omitt y<sup>e</sup> hardships the poor man & his family went thro<sup>b</sup> for 15 or 16 years & Informed thy self of his bad fare, to litle purpose, at last y<sup>e</sup> poor man discovers the ease & finds all his front lott is not sould, & then applyd him self to thee, tho<sup>b</sup> he gave his right away before, as he solemnly averrs thou knew, after 18 mo deliberate consideration thou tells the pson he shall have his s<sup>d</sup> Lott beeing but 21 foot: y<sup>c</sup> was not by thy self sould, as y<sup>e</sup> Surv<sup>r</sup> G<sup>l</sup> s<sup>d</sup>, & orders him to goe to Ja: Logan secretary, for warr<sup>t</sup> &c. Nevertheless all this time spent to consider of it, y<sup>e</sup> next day thou says no must Not now have it, thou knew not C: P: had so good a lott in line of his front observe tho<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> poor man never could get a foot in y<sup>e</sup> town yet; w<sup>ch</sup> could he have don had never gave away his 2500 acres for 10<sup>l</sup> lest then first cost: Gove<sup>r</sup> thou knows y<sup>e</sup> Case & y<sup>e</sup> pson too w<sup>th</sup>out any further description. I have writ as brief as possible, y<sup>e</sup> Arbitrators to end it, have not Ended it. I am as I was I had layd open my case to a brother I have in London but Tho. Story thought not fitt to send it D<sup>r</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> I was promised kindnes from thee but I never red value of 5<sup>s</sup> yet but in stead of kindnes thou w<sup>th</sup> Councell has made my father in law Guardian to an Estate out of thy own province & power to the Losse of this poor man neer 20<sup>l</sup> pp ann, Gov<sup>r</sup> thou knows I writ truth, I have had hard measure but to say I am Cheated too. is to hard Language, But I'll only Instance my Case; I bought Land of thee & only promised thee moneys for it when thou goes for England, & I leave y<sup>e</sup> money w<sup>th</sup> my attorney, yet ere thou cum to it I order s<sup>d</sup> moneys to other vses. at least my attorney tells, thee so but dos not dispose of it, yet thou art not p<sup>d</sup> nor like to be nor by any means can find a way to get it, thou sells my bonds [for] a trifle & after vnd<sup>r</sup>stands my effects still rest in my attornys hands art thou not cheated by somebody, & I think I ought to consider it & would, or else be content to be accounted—But this is y<sup>e</sup> c[ase] & all y<sup>c</sup> can be reasonably objected I took a lott at upper end of y<sup>e</sup> [ ] in full content for all &c: granted, I die could I have got it but it was granted to me & was the same year (or neer it) sould to



Jo: W[ ] for a very smale value (I mean y<sup>e</sup> front) & y<sup>e</sup> banks I throw upp again, So Gov<sup>r</sup> I am beholding to thee for nothing yet, but hope I would I had but faith enough, that thou would take a litle pitty on me at la[st] But tho<sup>h</sup> my Case were so good I must Submitt it to Curtisie, but confeste my stomach is so bigg y<sup>t</sup> I resolve to maintaine my controversie till I am redr[essed] by somebody. Because I know I am too great a sufferer & to beare all w<sup>th</sup> silence my Children would blame me when I'm rotten.

Therefore I beseech thee doe not forse me to expose my po[or] litle 21 foot Case as James Logan has heer (to the Coffee house judge) elsewhere, Gov<sup>r</sup> my true desire is for thy welfare.

Vale

W R.

Besides all this the bank lott That W<sup>m</sup> Markh[am] Begged of him self & one more & sould it p<sup>r</sup>sonbly neer 50<sup>l</sup> pray Gov<sup>r</sup> this ought to have been mine who must I expect Justice from but thee for all these But for what I see none I get nor, like to get that putts me uppon such mediums as [I] dont like.

LIST OF GRAND AND PETTY JURYMEN, PHILADELPHIA COUNTY 'COURTS,  
SEPTEMBER, 1701.

## Grand Jury.

Abraham Carpenter	Tho: Coates
John ffisher	Emanuell Walker
Jos: Kerle	John Parsons
Abram Hooper	W <sup>m</sup> Lee
Tho: Griffith	John Boueher
Henry Badcock	W <sup>m</sup> Jenkins
John Budd Jun <sup>r</sup>	John Roberts
Tho Wharton	Rob <sup>t</sup> fletcher
W <sup>m</sup> Bevon	Rich <sup>d</sup> Taylor
John Howard	Rob <sup>t</sup> Yeildhall
Jacob Coffin	Penticost Teague
Tho Bibb	Nath Edgcomb
W <sup>m</sup> Hearne	Daniel Howel
David Giffing	

## Petty Jury.

Tho: Hall	Sm <sup>l</sup> Nicholls
W <sup>m</sup> Powell	Hugh Durborough
W <sup>m</sup> Chalker	W <sup>m</sup> Coleman
Geo: Emblin	John Nise
Rob <sup>t</sup> Burrus	Nehemiah Allen
David Brintnall	Darby Green
William fforrest	W <sup>m</sup> Sea
Geo: Harman	W <sup>m</sup> Bevon
Antho: Sturgis	John Boueher
John Kinsey	

## LETTER OF A. S. HAMMOND TO SIR ALURED CLARKE

Somerset Place 17<sup>th</sup> May 1800

Dear Sir Alured,

A Letter I have just received from M<sup>rs</sup> Arnold, requesting I will recommend her son to your care & protection, puts me in mind of the winter we passed at Philadelphia in 1777, when we were all in love with her as Peggy Shipping. She soon after married Gen<sup>l</sup> Arnold, and her eldest son Edward, the Bearer of this, goes out this Season as a Cadet to India. The young Man has had a good Education, and having had him a good deal under my own Eye for this last year, I think I



may say he is well disposed, and carries about with him the spirit of a gentleman.

I enclose to you by her desire the Certificates he has obtained at Woolwich of his application & proficiency in his military studies at that place, which I trust will be a recommendation to him in his profession; and if you are so good as to countenance & befriend him I have no doubt of his doing well; but I desire to be understood not to ask any thing for him if he proves undeserving.

I hope you continue to enjoy your health, and that the time is not very distant when we shall again have you among us.

Ever my Dear Sir,

Y<sup>rs</sup> most sincerely

L<sup>t</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Sir Alured Clarke K. B. &c.

A. S. Hammond

LETTER OF ADMIRAL SIR WILLIAM PENN, 1655.

Gen<sup>t</sup>

Hereinclosed yo<sup>u</sup> shall receive the copie of my Lre sent yo<sup>u</sup> by Capt Henry Collins Comand<sup>r</sup> of the Malago Merch<sup>t</sup> on y<sup>e</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> instant, since which time there hath happened nothing extraordinary. & should then have told yo<sup>u</sup> that after y<sup>e</sup> finishing my Letter, it was thought fitt that 9 or 10 other English Vessells, some bound home, others for New England, & Virginia, & being all ready to saile, should be permitted to depart with Capt. Collins. I ordred them to sayle all in company toget soe far as should be in their way to y<sup>e</sup> respective Ports to w<sup>ch</sup> they were bound. & writ yo<sup>u</sup> alsoe then y<sup>t</sup> o<sup>r</sup> intencions were to depart hence on the 24<sup>th</sup> instant, but we have not been able, untill now, to finish o<sup>r</sup> buisnesse here. I am glad, we have at Last brought it to an end, & that y<sup>e</sup> Army is all shipt, & the fleet now under sayle. The p<sup>r</sup>sence of the Lord I hope wilbe with us for good.

We have Left with the Governo<sup>r</sup> of this place Instructions concerning o<sup>r</sup> Stores in y<sup>e</sup> Ships w<sup>ch</sup> are not yet arrived here, and I have Lodged w<sup>th</sup> him alsoe Ord<sup>s</sup> for the Command<sup>rs</sup> of those Ships of o<sup>r</sup> fleet w<sup>ch</sup> are not come vnto vs, to follow, after they shall have reached this place & convoy the Ammunition & stores downe to vs, if themselves cannot take it in Having nothing else worth yo<sup>r</sup> trouble, & hoping yo<sup>u</sup> wilbe mindful of provisions for vs. I remaine

Gent

Your very affecon<sup>t</sup> & humble

Servant

ffrom on bord y<sup>e</sup>

Swiftsure at Barbadas

This 31<sup>th</sup> of March 1655.

W<sup>m</sup> Penn

LETTER OF ZACHARIAH HOOD TO GOVERNOR HORATIO SHARPE

The Writer of the following letter was stampmaster for Maryland. After undergoing much disgrace he was made governor of Turk's Island, where he is said to have died.

Sir

I make no doubt but what your Exceiley<sup>s</sup> is Acquainted with the proceedings of the mobb this Last night, the House I take they have puld down, and they are determined to destroy all my Good's which are in M<sup>r</sup> Condons warehouse and I myself murdered. I must Abide the Consequence and depend upon your Exce. protection if that will not protect me, I must Submitt to my Fate. the Ringleaders are well know. They are preparing again to Day.—where to be in saftey I dont know, Except your Exce: will be pleased to Take me. I am

Sir Your Very Hum Ser<sup>t</sup>

Sept. 3. 1765.

Zack: Hood

To

His Exec. Hor. Sharp Esq<sup>r</sup>



## ORDER OF WILLIAM MARKHAM TO THOMAS HOLME.

By the Livet Governo<sup>r</sup>

Whereas the Inhabitants of the first Dublin townshipp in the Countie of Philadelphia in the Province of Pennsylvania have petitioned the Livet Governo<sup>r</sup> and Councill to Continoue and Confirm to them the roade from the said townshipp to Walter florests mill. . . The Livet Governor with advice and Consent of the Councill doe Confirm the same roade And doe hereby Require the Surveyo<sup>r</sup> generall to Lay outt the same accordingle, And to make Return thereof into the Servies office dated att Philadelphia in the Province of Pennsylvania the 19<sup>th</sup> day of September Annoq Domi 1693:

W<sup>m</sup> Markham

To Capt Thomas Holme  
Surveyor genrll of the  
Province of Pennsylvania

8ber y<sup>e</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> 1693

Oredered Peeter Taylor To Execute  
this warrant.

## LETTER OF JAMES HARISON TO WILLIAM PENN.

Pensbury y<sup>e</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> of 9mo: 1686

Will: Penn

And welbeloued friend & Governor by these thou may know y<sup>t</sup> I have drawne three bills all of this date & of one tennuer for y<sup>e</sup> paym<sup>t</sup> of twenty five poods vnto Arthur Cooke or his order so y<sup>t</sup> when one is paid y<sup>e</sup> other two is void. John Smith wold need be loose from his servis y<sup>e</sup> first of this month, when I was gone to burlington, Contrary to my order saieing he wold not doe whot I bad him he had another way to goe so went about y<sup>e</sup> Contry & to philladelfia after somtim returned brought a Cannon with him Lefte it in an unvsuall place betweene and Isralls Creek above pensbury & he kept it y<sup>a</sup> saw pit 4 nights & days, so I hearing of y<sup>e</sup> Cannon y<sup>t</sup> he had brought. for at his first goeing his chest was removed, I caused y<sup>e</sup> Cannon to be remoued which caused Anthony Burton to be in a rage with other y<sup>t</sup> were siuell vpon which one y<sup>t</sup> I had hired to work in y<sup>e</sup> Garden y<sup>e</sup> sd burton threatening him to knock him downe, at which tim Smith had beene of his work 12 or 13 dayes, so they being all so wicked I committed Smith to goale, but he was kept out, & Sett at work by Josia Hull at Will: Bileses, there he was Lodged, & had his diat, for which Cause I writt to william y<sup>t</sup> Assignor of Governors & Govern<sup>t</sup> he has reported y<sup>t</sup> I had writt a Letter just full of Lies sence he cam to me where was Arthur Cook W: asked me why he was so hanged drawne, & quartered, so to be brieefe we desired to see y<sup>e</sup> Letter with som fear he did vpon promis he should have it againe, so we made it appeare y<sup>t</sup> there was not one Lie in it except y<sup>e</sup> first word weh was Justice, for so I was pleased to call him. I must return Smith was taken by y<sup>e</sup> Goaler to whom I had also writt, put in y<sup>e</sup> prison, & in one night was subverted got an Advocat to com before him humbled himselfe Laide y<sup>e</sup> blame of W: B: & others who said they wold be his friends burn y<sup>e</sup> Logg House &c, we have examined many of them but now will say y<sup>t</sup> they sd any such thing only blame them selues for keeping such Company promises to be peaceable & follow their busines, smith ashamed of what he has don, but importunes me y<sup>t</sup> he may have Liberty at y<sup>e</sup> spring, which if thou give order for it, he may otherwaies he shall serve, according to his Indentur & for his Lost tim, while away ag<sup>t</sup> or Contrary my mind & his duty: he clames Liberty by thy promis & sd he had wittnese Byles bid him bring them to Court & see if they should not be heard put him to writing for them & Carried y<sup>e</sup> Letter to philladelfia himselfe as he Confest yester day y<sup>e</sup> meeting was heare, some sd w: B: did weepe much, how-





ever he was vnder where I wish all weare y<sup>t</sup> are vaine Glorious y<sup>t</sup> Love poplar aplause, as well they y<sup>t</sup> murm<sup>r</sup> & complaine without Cause ag<sup>t</sup> god y<sup>t</sup> Contry or Govern<sup>t</sup> or Governor: *Gunns pooder Auld Bleds Blanketts fish hooks needls shood scatter Indean hoices not stockins Cifers knives, & what else I may not name by y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> mo: nex besure to send them heare, if thou be not heare thyselfe, for y<sup>e</sup> wilbe a good time to run y<sup>e</sup> Lines which I dout will not be don vnles thou com or vntill thou com y<sup>e</sup> goods is com only one Barrall of Beeie, & Candls is Left at york y<sup>e</sup> money not sent from Irland, remember to order good store of sope strong Linen, & wollin ditto what else thou thinks fitt, thred & silk nailes also my friend Ambros Crowley Anvell maker of Strowbridge worstershire wold fitt thee for any Iron ware well, if thou coul spare money I wold have thee Lett him have 30 or 40 lb on my acc<sup>t</sup> to send me som things which I may write to him for, if thou can, send to him to Lett him know, b'cause I am Loath to charge thee Least it shold straiten thee two much, good strong welted plain shoes for servants wilbe wanted, I sent to thee before to Lett thee know y<sup>t</sup> I had a kinsman at Bolton in y<sup>e</sup> morre in Lancashire might buy y<sup>e</sup> som cheape, if thou wold order him amatter of 50<sup>lb</sup> more or Lesse, I & mine & all thine are all in health, & well Liking, but my wife who hold out stoutly as to busines but wears fast, thus in great haste, but much Love to thee & thine there, & all honest friends remembred I rest thy asured friend*

James Harison

The Brickemaker is Casting vp Clay to make Brick by y<sup>e</sup> run y<sup>t</sup> Coms into A: Cook Creek & is y<sup>e</sup> best y<sup>t</sup> he has seene Especialy for tile as he sais, & A: C: Ja Read & I doe Lik it well I am to give 18 @ 1000 & have them made on y<sup>e</sup> spott they wold assure in 26<sup>s</sup> @ 1000 besid truble & much waist I am to have only good Bricks & y<sup>e</sup> maker to have y<sup>e</sup> Liberty to take y<sup>e</sup> refuse away if he will.

To William Penn these

Id London

Leave This with phillip fford to be deliuered asaboue or in his absence for himselfe in Bow Laine Id

London

LETTER OF JAMES LOGAN TO THE PROPRIETORS, 1733.

May it please the Prop<sup>rs</sup>

I heartily congratulate thee on thy safe Return to Philad<sup>la</sup> & your Success below according to the Acco<sup>t</sup> Ja: Steel yesterday gave me of it at Stenton, but inquiring into the Nature of the Houses address thee and thy Paper to them he told me he had not had the favour of Seeing it w<sup>ch</sup> I could not but think somewhat strange as well as he did considering his present Office & Interest in those Counties He told me further he heard nothing of thy having any Lett from Paris If thou hadst & he has wrote in the same manner to thee as to mee it was certainly proper it should have been known there, of w<sup>ch</sup> that thou may judge I here inclose what I have recvd from him and if thou please to deliver it again to the Bearer, he shall carry it directly to A Ham: to whom James sayes Paris has not said a word on that head in the Lett<sup>r</sup> Andr. has now recvd.

I came lasf night to town to see R Jordan before he embark'd w<sup>ch</sup> I understand he was to doe this morning & to deliver my Lett<sup>rs</sup> but I understand the vessel Stayes till to morrow, as I also shall in town, & therefore may hope for the pleasure of Seeing thee before I leave it. I am w<sup>th</sup> due respect

Thy faithf<sup>l</sup> friend

Philad<sup>la</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> 2<sup>mo</sup> 1733 Morning.

J. Logan



LETTER OF EDWARD BLACKFAN TO PHINEAS PEMBERTON.—

Deall: y<sup>e</sup> 6<sup>th</sup>: of ye: 7<sup>th</sup> mo. 1680

My verey kkind friend

Thine: I: will Assure thee with no small Content. I: have Reed and that by a great Axadent too. Upon an occasion: I: was sarching amongst more then a: 4: bushall sackfull of: writings of Letters and papers of divers kind of the Governours. and there found thine about: 4: or 5: weeks since. Now these are too aquaint thee that in order too Com to Pensilvania: I: am with my wife and all by goods shiped and now Riding at Ancor in the Downs. for which voiaig we have waited throw many Disapoyntments more than eight months—at Last Coms an Imbargo upon all shipping which Continewed a bout: 4: months untill Nere this time—and now shall proseed no further. Meeting with obstructions of Divers kinds of trubelsumness of the times and Dangers of the ffrench the smallpox on bord us too—and a winter Voigige Depending and oure shippis Proviton in both meat and drink as well as bred extremly bad. beside I am of opinyon as oure shipp is to stay at plemmoth for pasengers and to new Proviton with being subject thence not to goe without a Convoy. and time spent by Contrary winds all this Considered: I: dount the shipp ont get thence this Winter but the main poynt is my wife being not a ble to Incounter y<sup>e</sup> voiaige since my departure you have and will here of great and unexpected Revolutions. almost all. europ roll in blood: the ffrench kking gets as maney of oure: Merehants as Will maintain his Warr (yow here Go: Hethcot is taken) every day wee are in expectation of an Ingaiment betwixt the ffrench and us Dutch and English all the fleets being out: more then: 80: sayll of merchant small & great is taken by the ffrent all-ready: If the ffrench should Ride sole master at sea then an Invation ffolows upon us in the Right of kking James. so that in all Licklyhood wee may bee as Irland and Scotland is all in blood—the folcke are wery of there [a dash & something crossed out] a new: kk: once a yere is taking with English minds: the best is wee Inioy Liberty of Conciencie of all opinyons: I am hartily sorry that you Cant bee in state more Unanimys then you are, but when that will bee: I: Cant Immaigen. No Man Can heall youre Infurmitys Lieke the Governour you most desier. and when hee will Com I: kknow not but am shure that his intents are as mutch now too bee with you as ever. at present hee is under Restraint: but if nothing else should stop. his Estate in Irland is enough of: 12: or 13 hundred pound: ʒ: yeare and Rents Duly payd: Now not worth one peny: ʒ: yeare had: I: Proseeded my Voiaig things had bin mutch altered as to youre Government, but now my Instructions are void and an alteration in the Governours Paeket: We here Capt: Blackwell Careys a high and mighty hand over ffrends and that tho. Loyd and him are Mutch at adiference: which is a great truball to the Governour too here: and I am shuer hee will put a Check too his Leftenant Governour shipp: tho: I am sorry to say that the Governour is not well plesed with tho: Loyd and others yet hee will not have him trod under neither. the Gov<sup>er</sup>: and: I: have had maney Debats a bout him: and the Last was aday or too before wee parted: then: I: told him that: foure howers of parsonall Discorse tho: Loyd and thy selfe too gether: I: will warant thee that tho: Loyd will bring thee over too him. you will have it as it was once. the Provinciaill Counsell: Represent the Governour: and if that dont plese then: the Counsell shall nominate three who: thay will have there Deputy Governour: and the Governour will elect one of them: and put Capt: Blackwell in sum other Station of property: and Cheef Justice &c. I suppose hee may have the Honnor too Lay dune his Commition him selfe: being desierus to doe it as well as the Governour is that hee should: for if youre Deputy Governour Dont plese the people: I know where the maintinance of the



Government must Ly: and that the Governor Cant nutch Longer beare: 200 lb: ¶ Annum is hevey to pay unless Rents were better payd, and that dont Content Cap<sup>t</sup>: Blackwell nither: pray keep all privat upon this subiect thou knowest to whome to Communicate it: these with atender of my barty Love to tho: Loyd: and his wife Arthor Cook and his Wife and young John and his, with thy selfe and wife and the widow Harisson: together with all my freinds as if named. In Great hast I write therefore not more too add but Desier a few Lines after Receipt of this  
Edw: Blackfan

Tho<sup>s</sup> Scot has been here and has made a bluster the Governor was Like too send him over again, untill I told him upon plain termes if hee would send sutch an Athesticall fellow in to his family where I must bee Consarned: then I would Never goe at all. So now I think hee is other wais Ingaidged

one thing take for grant if the Governor Never Coms to yow (I mene of his Communion) hee will never more bee well Affected with yow (great men are not all wais wise) hee is so poysoned with markham and others writings: nothing but a verbal Diseorse Can mend the matter I: doupt thats too Late too Doe it too. I here Inclose a word or too of the Governors one hand: being part of my Instructions: in Relation too thee: and I spoek to him Consurning: a Confirmation of thy Land: and hee sayd hee would doe well for thee: I supos hee has writ his mind: as also the Lieke to Arthor Coocks buisness too Lett him have Inlargment of more Land: but all of that kind must Ly still untill hee Coms.

If thee write to mee bee shure bee not sparing of Ink and Paper: Now dont Direct it too the Gov<sup>r</sup> but too Dannel Wharley in Georg yard in Lumber Street and it will Com safe: pray Remember me too old John Martin at the plantation and tell him I hant forgot him: but did mention him too the Governor: severall times: and hee has desiered Capt: Blackwell too give him sum employ if any fall. that hee may Lieke or bee Capable of.

I have a verey Larg Comition for all the Gov<sup>r</sup>s Revenús in the Province: as well as steward of all his plantations in the Province but I Question whether I may see Pensilvania aney More.

I: have hed the perusall of all Markhams: writings where hee has Labored to make tho: Loyd and others out verey odgus too y<sup>e</sup> Governor.

#### JAMES HARISON'S SUGGESTIONS FOR RULES OF ORDER FOR A GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

##### *Methods and Orders to be observed in a Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly.*

1. The Clerk to call over the house & see if the members thereof be according to the Sheriffe's returnes.

2. All the Members to subscribe to keep the lawes & constitutions of the province made or to be made.

3. Then the Assembly to repair to the proprietary & Govern<sup>r</sup>, & the reason of their assembling &c, & so to their house.

4. To choise a speaker by vote or Ballot, who is to be led by two Members to the Chaire, there he to promise to serve the house according to the best of his Capacity.

5. Committees to be appointed, i.e. for Elections, priviledgis, greevances, Justice, Trade, Emprovement &c. and one of each Committee to make up a Certain Com<sup>tee</sup> to consider & bring in Bills necessary for the welfare of the province.

##### Touching the speaker

6. The speaker's business to hear, to keep order, & keep to the matter. To state and put the question for the vote, to reprove any member y<sup>t</sup> interrupts another in speaking, & to impose a penalty on him on a



second transgression when the speaker stands up, the member speaking to sit down; the speaker upon question of a bill to explain, not to sway with argum<sup>t</sup> or dispute &c if two members stands up together, the speaker to determine. the speaker still to put the question in the affirmative, i.e. as many as are of opinion that—shall—say yea, those otherwise minded, say nay.

#### Members duties.

7. The member speaking alwaies to stand up, the better to be seen and heard, & not to be interrupted dureing his speech; if any hiss, deride or disturbe a member speak to be brought to the Barr.

8. In Debates none to speak more than once, unless to the orders of the house, or unless the speaker be out of the chair & the house resolved into a grand Com<sup>tee</sup> which Com<sup>tee</sup> cannot be fewer, then the number that constitutes the house.

9. None to whisper, stand up or cross the room while the speaker is speaking, vpon adjournment none to rise or go out before y<sup>e</sup> speaker.

10. No proposall to be brought to the question before seconded & thirded, nor then, if offerred by any to be then debated; and the business first moved to be proceeded upon & ended before new motion of new matter be taken in hand; Loose speechs on any subject, to be by the speaker brought to a question, & the house to keep to it, to prevent excursions. Any member may offer a reason against a question propounded, in whole or in part. And a question proposed, not to be laid aside without a vote. If any desire to add to the question, the question is to be put, whether that shall be added, before the first question be fully put. A previous question may be put, whether any question shal be put or no.

11. The house calling for the question, and the speaker putting the same, the negative part not put, any member not speaking before, may freely speak, the question still to be put in the affirmative, i.e. as many as are of opinion that—shall—let them say yea, those otherwise, say nay. Those that introduce a new question, not formerly vsed, &c, shall go out of the house.

12. Vpon a division in the house the speaker to name one member of each to tell the numbers of the contrary side, the number taken of the yeas to be first given in: if the question be writ & pass in the affirmative, its to be written Resolved or if in the negative, to be writ, it passed in the negative, if the numbers be equall, the speakers vote cast, els no vote.

13. If a matter be in debate, and the question grow, whether the house to proceed this time, vpon division the no's go out, if for adjournment the yeas.

14. None to speak above once, before the question is put, nor after, but once. No member in any discourse, to name the name of another member, bu[t] as that member that last (or lately) spake, only a member may be vse[d] by his office, or sitting in a certain place, as near the Chair, or so. None to fall from the matter to the pson, & superfluous & tedious speechs may be stopt by the speaker.

15. In a grand Committe of the house, the Com<sup>tee</sup> chuses a chair-man, but not th[e] speaker, and the Chaireman to sit in the Clerk's place, and if the question [is] put & carryed, to be reported to the house, the speaker assuminge the cha[ir] it becomes a house; & the chairman in his usual place reports from the Com<sup>tee</sup> to the house, which done leaves the report in writing with the Clerk such grand Com<sup>tee</sup> cannot adjourne, but must be renewed by leave from the house.

16. peticular or private Com<sup>tees</sup> cannot determine the right or property of y<sup>e</sup> sub[ject] without Leave from the house; A question agreed upon by them cannot [be] altered by themselves. Reports to be made in the first place after a full house, mentioning the Com<sup>tee</sup> whence





it comes, reading the amendments, if any, & the alteratio[n cut off] member may be at any Com<sup>tee</sup> but not to vote unless a member the [last line cut off]

17. Bills at Committees to be considered by parts, the preamble last considered, the bills not to be blotted, but mended in other papers, and the amendments to be put to the question, and voted singly: Bills to be without rasures or interlineations. And the clerk [illegible] to read the bill then delivered to the speaker, who standing up with the bill in his hand reads the title, and declares it to be the first reading of that bill, and till then no member to speak to it, till a second reading, unless to cast it out. If exceptions to a bill be not mendable at the table, then committed, but no bill without exceptions committed, if out [worn] rejected, then engrossed. He that is against the body of a bill, shall not be of a Com<sup>tee</sup> about that bill. No private or personall bills to be brought in without leave. publique bills to be opened in the matter before brought in to the house. No bill to be brought in to repeale a Law, without leave. Bills amended to be engrossed & first in a full house, the title to be endorsed on the back of the bill.

18. Any member may offer any bill for any publick good, except taxes without leave from the house.

19. No vote of a Com<sup>tee</sup> unreported and unconfirmed by the house, to be of any force to any Court of Justice.

20. When any member intends to speak, he is to stand up, and address himselfe to the speaker, who usually calls such a member by his name, that the house may take notice, who it is that goes to speak.

21. When the speaker desires to speak, he ought to be heard without interruption, if the house be silent and not in dispute.

James Harison

#### SUMMER PILGRIMAGE OF THE LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

On June 24, 1916, the members and friends of the Lancaster County Historical Society were the guests of Miss Daisy E. B. Grubb at her summer home "Mount Hope," an hour's automobile ride from Lancaster. The attractive Mansion house, surrounded by flower gardens, box-lined walks, and groves of ancient trees, with a background of wooded hills and mountains, stands on a knoll overlooking the picturesque valley through which flows the Chickisalunga, a corruption of the Delaware Indian word *Chickisicalunga*, i.e. *The place of the crawfish*, and on its bank the charcoal iron furnace, operated for a century or more by members of the Grubb family, well-known Iron Masters.

After the hostess had graciously received her numerous guests and they had wandered through the beautiful grounds, they gathered about the Mansion, when Hon. Charles I. Landis, vice-president of the Society, took charge of the ceremonies which consisted of singing patriotic songs, and historical addresses by T. Roberts Appel, Esq., on "The Grubb Family and Mount Hope," and William H. Keller, Esq., on "The Purpose of a Historical Society."

#### Queries.

VANCE.—Information is desired of the Vance family of Lancaster and Washington counties, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland.

Mrs. E. N. Robinson,  
4228 Corliss St.,

Seattle, Washington.



## Book Notices.

WITH AMERICANS OF PAST AND PRESENT DAYS. By J. J. Jusserand, Ambassador of France to the United States. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916. Svo, pp. 350.

In this attractive volume M. Jusserand has gathered the ripe fruits of his harvest of thirteen years of good service as the representative of France in this country. He brought here besides his training as a diplomat, the well-earned reputation as a scholar due to his writings on English medieval literature. Here he was called on to make addresses more or less formal, on many subjects, at many public institutions, and from these he has selected those that illustrate the early relations of France and the United States, in a capital account of Rochambeau and his associates, in the French forces that helped to American Independence, on L'Enfant, the Frenchman who served in that war, and afterwards planned the city of Washington, as it is now being rebuilt,—on Washington and the French, showing how close was the tie wrought by their common service, on Abraham Lincoln, whose great merit as a statesman France first recognized,—on Horace Howard Furness, whose devotion to the study of Shakespeare, Jusserand as a student in the same field of literature, was well able to rate at its true value, and on other subjects of interest common to France and America. His study of Rochambeau and his associates is largely drawn from contemporary documents in the great collection of unpublished manuscripts in the Library of Congress and in other public bodies, such as the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and in those of other States. The Washington and Rochambeau papers were acquired by the United States as a fitting tribute to the two men who contributed so largely to American Independence. In them M. Jusserand has found material for a new and authentic picture of the two men who worked together so successfully for the great end they were foremost in achieving. He gives brief and vivid portraits of the younger Frenchmen who came with Rochambeau, many of them earning reputation in the great events of later French history, and all cherishing the memory of their services in the American War of Independence. Chastellux and the Saint Simons, Closen and Lauzun Deux Ponts and Pontgibaud, Vergennes and de Grasse, La-Fayette and Custine, are among the many names of his fellow countrymen to whom Jusserand pays fitting tribute in his story.

His account of L'Enfant is based on a careful study of the life and work of that long-forgotten man of genius, whose success was too little recognized, perhaps owing to his own artistic and difficult temperament. The great Washington, as capital of the nation, of to-day and of the future, is the lasting proof of his genius, to which due tribute was paid by the architects of our own day, who insisted upon the great merit of his plans, and secured the execution of his plans long after his death. The tribute to Furness is that of one scholar to another, with just such appreciation as only a common love of letters could inspire. "From war to peace" is a plea for peace that has a special value and significance at this time of fearful war, and as a French diplomatist M. Jusserand shows the results of that long training which has gained him recognition to-day.

THE FOUNDING OF SPANISH CALIFORNIA. THE NORTHWESTWARD EXPANSION OF NEW SPAIN, 1687-1783. By Charles Edward Chapinan Ph.D. New York, 1916. The Macmillan Co. Svo, pp. 485. Illustrated. Price \$3.50.

Dr. Chapman, of the University of California, seeks to show in this work that the Spanish occupation of California in the year just prior to the American Revolution was in great degree responsible for the



later acquisition of American frontage on the Pacific. The early settlements of 1769, the founding of San Francisco in 1776 and its significance, the development of California by Spain, the designs of England and Russia and the massacre of 1781 are among the topics taken up. The materials employed by the author are for the most part new and were found by him at the *Archivo General de Indias* during a two years residence in Seville, Spain. Of the hundreds of manuscripts cited, very few have ever been used before. The work, therefore, opens up to the world of scholarship a wealth of original documents bearing on our history not hitherto suspected. We may say without reserve, that no more important contributions to the history of our Pacific frontage has been published. Dr. H. More Stephens has written an admirable introduction to the history.

**THE LIFE OF JESSE W. FELL.** By Frances Milton I. Morehouse, A.M. Urbana, 1916. 8vo, pp. 129. University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. v., No. 2.

As a tribute to the man and citizen, this story of the life of Jesse W. Fell (1808-1887), a descendant of the branch of that family early settled in Chester County, Penna., who removed to Illinois, where he passed nearly sixty years, a period full of important events and in association with prominent men, is full of interest and is admirably told. He played an honorable part in journalism; during and after the Civil War; organizing the public schools, and in politics, and in every variety of circumstance held the esteem of even his bitterest opponents.

**CHARLES MINER, A PENNSYLVANIA PIONEER.** By Charles Francis Richardson, Ph.D., Litt. D., and Elizabeth Miner (Thomas) Richardson. Wilkes Barre, Pa., 1916. 8vo, pp. 195. Portrait.

As a contribution to Pennsylvania biography, this reprint from the Proceedings of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, in its present form, is most acceptable. It is written with the sympathy of those who shared in the ideals and aspirations of their subject and contributes largely to a clearer realization not only to the character of the man, but also of the complex period in which he lived. It is indeed, an interesting record of a life that was animated from the beginning by the idea of service.

**A HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL CAPITAL FROM ITS FOUNDATION THROUGH THE PERIOD OF THE ADOPTION OF THE ORGANIC ACT.** By Wilhelmus Bogart Bryan. Vol. II, 1815-1878. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1916. 8vo, pp. 707. Price, \$5.00.

This volume completes Mr. Bryan's history, which until its publication, there was no accurate and comprehensive account of the rise and development of the District of Columbia. It covers the period from the close of our second war with Great Britain, to the change in the form of its government by the law of 1878, a fitting conclusion to this long needed work. Liberal annotations and a remarkably full index, will be appreciated by all research workers.

**FRENCH POLICY AND THE AMERICAN ALLIANCE OF 1778,** by Edward S. Corwin, Ph.D., Professor of Politics, Princeton University, etc. Princeton University Press, 1916. Pp. 430.

Prof. Corwin has made of his Thesis for a Doctor's Degree at Michigan and Pennsylvania a book of real interest and value. It ought to be read after M. Jusserand's eloquent pages on Rochambeau and his companions, drawn from their letters. Prof. Corwin has made a capital analysis and summary of the bulky pages of Doniol's monumental work



and Wharton's Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution, one drawn from our own archives, the other from those of France.

To add to these two great source books, Prof. Corwin has found useful material in the collections of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, The American Philosophical Society, The Ridgeway Library, that of the University of Pennsylvania, that of Harvard and that of Congress,—in each and all of them well equipped by his earlier studies, he has found useful material. He has elucidated the real motives that governed France and Vergennes, Spain and Florida Blanca, the Portuguese and Corsair Questions, the Mississippi and Western Land Question, the missions of Gerard and Luzerne, and Jay's success, in spite of apparent failure in Spain, in bringing the Treaty of Peace to its final satisfactory close, and each subject is treated with exhaustive detail.

In these and earlier days of unstinted praise of the French for their help, much eloquence, but little knowledge of historical facts, has been expended, and therefore Prof. Corwin has rendered a real service by making those of most importance, accessible in his pregnant pages. It was not at once that France came to the aid of the struggling colonies or allowed DeKalb and Lafayette to enlist in their cause. It was only by slow and devious methods, such as those in use in Europe, that France and Spain and Holland gave their help by successive steps, first secretly, through Beaumarchais and largely at his inspiration, and later under the potent influence of Franklin. Earlier indeed Gibbon and Johnson had defended Great Britain, but later on in that day when pamphlets and pamphleteers had such potent influence, the Colonies had strong supporters in France and England. Through these, today only a little less dreary than the long series of official correspondence in Doniol and Wharton, Prof. Corwin has worked his way, gathering here a salient fact, and there the solution of some vexed question, both almost forgotten now. Indeed many of the notes to his pages are full of interest, showing the extent of his research in uncovering much of the mystery that in old days always surrounded diplomatic correspondence. They show that the American representatives, men with little experience in statecraft, were alike able to deal with international questions and to found the nation so great today.

In these days of special studies, it is satisfactory to find the results of the most recent investigations, gathered in this handy volume, from the scattered pages of reports of Historical Societies and Associations. No one more than M. Jusserand, fully equipped with a fund of knowledge of the history of France and in the United States before the Alliance at the outset of the War of Independence, and at its close in the Treaty of Peace, will welcome Prof. Corwin's book with its compact summary of the facts scattered through many volumes and in many pamphlets. He, too, will gladly have the readers of his *Rochambeau*, turn to the pages of Prof. Corwin's *French Policy* with its capital bibliography and useful appendices and good index.

R.

INTERNATIONAL COURTS OF ARBITRATION, by Thomas Balch. Sixth edition. Philadelphia, Allen, Lane and Scott, 1915. Pages xxiv, 78.

The sixth edition of this important work contains as frontispiece upon Japanese rice paper a photogravure of the author who was a member of the Philadelphia bar and of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. This book he wrote in 1874, two years after the final judicial settlement of the Alabama claims by the famous International Court, known the world over as the Geneva Tribunal. And the author of this book was the originator of that court. For first in an interview with President Lincoln in November, 1864, and afterwards in a public letter, which was printed in the *New York Tribune*, May 13, 1865, he





proposed that the difficulties between the United States and Great Britain springing from the cruises of the commerce destroyer *Alabama* and her sister ships should be referred for judicial settlement to an International Tribunal, and at the same time pointed out how the court should be constituted. The acorn which Mr. Balch planted in November, 1864, and May, 1865, ripened in a few years into the oak, known as the Geneva Tribunal. The present edition contains photographic facsimiles of his letter as it appeared in the *New York Tribune* in May, 1865, and as it was reprinted in *Social Science* in England on March 15, 1867. The services rendered in that way by the author to his own country and her opponent, and so to the world at large, were well expressed by the Honorable Rudolph Blankenburg, when he presided at a memorable banquet of the League to Enforce Peace, held in Philadelphia, June 16, 1915, at which many notable men from other cities, among them Ex-president Taft, attended. After speaking of the policy of peace begun by William Penn in his dealings with the Indians, Mayor Blankenburg, whose remarks will be found in the introduction of the present edition, said: "A further reason why Philadelphia should be selected is the fact, perhaps unknown to many of you, that the first suggestion for international arbitration of the Alabama Claims came from one of Philadelphia's distinguished citizens—Thomas Balch. When dark clouds had gathered on the horizon following the deprecation of the *Alabama*, Thomas Balch proposed to President Lincoln, as early as November, 1864, to submit the Alabama Claims for settlement to an international court of justice, composed of three jurists. Our martyred President could not at that time be persuaded that Mr. Balch's scheme of arbitration was practicable, but it finally did prevail, and thus the first step towards the introduction of the principle of international arbitration in that matter was taken. This masterpiece of statesmanship will ever redound to the credit and fame of its author. We are ever eager to worship and erect monuments in honor of heroes of war. Had war, instead of peaceful arbitration, settled the dispute, we should today probably find innumerable shafts and costly monuments in memory of the heroes of battles fought and battles won. Thanks to the initiative of Thomas Balch, war was avoided, and peaceful settlement made. Let me suggest to you, my friends, that the hero of peace should at all times be placed before the hero of war. To give emphasis to this thought, I pay this tribute to the memory of Thomas Balch."

B.

ST. JEAN DE CRÈVECEUR. By Julia Post Mitchell, Ph.D. New York: Columbia University Press, 1916. Lemeke & Buchner, New York, Svo. pp. 362.

Approved by the Department of English and Comparative Literature in Columbia University as a contribution to knowledge worthy of publication, is a well-deserved encomium of this exhaustive biography. It is the result of much wide study of original sources, and carries the study of Crèveceur's adventurous life much more exhaustively through his career in America than the biography by his grandson, hitherto the best account of that somewhat nebulous character. It is a capital resumé of all that can be told of a man almost forgotten.

Hector Saint John, as he called himself, lived in this country in colonial days, leading a wandering life in Canada, Pennsylvania, New York, and New England. Born in France of a good old Norman noble family, he gained attention by his "Letters of an American Farmer," first published in London in 1782, and reprinted there and in Dublin in the following year. It was published in Paris in French in 1783 and again in 1787. A reprint of an edition of 1793 was published in 1904 in Boston, with a preface by Prof. Trent and an introduction by Lewisohn and notices by Todd and Sanborn. Thus the notable book



has been rescued from oblivion,—a fate that has overtaken his later book, his travels in Pennsylvania and New York, first published in Paris in 1801, in some ways really a better book.

Born in France in 1735, educated in part in England, he came to America in 1754. He spent eight or nine years chiefly in Pennsylvania, partly in some unknown business in Philadelphia, claims to have been a farmer in the Cumberland Valley, although no trace of any ownership of land there is of record; naturalized in New York in 1765, and bought a farm in Orange County in 1769. Married there, he continued his wandering life, was at times map-maker, engineer, soldier, surveyor and trader, and became familiar with Canada, Nova Scotia, New England, New York and Pennsylvania, Ohio and Kentucky, and Jamaica and the Bermudas. He calls Pennsylvania the Queen of the Colonies and praises the extraordinary fertility of Lancaster County and the industry and intelligence of its inhabitants. He describes himself as a "farmer in Pennsylvania," and the first American edition of his first book was published by Matthew Carey in Philadelphia in 1793, and his last book was "A Journey in Pennsylvania," published in Paris in 1801.

When the Revolution broke out he was among those who suffered many hardships at the hands of more ardent patriots than himself and many of his neighbors, took refuge in New York, sought and received help from the British, after a brief imprisonment as a suspected spy of Washington, but was finally set free on bail, and later sailed for England, where he published his book.

His English edition of "Letters from an American Farmer" showed a decided leaning to the British side, perhaps with a view to its success in England. When he had been in France for some years, living at his paternal home in Normandy, and associating in Paris with Franklin and many of the French friends of the cause of the American Colonies then independent, his book in its French edition was markedly favorable to the American cause. Through his influential French friends, and he had many notable ones, he was employed by the French government to make a detailed report on the geography, agriculture and industries of the Colonies, to be used in forwarding the peace that was then under discussion in Paris; although praised by the King and his ministers, the paper is lost. He received however the substantial reward of the appointment as the first French Consul in New York, chosen out of seventeen applicants for this much-desired post. Returning to New York at the end of 1783 on one of the line of packets which he had succeeded in having established with the help of the French government, he showed great activity in his new position, writing many letters and publishing many articles intended to improve the trade and political relations of France and the United States. At his suggestion Lafayette on his return to this country in 1784, brought over a hundred books for the College of Philadelphia, a gift from Louis XVI; and Crèvecoeur made frequent mention of having secured this donation.

He was Consul until 1790 in fact, and nominally even after his return to France in that year, until 1792, and escaping the risks of the French Revolution, survived until 1813, when he died at the house of his son-in-law Otto, at one time the French Minister to the United States. During the years of his services as Consul he was incessantly busied with all sorts of correspondence and communications to learned societies, both in this country and in France, and to newspapers far and wide. Many of these are in the Franklin Papers at the American Philosophical Society, the Jefferson Papers in the Library of Congress, with the Rochefoucauld Papers at Nantes, France, for he kept in touch with noted men in both countries. He was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society in 1789 at the suggestion of John Paul Jones.

Similar honors were paid to him by other Societies both in the United States and in France, and his real services to agriculture and many economic improvements in both countries, won him hearty thanks.



He was active in forwarding the establishment of a regular line of packets between the United States and France, and in unceasing efforts to increase the exchange of manufactures, plants and other products between the two countries. He reported at length to the French government on these subjects and sent broadcast to the newspapers in both France and the United States letters urging attention to the advantage of increased trade between the two countries. He tried to establish an exchange of trees and seeds and did much to start Botanical Gardens to develop this useful work.

Mrs. Mitchell has apparently exhausted all the sources of information in this country and in France, in her successful effort to trace out all the events of the life of Crèveœur, and disentangled many of the contradictory stories he told in his books and in his letters. He lived in a time when it was fashionable and often necessary to be mysterious, and both as Hector Saint John, American Farmer and Traveler, and as a French nobleman and Consul, he covered with a veil of mystery much that he did and wrote, so that even his admiring biographer finds it difficult and sometimes impossible to reconcile his contradictory statements. Even his marriage and his long separation from his wife and children, and the romantic story of their care and of his reunion with them, are far from plainly told either in Mrs. Mitchell's biography or in that of his grandson, published in Paris in 1883. Indeed the later "Life" is largely founded on the earlier; and both make a real addition to our knowledge of the men and especially the Frenchmen who either as colonists or exiles, helped make the United States and their resources known abroad. Crèveœur both in his own name and as Hector Saint John won the praise of Washington, Franklin, Jefferson and Madison for his services to the infant republic, and of Hazlitt and Lamb and Lowell for the charm of his style in his books. The fact that this "Life" is published by Columbia University is another proof of the value of the endowments that enable Columbia and Harvard and Yale and Pennsylvania and Princeton and Chicago and other Universities to give the public such books as this Life of Crèveœur. R.

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By Matthew Page Andrews, M.A. J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1916. 8vo, pp. 368. Appendices and index. Illustrations and maps. Price, \$1.00 net.

The author of this school history of the United States has based his work on his experience and the needs of the class room and he offers it to teachers and others in the belief that it will help them to make the subject of the nation's history interesting and attractive. The numerous well selected illustrations and maps, some colored, form an illustrated commentary upon the text. The print, paper and binding are of good quality, adding to the volume's library value.

#### PENN PORTRAITS.

##### PORTRAITS OF HANNAH PENN AND GRANVILLE PENN.—

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania purchased in London, England, on July 10, 1916, at the sale of family portraits, books, autographs and manuscripts relating to William Penn and his descendants, the property of J. Meyrick Head, Esq. deceased; late of Pennsylvania Castle, Portland, the following portraits:

*Hannah Callowhill*, second wife of William Penn, the Founder of Pennsylvania. In blue dress, with white coif, seated in a high-backed chair—17 in. by 14½ in. Artist unknown.

*Granville Penn*, of Stoke Park, Buckinghamshire, son of Thomas Penn, and a grandson of the Founder. In dark dress, seated in a crimson arm-chair by a table, on which are books and writing materials. 87½ in. by 57 in. Painted by R. McInnes, 1837.



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